

South Indian Studies

Editors: H M Nayak, B R Gopal

SOUTH INDIAN STUDIES

Dr. T. V. Mahalingam Commemoration Volume



Dr. T. V. MAHALINGAM (1907 - 83)

South Indian Studies

*Archaeology and History Epigraphy and Numismatics
Society Interaction Religion and Philosophy
Architecture and Art Language and Literature Folklore*

REFERENCE

EDITED BY

H. M. NAYAK

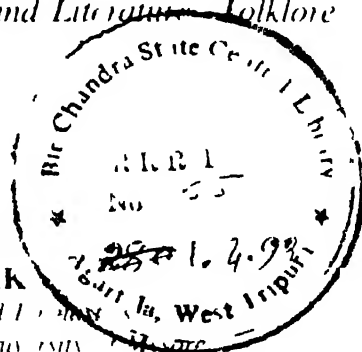
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B C S. C L.



*Dr. L. V. Mahalingam
Commemoration Volume*

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PREFACE

THE PRESENT VOLUME—*South Indian Studies*—pertains to the study of a region—South India—in all its perspectives. This is a volume of regional history. Regional history is an intensive and in-depth study of a region. Time and again, historians have stressed the need for regional histories. The term 'region' is generally taken to mean the modern linguistic states of India. But it is feared by some that regional history may foster regionalism as opposed to nationalism, and that it may affect the very concept of national history. It should be borne in mind that the concept of a 'nation' so far as our country is concerned, was more theoretical than practical. In the sense in which a nation is generally understood to be, India was never a nation. But it has been one, all through the centuries, in spirit and thought. That certain basic concepts have held the different parts of the sub-continent into one entity is evident in the lives of the people of the country. It was only under the British rule, and thereafter when we became free, that India became, politically speaking, a nation.

In classical Sanskrit literature of the earliest periods, we get an account of Bhāratavarsha as a geographical and cultural entity. But therein we find names of other regions also like Aṅga, Vāṅga, Gurjara, Magadha, Āndhra, Karnāṭaka, etc., which were distinct zones. These are regions and they have their histories. Each of them had evolved independently, but within the concept of a cultural unit. Setting aside the modern concept of linguistic states, if these different units are studied not merely from the point of political history but that of the development of their culture, art, literature, etc., we see that they have developed personalities of their own.

The past few decades have witnessed the publication of a good many books on the history of India as a whole and we see in them the treatment of different regions being rather disproportionate. Whatever the reason be, the comprehensive all-India histories can hardly provide complete pictures of all regions. That the canvas of such works are too wide and the ready materials about all regions are a desideratum may be among the reasons for this. Still, even with regard to regions like Karnāṭaka or Āndhra, where there is no dearth of source-material, we do not have comprehensive histories. The source-materials are varied in nature and no single individual can handle all of them competently. Further, it is not only the dynastic or political history alone but the economic and social history of the region, its language, literature, arts, architecture, religions and philosophical thought and the like that have played their part in the development of its personality. Regional history thus becomes an independent study of a region in its entirety, to be understood in its geographical, administrative, political, linguistic and socio-cultural context. For such a study we need not only archaeologists and sociologists but specialists in a variety of other fields of study as well. Besides,

we also need the non-specialist who could collect the source-materials and for that purpose has legs not easily tired to conduct field-work. Thus, regional history should be a multi-disciplinary approach towards the study of a region.

So far as South India is concerned, it may be said that almost till the end of the first quarter of the present century, South Indian history did not receive due attention. Although as early as 1895, R. G. Bhandarkar and J. F. Fleet wrote *The Early History of The Deccan* and *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, respectively, as parts of *The Bombay Gazetteer*, they were confined only to a part of South India. V. A. Smith's *Oxford History of India*, first published in 1919, had very little of South Indian history and its author lamented that 'most historians of Ancient India have written as if the South did not exist.' A small book of 114 pages, *The Ancient History of the Deccan*, by Jouveau Dubreuil, originally in French and translated into English by Swaminatha Dikshitar, was restricted to the regions around the Vindhyas and had no concern with regions like Tamil-nāḍu and Kēraḷa. The entire book is in the form of loose, disjointed articles. Against this background, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's *A History of South India*, first published in 1955, has carved out a place for itself and has met with no rival till now. This work deals with the entire south as a single unit. Professor Sastri handled the subject in a masterly way. The titles he has given to the chapters, like 'Conflict of Three Empires,' 'Balance of Two Empires,' 'Age of Four Kingdoms,' etc., indicate the characteristic of the periods he has dealt with. But the chronological method adopted by him has made his narrative oftentimes unintelligible. Also the work deals more with political history than with other aspects.

Way back in 1963-64, when Sirdar K. M. Panikkar was the Vice-chancellor of the University of Mysore, he felt that proper attention should be given to the study of South India as an entity and for that purpose, an inter-disciplinary course should be formulated. Unfortunately it did not materialise while he held office. But the idea had been injected and it took some more time to take concrete shape. It was in 1971 that an ad-hoc committee was constituted by the University to frame the regulations, syllabi and scheme of examination for the M. A. degree in South Indian Studies from 1971-72. This committee met and prepared a scheme of study which was quite comprehensive, including South Indian history, epigraphy, art and architecture, religion and philosophy, the four languages of the region—Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam—with a basic knowledge of their literatures and Dravidian linguistics. In March 1973 a full-fledged Board of Studies in South Indian Studies came to be constituted. The first batch of students with M. A. degree in South Indian Studies came out in 1972-73 and since then eleven more batches have followed. These students as also the teachers from different departments had often felt that there was no single volume wherein all aspects of South Indian history, culture, languages, art and architecture had been dealt with. This was quite a lacuna.

The late Dr. T. V. Mahalingam was one of the foremost historians of our country. His contributions to the study of South Indian history, palaeography, archaeology, architecture, polity, socio-economic history, etc., have been immense

and spectacular. He has been rightly considered a doyen of South Indian Studies. His association with the University of Mysore was longstanding and for more than three decades he served on the Boards of Studies, of Appointments, of Examiners, etc. and was greatly responsible for framing the syllabus of the South Indian Studies course. He was a member of the Advisory Committee of the project of 'Revision and Reprint of *Epigraphia Carnatica* Volumes,' and in that capacity made quite useful suggestions and offered invaluable guidance. About a decade ago, it was thought that this Professor of renown should be felicitated in a befitting manner and a volume of papers presented to him on the occasion. It then occurred to us that we should bring out a volume pertaining to South Indian Studies, covering all its aspects and thus fill the lacuna pointed out earlier. We approached a number of scholars in different fields with a request to contribute articles which would not only make for a basic volume for study by students but also a book of reference for others interested in South Indian Studies.

Thanks to the quick and ready response from scholars on the wide-ranging subject of South Indian Studies, we could get adequate material for the volume we had planned. The volume has, in all, 71 learned studies divided into seven sections—Archaeology and History, Epigraphy and Numismatics, Society: Interaction, Architecture and Art, Religion and Philosophy, Language and Literature, and Folklore—besides a biographical sketch of Dr. Mahalingam.

In keeping with our scheme of things, we solicited articles of around 25 pages of typescript in foolscap size. In quite a few cases where the length of articles was far in excess of the stipulated limit, we could not but prune them, taking all possible care, of course, to retain the authors' points of view, logic, conclusions, style, etc. In some cases where the contributions received by us were too short for our purpose, we have discreetly incorporated into them considerable additional material, solely with a view to adding to the usefulness of *South Indian Studies*. We are immensely grateful to all our contributors but for whose willing cooperation and understanding, our plan for the publication of this volume would not have materialised. While we have exercised our editorial prerogative with great caution and care, we seek the forgiveness of our esteemed authors for any inadvertent lapses on our part.

We have earnestly endeavoured to make this volume a comprehensive reference compendium by including in it articles covering all aspects of South Indian Studies. We regret, however, that certain topics have been left out since the scholars who were to write on them could not send in their contributions.

Sri M. Sathyanarayana Rao and his brothers of Geetha Book House, Mysore, have willingly come forward to undertake the publication of this volume. Words are insufficient to offer our thanks to them. They have identified themselves with the planning, designing and production of this volume right from the beginning. Messrs Sharada Press, Mangalore, have done a neat and elegant job of printing. Our young colleagues, Sri H. M. Nagaraja Rao, Sri K. Mohammed Shariff and Smt. Krishnaveni, Epigraphical Assistants in the Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, have shouldered the burden of checking the final type-

scripts, correcting proofs and preparing the Index. We are highly thankful to them for their help.

This volume was planned to be a Felicitation Volume for Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. For inexplicable reasons there was delay in its publication. Meanwhile, Fate snatched him away from our midst. He passed away in Madras on March 6, 1983. *South Indian Studies* is, therefore, now appearing as a Commemoration Volume. We know how pleased he would have been if this had come out during his lifetime. We regret the delay and pray that the departed soul would still be pleased about it.

It is now left to the world of scholars to judge how far we have succeeded in our endeavours.

H. M. NAYAK
B. R. GOPAL
Editors

CONTENTS

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

1. Geographical Factors in South Indian History—*A. L. Basham* 17 — 22
2. Racial Background of South Indian History—*B. K. Gururaja Rao* 23 — 34
3. Prehistory of South India—*S. Nagaraju* 35 — 52
4. Material Culture during the Early Historic Period
(c. 300 B.C.—300 A.D.)—*C. Margabandhu* 53 — 69
5. Political History of Andhra Pradesh—*C. Somasundara Rao* 70 — 79
6. Political History of Karnataka—*Shrinivas Ritti* 80 — 114
7. Political History of Kerala—*K. Maheswaran Nair* 115—129
8. Political History of Tamilnadu—*K. A. Nilakanta Sastri* 130—146
9. History of Karnataka from 1660 A.D.—*B. Sheik Ali* 147—167
10. History of South India from 1600 A.D.—*Chiranjivi J. Nirmal* 168—180

EPIGRAPHY AND NUMISMATICS

11. South Indian Epigraphy—Its Value as Source Material
—*D. C. Sircar* 183—190
12. Characteristic Features of Sanskrit Inscriptions
—*V. S. Subrahmanian* 191—205
13. Characteristic Features of Tamil Inscriptions
—*K. G. Krishnan* 206—215
14. Characteristic Features of Kannada Inscriptions—*B. R. Gopal* 216—226
15. Characteristic Features of Telugu Inscriptions—*M. D. Sampath* 227—239
16. Characteristic Features of Malayalam Inscriptions
—*P. S. Radhadevi* 240—248
17. South Indian Coins—*R. Vanaja* 249—270

SOCIETY: INTERACTION

18. Tamil Society in the Early and Medieval Periods—*K. K. Pillay* 273—287
19. Social and Economic Life in Ancient and Medieval Andhra
—*B. R. Subrahmanyam* 288—299
20. Economic Conditions in Karnataka upto 1600 A.D.
—*S. Gururajachar* 300—309
21. Temples as Cultural Centres—*A. V. Jeyarandrum* 310—323
22. Temple Festivals of South India —*N. S. Ramaswami* 324—329
23. Contacts and Adjustments: Karnataka and Tamilnadu
—*K. V. Ramesh* 330—336
24. Contacts and Adjustments: Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh
—*P. V. Parabrahma Sastry* 337—352

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| 25. Contacts and Adjustments: Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu
— <i>V. Yasoda Devi</i> | 353—368 |
| 26. South India and China: Early Contacts— <i>R. Anandasivam</i> | 369—388 |
| 27. South India and South East Asia— <i>H. M. Nagaraja Rao</i> | 389—402 |
| 28. The Portuguese in South India— <i>B. S. Shastry</i> | 403—422 |

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| 29. Śaiva Philosophy— <i>V. A. Devasenapathi</i> | 425—431 |
| 30. The Philosophy of Advaita— <i>N. Veezhinathan</i> | 432—443 |
| 31. The Philosophy of Ramanuja— <i>S. S. Raghavachar</i> | 444—465 |
| 32. The Dvaita Vedanta of Madhva— <i>G. Srinivasan</i> | 466—477 |
| 33. Virasaivism— <i>H. Tipperudraswamy</i> | 478—490 |
| 34. Buddhism in South India— <i>R. Vasanta</i> | 491—503 |
| 35. Jainism in South India— <i>T. G. Kalghatgi</i> | 504—517 |
| 36. Islam in South India— <i>K. Mohammed Shariff</i> | 518—528 |
| 37. Christianity in South India— <i>L. Sundaram</i> | 529—533 |
| 38. Religious Movements in South India— <i>Prema Nandakumar</i> | 534—553 |

ARCHITECTURE AND ART

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| 39. Cave-Architecture of South India— <i>H. Sarkar</i> | 557—571 |
| 40. Early Temples of Andhra— <i>R. Subrahmanyam</i> | 572—577 |
| 41. Architecture and Art under the Badami Chalukyas— <i>A. Sundara</i> | 578—591 |
| 42. Architecture under the Pallavas— <i>K. V. Soundararajan</i> | 592—607 |
| 43. Architecture and Art under the Gangas— <i>M. Hanumantha Rao</i> | 608—619 |
| 44. Chola Architecture— <i>V. R. Mani</i> | 620—625 |
| 45. Early Pandya Art— <i>K. V. Soundararajan</i> | 626—647 |
| 46. Architecture and Art under the Chalukyas of Kalyana
— <i>Eswar N. Katkar</i> | 648—653 |
| 47. Art and Architecture under the Hoysalas— <i>B. K. Gururaja Rao</i> | 654—663 |
| 48. Architecture in the Vijayanagara Period— <i>K. V. Raman</i> | 664—679 |
| 49. A Survey of Early South Indian Bronzes (with Special
Reference to Tamilnadu)
— <i>R. Anandasivam and K. K. Raniamurthy</i> | 680—695 |
| 50. South Indian Paintings: A Survey— <i>R. Champakalakshmi</i> | 696—714 |
| 51. The South Indian Music— <i>R. Satyanarayana</i> | 715—735 |

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| 52. Comparative Dravidian Linguistics— <i>K. Kushalappa Gowda</i> | 739—756 |
| 53. Prakrit Language and Literature in the South— <i>A. N. Upadhye</i> | 757—766 |
| 54. Development of Sanskrit Literature in South India
— <i>K. Krishnamoorthy</i> | 767—784 |
| 55. Development of Classical Tamil Language and Literature
— <i>M. Arunachalam</i> | 785—815 |

56. Modern Tamil Literature— <i>M. Varadarajan</i>	816—827
57. Development of Old Kannada Language and Literature — <i>T. V. Venkatachala Sastry</i>	828—851
58. The Medieval and Modern Kannada Literature — <i>C. P. Krishnakumar</i>	852—868
59. Development of Old Telugu Language and Literature - <i>K. Mahadeva Sastri</i>	869—875
60. Middle and Modern Telugu Language and Literature — <i>R. V. S. Sundaram</i>	876—884
61. Development of Malayalam Language and Literature — <i>Suranad Kunjun Pillai</i>	885—901
62. The Basic Note in Modern Malayalam Literature <i>Sukumar Azhicode</i>	902—904
63. Development of Urdu Language and Literature - <i>Md. Yousuf Kokan</i>	905—918

FOLKLORE

64. Folklore of Andhra Pradesh— History and Problems - <i>T. Donappa</i>	921— 926
65. Folk Arts of Andhra Pradesh— <i>B. Ramaraju</i>	927— 940
66. The Study of Folklore in Karnataka— <i>J. S. Paramashivaiah</i>	941— 950
67. Folk Arts of Karnataka— <i>D. K. Rajendra</i>	951— 960
68. Folk Literature in Malavalam— <i>Chunmar Choondal</i>	961— 964
69. Folk Arts of Kerala— <i>Raghavan Paryyanad</i>	965— 980
70. Tamil Folk Ballads with Social Themes— <i>N. Vanamamalai</i>	981— 987
71. Folk Arts of Tamilnadu— <i>Somalay</i>	988— 998

PROFESSOR T. V. MAHALINGAM—<i>B. R. Gopal</i>	1001—1010
------------------------------------------------------	-----------

INDEX	1013—1023
--------------	-----------

OUR CONTRIBUTORS	1027—1031
-------------------------	-----------

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispiece—Dr. T. V. MAHALINGAM

Plate I—(A) Liṅga-pīṭha, Paraśurāmēśvara Temple, Guḍimallam; (B) Sculptured Pillar; (C) Aṣṭabhujaśvāmi Temple Site, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Plate II—(A) Plaque depicting Narasimha and others, Koṇḍamōṭṭu; (B) Chikkigudi, Aihole; (C) Single-Storeyed Chaityālaya, Aihole; (D) Seated Buddha, Aihole.

Plate III—(A) Lāḍkhān Temple, Aihole; (B) Jinēndrālāya, Aihole; (C) Upper Śivālaya, Bādāmi; (D) Mālegitti Śivālaya, Bādāmi.

Plate IV—(A) Gaḷaganātha Temple, Paṭṭadakallu; (B) Gaṇēśa, Paṭṭadakallu; (C) Bhikṣhāṇamūrti, Aihole; (D) Pāpanātha Temple, Paṭṭadakallu; (E) Sūrya, Aihole; (F) Brahma (Aihole Museum).

Plate V—(A) Kṛiṣṇa lifting the Mount; (B) Naṭarāja in the Ceiling, Kallēśvara Temple, Araḷaguppe; (C) Panels on the Wall, Arkēśvara Temple, Haḷē Ālūr; (D) Rāmēśvara Temple, Narasamaṅgala.

Plate VI—(A) Nandi, Narasamaṅgala; (B) Hero-Stones, Hirēguṇḍagal; (C) Lady with Flower, Chāvuṇḍarāya Basadi, Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa; (D) Group of Shrines, Kambadahalli.

Plate VII—(A) Gommaṭṣvara, Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa; (B) Tāṇḍava Śiva, Śevilpaṭṭi.

Plate VIII—(A) Viṣṇu, Kunnakkuḍi; (B) General View of the Cave Temple, Irunilamcode; (C) Ānamalai, General View of the Cave Temples, Lāḍankōvil.

Plate IX—(A) Tārābhagavati, Baḷligāve; (B) Lajjāgauri, Bādāmi; (C) Śaṅkha Basadi, Lakshmēśvara, (D) Temple Plan, Tārakēśvara Temple, Hānagal.

Plate X—(A) Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the Niche, Cave Temple, Irunilamcode; (B) Dvārapāla and Hanumān, Cave Temple, Kunnattūr; (C) Decorative Śikhara, Mallikārjuna Temple, Kuruvatti; (D) Belle, Mahādēva Temple, Nārāyaṇapura.

Plate XI—Ceiling, Vēṇugōpāla Temple, Māgaḷa; (B) Elevation, Siddhēśvara Temple, Hāvēri; (C) Pillar, Sarasvati Temple, Gadag.

Plate XII—(A) Door-Frame, Chandramaulēśvara Temple, Uṇakal; (B) Umāmahēśvara, Jalasaṅgi; (C) Nāga-Nāgiṇi, Basavakalyāṇa; (D) Śeṣhaśāyi, Basavakalyāṇa.

Plate XIII—(A) Kalyāṇa Maṇḍapa, Jalakaṇṭhēśvara Temple, Vellore; (B) Gōpura, Ēkāmrēśvara Temple, Kāñchi.

Plate XIV—(A) Gāṇagitti Jaina Temple, Hampi; (B) Amman Shrine, Hazāra Rāma Temple, Hampi; (C) Stone-Chariot, Viṭṭhala Temple, Hampi.

Plate XV—(A) Throne Platform, Hampi; (B) Lotus Mahal, Hampi.

Plate XVI—(A) Naṭarāja, Government Museum, Madras; (B) Tripurāntaka, Āvaraṇi, Puduchchēri; (C) Kāḷi, Government Museum, Madras.

Plate XVII—(A) Ardhanārīśvara (Front View), Government Museum, Madras; (B) Ardhanārīśvara (Rear View), Government Museum, Madras.

Plate XVIII—(A) Bhavāni witnessing the Dance of Śiva, Panamalai Painting; (B) Chēramān Perumāḷ with Queens, Tanjore Paintings; (C) Rājarāja and Karuṇadēvar, Tanjore Paintings; (D) Pāṇḍya Paintings, Tirumalaipuram.

Plate XIX—(A) Yakshagāna; (B) Yakshagāna; (C) Paṇḍitvēshālu; (D) Bhāmākalāpam.

Plate XX—(A) Vīdhināṭakam: Draupadi-Vastrāpaharaṇa; (B) Tōlubommalāṭa; (C) Burrakatha; (D) Golla Suddulu.

Plate XXI—(A) Dimsa Dance; (B) Lambāḍi Dance; (C) Tappēṭa Guḷḷu; (D) Ḍappu Dance.

Plate XXII—(A) Buṭṭa Bommalu; (B) Vīragāse Kuṇita; (C) Bīsu Kamsāḷe; (D) Bhāgavantike Mēḷa.

Plate XXIII—(A) Paṭa Kuṇita; (B) Sōmana Kuṇita; (C) Sūtradagombeyāṭa.

Plate XXIV—(A) Yakshagāna Bayalāṭa; (B) Yakshagāna Mūḍalapāya; (C) Nīlagāraru; (D) Chaudīkeyavaru.

Plate XXV—(A) Tāmbūriyavaru; (B) Karapālamēḷa; (C) Heḷavaru.

Plate XXVI—(A) Guḷikan; (B) Vishṇumurti; (C) Vēḍan; (D) Kozhal, Chaṇḍa and Eḍantala.

Plate XXVII—(A) Kōlāṭṭam; (B) Kāvāḍi Dance.

Plate XXVIII—(A) Karagam; (B) Puravi-āṭṭam.

Archæology and History

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

A L BASHAM

IT IS INDEED A GREAT HONOUR to be invited to write the first contribution to a volume of papers dedicated to so eminent a historian as my old friend Professor T. V. Mahalingam, whom I have known for over twenty years and whose work I have admired for even longer. His many publications, covering the history of South India from its oldest written records (in the shape of the early cave inscriptions) to the Vijayanagara Empire, are all of a uniformly excellent standard and form the most valuable contribution to scholarly knowledge of the past of the region. They are read wherever Indian history is studied, and, I have no doubt, they will still be read a hundred years from now by serious students of India's past.

Time and other factors have prevented me from writing a paper worthy of the scholar to whom this volume is addressed. The most I can hope to do is to emphasize one or two salient factors in the geography of South India which have influenced the historical development of the region. These factors may be well known to most of the readers of this volume, but perhaps it is good that they should be repeated on its first pages, because even advanced scholars sometimes overlook them.

Moreover it is particularly appropriate that a book of this kind should open with a chapter on historical geography. The Tamils had a keen sense of the effect of environmental and geographical factors on social life. This fact is amply illustrated in the unique literary conventions of *Ṣ gam* poetry. Few readers of this book will need to be reminded of the five *tinai* or 'interior landscapes' of this convention, according to which every poem had its setting in one or other type of country, each with its appropriate flora and fauna, way of life and means of livelihood and other characteristic features. The five *tinai* may not have any direct relation to definite geographical regions of South India, but the fact that the Tamils evolved this remarkable classification at the very dawn of their literate civilization is surely evidence of an innate sense of place, a deep realization of the effects of geography and climate upon human life, and even human emotions.

The geographical terminology of ancient India made a definite distinction between the two parts of Bhār̥tavarsha—*Madhyadēśa* and *Dakshināpatha*. The boundary between the two was the Narmada river and the Vindhya mountains. These physical features have been recognized for at least 2,500 years as dividing the Indian subcontinent into two distinct regions. The smaller divisions within these regions were traditionally less precise. But in the history of India south of the Narmada we can see the persistence of two main nuclei of political power, which

have a very definite geographical basis. These two nuclei are on the one hand the upland country of the Deccan, and on the other the thickly populated plain of Tamilnadu. From the middle of the sixth century A.D., when the Chālukya dynasty gained strength in the Deccan and the Pallavas in Tamilnadu, until comparatively recent times, the political history of South India has been largely dictated by the polarity of these two regions. Chālukyas gave way to Rāshtrakūṭas and they in turn to the restored Chālukya dynasty. The Yādavas who followed them fell to the power of Muslim Delhi, but the pattern was continued by the Bahmanī sultanate and the Mughals. At the other pole were successively Pallavas, Chōḷas Pāṇḍyas, and the Nāyaks of Madurai. Even in the eighteenth century the polarity continued, with the Marāṭhas on the one hand and the English East India Company on the other. It was only the final defeat of the Marāṭhas by the British which put an end to this persistent pattern of tension between the two major centres of power in the southern half of India.

Between the two was a sort of no man's land, mostly in what was formerly the princely State of Mysore, the rulers of which, usually less powerful than those of the two main centres, managed to survive by paying tribute to one or other of them when necessary. These smaller powers, such as the Gaṅgas, and the Hoysalas, sandwiched between the two major ones, showed remarkable endurance and by playing off their two neighbours they often managed to survive the downfall of the greater dynasties to their north-west and south-east. For a while the Hoysalas almost succeeded in gaining full control of the Tamil plain, and later Vijayanagara was even more successful. The final example of the sudden rise of an important state in this region through the weakness of its neighbours is that of Mysore under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, at a time when the Deccan power (the Marāṭhas) was weak and divided and the power controlling Tamilnadu (the British) had not yet fully consolidated its strength.

This persistent factor in the politics of peninsular India, now to a large extent modified by twentieth century developments such as rapid communications and more efficient methods of propaganda and coercion, must reflect a geographical reality in the very physical structure of India. It is common knowledge that the Deccan plateau is less naturally fertile than the Tamil plain. This fact in itself might be sufficient to account for the constant pressure of the rulers of the uplands upon the plains to their east and south. But other factors may also have operated. The Western Ghats are higher than the Eastern, and in most places are quite close to the sea. The littoral plain between the sea and the Western Ghats from Surat in the north to Kozhikode in the south rarely reaches a width of 100 km. and in some places is less than 50 km. wide. This narrow coastal strip was generally dominated by rulers whose power was centred in the Deccan plateau. For all its climatic advantages, and its harbours with their profitable trade with the west, it did not provide sufficient space or scope for the expansion of either power or population.

From the opposite side of the Ghats, the rivers flow eastward to the Bay of Bengal. Though the Godavari, the Bhima-Krishna and the Tungabhadra are not

navigable for their full length, the valleys which they have carved over millions of years in the very old cretaceous and archaean rocks of the plateau offer a standing invitation to the ambitious ruler to advance down them towards the eastern sea. In ancient times the attractiveness of the eastern littoral no doubt increased progressively, with the development of coastal trade with the north, followed in Post-Mauryan times by the rapid growth of commerce with the Roman Empire, then by the opening up of contact with South-East Asia, and later by increasing trade with China. The rise of Islamic civilization in Western Asia and north Africa, and finally the expansion of Europe and the arrival of European traders, all continued to make the coast on both sides of the peninsula attractive to the inland powers, and the tendency for the Deccan power to attempt to control as much of the coast as possible can be traced from the first great Deccan empire, that of the Sātavāhanas,¹ down to the last significant attempt to establish a south Indian empire, that of Tipu Sultan.

Geography has played an important part, moreover, in maintaining the independence of the power controlling the Deccan plateau. With the methods of warfare available to them, Indian armies from other parts of the subcontinent found the utmost difficulty in maintaining a hold on this area for more than a very short period. This fact must be borne in mind when we consider the policy of the rulers of the Tamil plain. Before the rapid growth of population and pressure on the land in the last century and a half, this area, with more abundant rainfall than most other parts of India, and a rainfall spread more evenly over the year, was probably one of the most fertile regions of the subcontinent. It was enriched by overseas trade with East and West, from at least the beginning of the Christian era, and it evolved a high culture, a culture recognizably within the periphery of Indian civilization, but yet distinct from the 'Āryan' culture of the northern Deccan and the Kannada-speaking culture of Karnataka. The rulers of the Tamil kingdoms had constantly to watch their shifting and unstable frontier with the kingdoms of the plateau to their north-west, and the lesser kingdoms which served as subordinate buffer states between the dominant Tamil kingdom (whether Pallava, Chōḷa or Pāṇḍya) and the chief power of the Deccan had to be kept in obedience, for any sign of weakness might lead to a change of allegiance or a declaration of independence.

At fairly frequent intervals an ambitious and powerful warlord of Karnataka would lead a conquering expedition against the plains, and would dislocate or permanently affect the political structure of the Tamils. The mysterious Kaḷabhras, who made such a baneful impact on the land at the end of the Saṅgam age, and the Pallavas, who established the first great empire in the region, seem to have been such conquerors. Later we have the example of Pulakēśin II Chālukya, who occupied the Godavari-Krishna delta area, and set up a branch of his own dynasty there which in fact lasted longer than the main one.

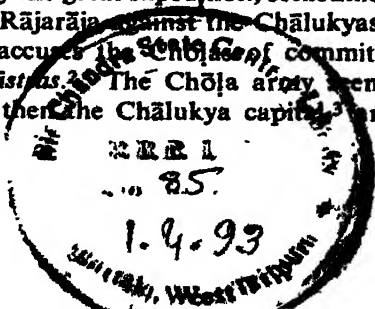
From the time of Pulakēśin II and throughout the life of the dynasty, the Pallavas had to be prepared for fierce attacks, first from the Chālukyas and then from

their successors, the Rāshtrakūṭas. The literature of the Saṅgam period and the many records of far reaching campaigns and bitterly fought battles prove that the Tamils were no less militant than the men from the uplands, and from Narasimhavarman onwards we have numerous other records of attacks in the reverse direction. But, though troops from the Tamil plain might temporarily occupy centres of power in the Deccan, as Narasimhavarman occupied Vātāpi and for a few years put an end to the threat from the Chālukyas, they could never bring the Plateau under their control. The geographical factors were too strong for them.

It is in this light that we must study the greatest period of Tamil imperialism, during the reigns of the Chōlas, Rājaraṇa I and Rājendra I (985-1044 A. D.). The triumphs of these two monarchs are sources of pride to many Tamils, representing as they do the only significant attempt by Indian rulers to establish a maritime empire. After Rājendra's famous naval expedition (c. 1025) the Chōlas controlled Kerala and the whole eastern coastline of India from Kanyakumari to the Ganges delta; they were lords of all of Sri Lanka, except for the mountainous areas in the centre of the island; and they had important bases in Burma, Malaysia and Indonesia.

Sometimes one hears or reads the view expressed that the Chōlas should have pushed on with their plans of 'thalassocracy', and were short-sighted in abandoning their overseas bases. But, in fact, the polarity we have referred to, between the Deccan and the Tamil plain, made a maritime empire virtually impossible. It is likely that the two Chōla emperors worked out long-term plans towards building such an empire, for in the expansion of Chōla power during their reigns one can see a clear and consistent pattern which suggests careful deliberation. The plan no doubt involved holding the Deccan power, now the second Chālukya dynasty, in check, while expanding along the coast, and then across the Bay of Bengal. Such a plan could only have been devised when the Deccan power was comparatively weak, and such indeed was the case in the last decades of the tenth century.

After the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa conqueror Kṛishṇa III (939-67), who had been a very troublesome thorn in the side of the rising Chōla kingdom, the Deccan dynasty soon vanished. Its end was hastened by the appearance of a new enemy from the north, the Paramāras of Mālava. The last significant Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Karka II, was dethroned in 973 A. D., and a revived Chālukya dynasty was set up under Taila II. The sudden decline of the Rāshtrakūṭas on the death of Kṛishṇa III and the problems faced by Taila in consolidating his power over the area of the former Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom gave a breathing space to the Chōlas in which it was possible to develop their own strength. Taila II and his successor Satyāśraya (997-1008 A. D.), perhaps alarmed at the growing strength of the Chōlas, attempted to revive the traditional Deccan policy of eastward expansion, but their efforts were temporarily frustrated by the great expedition, sometime before 1007, led by Rājendra on behalf of his father Rājaraṇa against the Chālukyas. In the well known Hoṭṭūr inscription Satyāśraya accuses the Chōlas of committing all the atrocities reprobated by the *Dharmaśāstras*. The Chōla army seems to have even temporarily occupied Mānyakhēṭa, then the Chālukya capital, and, though we may discount



the record of atrocities, which is probably exaggerated, the presence of an enormous Chōḷa army in the very heart of the Chālukya kingdom must have greatly impoverished and weakened the latter.

With Chōḷa forces holding the Tungabhadra, the Eastern Chālukya dynasty of Veṅgī apparently firmly under Chōḷa control, and the heartland of the Western Chālukya kingdom licking its wounds after a devastating invasion, the Chōḷas must have felt comparatively secure from the traditional enemy from the north and west,⁴ especially as the Paramāras of Mālava were still a constant threat to the Deccan. But within less than twenty years of the first campaign of Rājendra against the Chālukyas the revival of the latter necessitated a second one.⁵ This second campaign seems to have been dictated partly by the attempt of the Western Chālukyas to recover their influence with their erstwhile subordinates, the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgī, and it was only after this campaign that Rājendra undertook his two most famous expeditions, of which the first brought his forces to the Ganges and the second gave him overseas bases on the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal.

Viewed from the vantage point of our times, and in the light of the ineluctable geography of peninsular India, many of the great achievements of Rājaraḷa I and Rājendra I seem to have been mistakes, a frittering away of energy which should have been devoted to strengthening Chōḷa power on the north-western frontiers of the kingdom. The Chōḷa conquest of Sri Lanka seems to have served no useful political purpose, and the same is true of the advance from Veṅgī to the Ganges and the great maritime expedition. Probably in undertaking the two campaigns they were motivated chiefly by the desire for tribute. The policies of most Indian rulers of earlier days were dictated by the principle that, other things being equal, political power varied in direct proportion to the wealth stored away in the royal treasuries—a principle which led many rulers of former times astray, both in India and elsewhere.

The strength of the Chōḷas was by no means exhausted by these aberrations, as the triumph of Rājendra II at Koppam proves. Ultimately they did not fall to their traditional enemies, but to their vassals the Pāṇḍyas. Within a century of their fall new forces had arisen and, in the absence of a strong government in the Tamil country, overlords from the Deccan became dominant in the area. Nāyaks and 'Poligars' may have retained their independence in limited areas of Tamilnadu, but the constant strife between the Plateau and the Plain, which lasted for well over a millennium, was effectively brought to an end with the dominance of the former. The arrival of the Europeans initiated a new phase of Indian history, where factors of another kind (for example technological advantages), came into play, and the geographical factor lost most of its significance.

Notes and References

1. We are aware that there are two theories as to the original home of the Śātavāhanas, but this is not the place for their discussion. In our view the evidence of archaeology and palaeography,

solidly in favour of the Nasik area being their earliest centre of power [Raychaudhuri, H.C.: *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th ed., Calcutta (1950), pp. 412-13; Sircar, D.C. in ed. Majumdar, R. C.: *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay (1951), pp. 191-92, etc.], is far stronger than that pointing to the area later known as Andhra. Gopalachari, K. (ed. Nilakanta Sastri, K.A.: *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, Bombay (1957), pp. 296-300) puts forward an ingenious suggestion harmonizing the two theories.

2. *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 74.

3. Nilakanta Sastri, K.A.: *The Cōḷas*, 2nd ed., Madras, (1955), p. 176.

4. Nilakanta Sastri: (op. cit., p. 197) apparently retains an open mind as to whether there was a second expedition of Rājendra (then prince) against Satyāśraya. Since there had only been one invasion in 1007 A.D. and Satyāśraya died in that year or very soon after, it seems hardly likely that the circumstances would have necessitated a further major campaign at this time.

5. Nilakanta Sastri: op. cit., p. 204-05.

RACIAL BACKGROUND OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

B. K. GURURAJA RAO

SOUTH INDIA is one of the regions of the world in which the earliest human habitation seems to have come into existence. Geologically the land mass of this region was formed in the archaean period, the oldest period of earth's history. So far, very little has been done to find out the emergence of animal life here. From the end of the Pliocene age, when human life made its first appearance on this planet in certain parts of Africa, South India also seems to have attracted the attention of these first men. Though in India itself we have not come across either the skeletal remains of these first men or their handicrafts in the form of bone or stone tools belonging to this very early period, the discovery of the proto-human remains in the subcontinent like the skeletal remains—*Rāma pithecus* and *Sugrīva pithecus*—discovered in the Himalayan region by late Dr. D.N.Wadia, indicates beyond doubt that the subcontinent was one of the centres of proto-human evolution and activity. But later developments are not known, more probably owing to lack of palaeontological research in this region. The next stage in the history of the activities of the first men in the subcontinent is represented by the discovery of crude stone tools found from most of the regions. These stone tools have many resemblances to similar objects found in East and Central Africa in the earlier periods. Under these circumstances, it is surmised by many prehistorians that the early human cultures of the subcontinent, more so, the handaxe cultures of the South, might have come into existence owing to folk and culture migrations from Africa. It is to be realised that at that early period the so-called palaeoanthropic people lived in Africa. They are also called *pithecanthropus erectus* or *apemen*. Similar human beings are also found in China and Java nearer home in Asia itself, but in a different culture-context from that of South India. At this early period, the physical types or racial characteristics as recognised by physical anthropologists had not yet been crystallised. Later on, during the greater part of the middle and upper pleistocene period, we find a variety of developments in the field of human activities in South India. The early, middle and late stone age cultures flourished with a certain basic uniformity but local diversities. South India was the scene of hectic human activity throughout this vast period, probably a duration of about five lakh years if not more; but unfortunately no human skeletal remains belonging to this period have been identified so far. During this period in Africa, Europe and Western Asia is seen the emergence, development and decline of different types of human species like the Neanderthal *Homo-sapien* or the ancestor of the modern man. Since the echoes of their cultural traits are found in the South Indian context also, we may presume that those species of men might have penetrated also into South India.

But the absence of the human skeletal remains from these early archaeological sites comes in the way of making any categorical assertions. When we come to the mesolithic period and later ages, starting in India from about 6000 B.C., if not earlier, we are on more solid ground. Some of the mesolithic or late stone age sites, as they are called in Indian Archaeology, have yielded skeletal remains of the people of those times though in very limited numbers, like Langhnaj in Gujarat, Sarai Nahar Rai, Bagai-khor and Lekhanua (U.P.), Adamgarh (M.P.), Bagor (Rajasthan) etc. Some studies on the skeletal remains of Langhnaj¹ have been made and they indicate that the people exhibit mixed ethnic characteristics. They belong to the dolichocephalic group with fairly large cranial capacity, medium to long stature, prominent supra-orbital ridges, slight prognathism of the chin and snub nose. Thus Kennedy feels that they indicate a mixture of the Mediterranean and Veddic features. He further finds some affinities between these Langhnaj folk and the Harappans who were in all probability and in the wider context contemporaneous. The Sarai Nahar Rai² people, both men and women had a stature of about 6 ft.; they belonged to a dolichocephalic race, with a powerful muscular build. An antiquity in the 9th millennium B.C., is claimed for these people of Sarai Nahar Rai.

Coming to the Neolithic period beginning some time in the last quarter of third millennium B.C., we have skeletal remains dug out from more sites from different parts of the Deccan. This enables us to have more representative though scanty evidence about the racial affinities of the folk. Among the sites from which the skeletal remains have been studied may be mentioned Daimabād, Tekvāḍa, Nevāsā, Chāndōli, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Pīklīhāl, Maski, Tekkalakōṭa, Brahmagiri and T. Narasīpur. The date range of the materials from these various sites is between roughly 2000 to 1000 B.C., with a margin of a couple of centuries before or after these extreme ends, more so in view of the uncertainties attached to our dating methods.

Daimabād³ in Ahamadnagar District of Maharashtra yielded neolithic-chalcolithic remains. From these levels, a few burials yielded skeletal remains. Detailed studies of these skeletons have not yet become available. But it may be surmised from the available bits of evidence like their photographs and the opinions not based on specialised knowledge, the skeletons exhibited characteristics very similar to those from comparable sites in south Maharashtra.

Tekvāḍa⁴ in East Khandesh District of Maharashtra yielded the skeleton of an adult with a height of 5' 2", which appears to be similar to the evidence from Daimabād and other chalcolithic sites.

But when we come to Nevāsā⁵ in Ahamadnagar District we are on more secure ground. The cultural remains from the site range between 1500-1000 B.C. From the investigation of 34 burials yielding the skeletal remains of a number of children and a few adults, Sophie Erhardt who has studied them finds some medium statured individuals of dolichocephalic features comparable to the characteristics of the primitive peoples like the Gondids in the jungles of the Deccan.

Chāndōli⁶ in Maharashtra revealed 24 burials yielding skeletal remains mostly of children and a few of adults. Malhotra, who has studied these remains, is of the opinion that they belonged to a dolichocephalic race with high vaults, a feature found among the Veddas of Ceylon and further show similarities with the Mohenjōdārō skulls which are Mediterranean in character.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍā⁷ in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh has yielded skeletal remains from six neolithic burials with extended skeletons in them besides an urn burial of a child. But unfortunately these have not yet been studied by any physical anthropologist.

Piklihāl⁸ in Raichur District of Karnataka, excavated by Allchin yielded three skeletons which indicate individuals with a medium to tall stature and meso-brachy-cranial head form. They were people with a robust personality. These Piklihāl neolithians are racially very close to the megalithic folk of Brahmagiri as we shall see later.

The neolithic site of Tekkalakōṭa⁹ on the river Tungabhadra in the Bellary District excavated by Nagaraja Rao in 1963 has yielded six skeletons—three adults and three children from phase I and one of an adult in phase II. Malhotra who studied these skeletons is of the opinion that the people belonged to a "Mediterranean-proto-Austroloid complex."

T. Narasīpur¹⁰ in Mysore District was excavated by Seshadri between 1959–65 and in 1962 he discovered the burial of an adult human of the neolithic period. Malhotra who studied the skeleton thinks that it belongs to an adult female of 25-30 years age-group, exhibiting a mesocephalic index with a medium sized high vaulted head, a long face, feebly developed supra-orbital ridges, slight subnasal prognathism, medium cranial capacity and medium stature. Hence it may be included under the Mediterranean racial type. He further observes that this agrees with the evidence from other Deccan neolithic sites.

Brahmagiri¹¹ in Chitradurga District was excavated by Wheeler in 1947. From the neolithic levels were found the skeletal remains of about six children. Sarkar¹² who has made a detailed study of these remains feels that only one of them, of a child of 12 years, yielded enough details for a proper study. It was hyperdolichocranial, medium vaulted with a vertical forehead, undeveloped supraorbital ridges. On the basis of these factors, he feels that it belongs to an autochthonous Austroloid type.

Sarkar has also studied the skeletal remains from the megaliths at Brahmagiri. Twelve skulls were available for study from the different megaliths apart from quantities of other bones. He comes to the conclusion that there is enough evidence to indicate a case of hybridisation: slender and robust individuals being found in the same families, if the remains from each burial represent members of one and the same family. There is no reason to disagree with such a conclusion. The individuals seem to belong to an autochthonous Austroloid type, and a more or less medium statured, medium vaulted, flat nosed brachy and mesocephalic robust class, with powerful upper and lower jaws. At least some of them belong to the Scytho-Iranian stock.

These latter are known to have migrated in the second millennium B.C., from Soviet Ukraine towards Iran and further south. The brachycephalic feature is also present at Sialk in Period VI. The mesocephaly is present in the Russian Kurgans, Ukraine and Caucasus. But this mesocephalic group at Brahmagiri appears to be somewhat different from that of the above Russian regions according to Sarkar.¹³

The excavations in the megalithic burials in and around Shorapur taluk of Gulbarga in the second half of the last century by Meadows Taylor,¹⁴ Raigir and other sites by Hunt¹⁵ in the early decades of this century, have yielded some useful evidence about the racial affinities of the people responsible for this culture. The observations of Taylor are of a very general nature and suggest that the people represented by the skeletal remains discovered by him were medium statured, robust looking ones, very similar to the people of the region in the present day. Hunt also made similar remarks on his discoveries from Raigir near Hyderabad. But four skeletal remains from this latter site have been studied in detail by Kennedy.¹⁶ He found a mixed population—ranging from brachycephaly to dolichocephaly with low foreheads, high frontal bones with a slight inclination. Thus the evidence agrees in a general way with that from other sites though there are certain variations in detail. Kennedy further thinks that the dolichocephalic group has affinities with the so-called Mediterranean pattern. The brachycephalic traits may be due to the spread and hybridisation from north-west India. This point indicates that the cult of megalithism was received by the people of north-west India and spread to the other parts. Further by that time the hybridisation of the population was already far advanced and attempts at separating the individualistic ethnic traits and identifying certain culture-societies from them may not be very fruitful.

The skeletal remains from Yeleswaram were studied by Gupta and Datta¹⁷ and a later series by Sarkar.¹⁸ They have found again a mixed population, the brachycephalic probably similar to the Scytho-Iranian element being the dominant one, but the mesaticephalic and dolichocephalic traits are also found in a considerable proportion. Their stature is somewhat higher, ranging from medium to tall. Some primitive elements are also noticed like the hyper-dolichocephalic female indicating a Veddid element. The possibility of an Indo-Caspian element being present is indicated by the tall dolichocephals with mesoleptorrhine nose. There is considerable hybridisation in the population of Yeleswaram even during the iron age. On the whole they were robust with strong constitution with an average stature of 5' 10", thus belonging to the "above-medium" and "tall" groups, with massive and rugged skulls, thick bones. While most of the men were brachy or even hyper-brachycephalic, most of the women were mesaticephalic. But aberrant cases were also present with brachycephalic women and dolicho—or mesaticephalic men. The brachycephaly of Yeleswaram and Brahmagiri specimens recalls the ethnic evidence from Sialk VI B specimens, while the mesocephaly from these sites may be due to local elements.

Maski in Raichur District is an important protohistoric site where excavations have been conducted for a comparatively long period. But it is the latest excavations

conducted by Thapar¹⁹ in 1954 which have yielded reliable and interesting evidence about the racial features of the authors of the iron age culture at the site. The human skeletal remains from both these and earlier investigations were studied by Sarkar.²⁰ From his studies of the very limited material from Thapar's digs, Sarkar feels that the people belonged to a dolichocephalic race, with broad noses and broad to medium-broad prognathous face. Thus they may indicate an Austroloid ethnic strain and are different from the majority group from Brahmagiri.

The skeletal remains from the earlier excavations were not provided with any stratigraphical horizon, but contained remains of nearly 200 individuals. Some at least of them might have belonged to later times as suggested by Sarkar. The study of the remains reveals a dominant mesati-brachycranial race. This also agrees with the Brahmagiri and Yelleswaram evidence. The dolichocephaly was not completely absent. In fact there is evidence to suggest that there was a complete admixture of different ethnical strains in the population of Maski. The dolichocephalic specimens possessed a robust personality and bear close affinities with those of the Al'Ubaidians and the people of Lothal of the 3rd-2nd millennia B.C., as opined by Arthur Keith in his studies of the human skeletons from Ur.²¹ A somewhat variant racial strain characterised by smaller cranial dimensions, lesser cranial capacity is also present and this may be due to the indigenous Austroloids of the region. The skeletal remains from Sanur²² excavated by Banerjee and studied provisionally by Bose have suggested that the people belonged to a dolichocephalic group.

The excavations at Ādittanallūr or Ādichanallūr excavated by Rea²³ and others still earlier have brought to light a number of human skeletal remains. These were studied by Thurston in his introduction to *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* in 1909 by Zuckerman²⁴ and recently by Chatterjee and Gupta.²⁵ Thurston has remarked that they were conspicuously prognathous and that their cranial indices ranged from dolicho to mesaticephalic, the former being more common. Elliot Smith who also examined two of the skulls felt that while one belonged to the proto-Austroloid, the other the Mediterranean or the Armenoid, a branch of the Alpine race. According to Zuckerman, a hyper-dolichocranial individual with receding forehead, platyrrhine nose and prognathic chin, characteristic of the Austroloid race and somewhat similar to the present day Tamil was present at the place. The other strain belonged to a mesocranial with a vertical forehead resembling a Dravidian racial strain. Thus an admixture of the antochthonous elements is suggested.

According to Chatterjee and Gupta the people of Adittanallūr have close similarities with the Veddid, Austroloid and Mediterranean specimens. But Sarkar²⁶ feels that they have closer affinities with the Harappan people particularly those represented in cemetery R. 37, than with the Veddas. This close affinity may be due to their being derived from a common ethnic source.

Some other skeletal remains from the excavated iron age burials have been found—like those from Kunnattūr, Amṛithamaṅgalam, Jaḍigṛnahallī, etc. but unfortunately no details about them are yet available.

From the foregoing discussion of the skeletal remains from the various pre-historic and protohistoric sites in the South of India, certain conclusions can be arrived at. But it should be borne in mind that the evidence available is too scanty to derive firm conclusions and further there are long periods of time and vast regions of the country from which there is practically no evidence. Hence the picture that emerges is provisional and is subject to modifications. At the same time it is worth noting that this bare outline of the population pattern tallies with the one we get by a review of the historical, linguistic and cultural sources during the protohistoric and early historic times.

First of all it becomes clear that in the earliest period for which evidence is available, the subcontinent was inhabited by a long headed or dolichocephalic folk with short stature, grisly hair and prognathic facial contour. These folk are identified by the anthropologists with the Veddids ethnic group who are found even today in small pockets in many parts of South India particularly on the west coast. Beyond the subcontinent they are found to inhabit Ceylon, the Andaman and the Nicobar island groups. They belong to the Negroid strain. These Negratoes might be derived ultimately from the African Negroids. Quite early in the history of the peninsula they were overlain by an Austroloid group which might have immigrated from the Mediterranean lands. These Austroloids were essentially a dolichocephalic people with a somewhat higher cephalic index, medium stature, more robust constitution, prominent supra-orbital ridges, prominent chin and sloping or receding forehead. These Austroloid folk seemed to have lived all over the subcontinent in a pre-Aryan era.

With these two strains of ethnic elements are closely associated the problem of the origin of the Dravidians. A word of caution is essential with regard to the use of the word 'Dravidians'. It is generally and perhaps rightly understood that the terms Dravidians and Aryans indicate a linguistic rather than an ethnic division. But there are certain basic similarities among the Dravidian speaking people in South India. Many early anthropologists have used the term Dravidoid to indicate these inhabitants of South India. Hence to avoid confusion and owing to the absence of an easily understood non-technical term, Sarkar²⁷ has suggested the use of the word Dravidians to denote the Veddids-Austroloid inhabitants who were more probably responsible for the introduction of what we understand by Dravidian culture in the early historical context.

It is often stated that all the racial strains in India are to be derived from outside the peninsula as though India, the ancient land was a vacuum in the earliest times. Sarkar following Arthur Keith,²⁸ thinks that the Dravidians were an autochthonously evolved people by an admixture of the hyper-dolichocephalic Veddids and dolichocephalic Austroloid elements locally. In course of time, they seem to have undergone certain physical transformations as a result of the change in their habitat from the hills to the plains and consequent changes in their cultural levels and habits. Hence in Sarkar's view, the ecological changes have brought about changes in physical features noticed in them.

Attempts have been made by Allchin,²⁹ Trofimova³⁰ and others to derive the Dravidians from Central Asia. Allchin identifies his *Pikliah* people with those from Iranian plateau. Trofimova has mentioned a Dravidoid stock from Keltiminar culture in Central Asia. Allchin proceeds to connect them and through the Brahuīs of Baluchistan on the basis of the linguistic affinities. He sees a movement of these people in the last centuries of the 3rd millennium B.C., starting the immigration of the people into India. Trofimova states further, "The second type (of the 12 crania from Kokca-3) with small cranium and more pronouncedly prognathic may be compared to the ancient Mediterranean type of the bronze age, Asia Minor and the north of India or perhaps to the Indo-Dravidian forms". With reference to another group of crania from Dakhma at Kalaly Gyr, he makes a somewhat contradictory statement that the Dravidian headforms are brachycranial while in fact they are not so, but are only dolichocranial. It is evident that they think that the Dravidians of India migrated into India from the Central Asian region through Iran. But Sarkar has shown the probability of the emergence of the Dravidian group from the Veddid Austroloid admixture in South India itself, as pointed out earlier. Further, Allchin and others have tried to identify these Austroloid Dravidian groups of India with those outside its borders and with the Brahuīs purely on linguistic grounds. But the Brahuīs are ethnically brachycephalic³¹ while the South Indian Dravidian speakers are essentially dolichocephalic. On the other hand, even before the Aryan influx, India was essentially a Dravidian speaking country. Burrow³² has clearly shown that the earliest strata of Vedic literature has a substratum of Dravidian words. The Dravidian speech has survived probably in purer form in the form of small colonies of tribal languages all over north and central India. It is also possible that the Dravidian gradually spread out into the neighbouring countries from this Indian source. Thus the Dravidian languages probably had their origin and evolution in India.³³

The mesobrachycephalic elements that are present in a number of protohistoric sites of India seem to have penetrated the peninsula from the north-west of India—as evidenced by Lothal of the mid-third millennium B.C.,—from Iran, particularly Sialk region. This brachycephalic folk then had a south-easterly spread towards the Deccan and South India as indicated by the discoveries at Brahmagiri, Maski and Yelleswaram. These brachycephalic folk with their superior culture and probably numerical strength might have gained supremacy over the earlier Austroloid inhabitants. It is also probable that they were responsible for the introduction of the megalithic culture into India. In course of time this was responsible for the hybridisation of the ethnic make-up of the region. The Austroloid substratum enriched by their contacts with other folk was able to build up a rich cultural milieu as revealed by the evidence from archaeological investigations.

Turning to the views of the anthropologists basing themselves on the studies of the existing racial patterns and their bearing on the reconstruction of the ethnic composition of the population in ancient South India, we find that there is a dominant strain of the Palaeo-Mediterranean type, medium-statured, dark-skinned and of

slight build. They correspond to the Dravidians of our earlier classification. Secondly we have the brachycephalic groups—Alpine and Dinaric—who seem to have originally evolved in Central Asian mountain regions and in course of time spread into India, some of them spilling over into the South also. They are encountered in the western region to a larger extent. The Dinaric group in particular is present among the Kannada and Tamil areas and probably the Coorgis represent the purest form of this type. Thirdly, the Nordic type which is dominant in the north-west of the country has also infiltrated on a very small scale into the Maratha country. These Nordics are equated with the pure Aryan-speakers of India. But the Chitpavan Brahmins of Maharashtra who are of this descent are to a considerable extent mixed racially. Guha³⁴ sums up the racial composition of the country as follows. It must be clearly understood that no rigid separation is possible as there is considerable overlapping of types. From a broad point of view, however, a Nordic territory in north-west India mixed with the Mediterraneans and orientals can be distinguished from a territory in Peninsular India containing the older Palaeo-Mediterranean element. On both sides of this are the domains of the Alpo-Dinarics, mixed no doubt with other types. "The primitive darker elements have come in everywhere and, with blood from other strains, chiefly Palaeo-Mediterranean, they constitute the lower stratum of the population". The mix-up of the ethnic elements has gone apace for at least 4000 years in this country. As a result, the original genetic differences among the different groups have converged towards the evolution of a number of common traits.

Chatterji³⁵ identified the following elements in the racial make-up of the country:

(1) Negroid or Negrito elements living here from prehistoric times, who have survived till a late period at least upto the Gupta era, and who have contributed considerably to the racial pattern of the country but have now almost disappeared leaving traces in the form of some tribals in South India.

(2) The Austroloids, who might have come from the west, provided one of the basic elements in the population of the south. With an admixture of various other strains, they extended from the north-west of India throughout the country and beyond. Throughout this vast region they speak languages which belong to one basic family, the Austric, with the two sub-families, the Austronesian and the Austro-Asiatic to the latter of which belong their speech in the Indian subcontinent. These Austroloids spread into Malanesian and Polynesian Islands and on to Australia and then there seems to have been a backwash when they introduced certain cultural traits into this country like the exposure of the dead, communal houses, head hunting, a canoe cult, the use of the outrigger canoe and the cultivation of the cocoanut and sugarcane. The use of pottery, development of the neolithic cultures, the use of the boomerang and the blowing-gun and the ideas of totemism in religion are also said to have been among their contributions brought from outside, while terrace cultivation of rice was developed within the country. Presently this family of speech has survived in India only among the Kol or Mundari and the Khasi. Many more cultural traits of the historical times in India are also ascribed to them. "The cul-

ture-world of India has thus among its material and other ideological bases some fundamental things derived from the Austric speakers, assuming that they were also in their pure state, proto Austroloid in race, which became fully characterised on the soil of India" ³⁶

(3) Next to enter the country are the Dravidian-speakers who ethnically speaking belonged to three different strains, the Palaeo-Mediterranean, the Mediterranean and the Orientals. They were long-headed or dolichocephalic folk. (For a different view of the problem of the Dravidians, see above) The largest component of the non-Aryan Indian culture and civilization owes its origin to these people. Today the population of the south, Kerala, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Andhra and adjoining regions belong to the Dravidian group, but shows a greater admixture as one proceeds from the south to the north within this area. Linguistically also while all these people speak tongues which essentially belong to one family, the Dravidian, the influence of the Aryan speech becomes more pronounced in the northern parts. Pockets of this family of speech are found in Central India also. This latter point, along with the admixture of Dravidian words in the Rigvedic language is taken to prove that the Dravidians lived all over India before the Aryans. Thus we can visualise the existence of a Dravidian sub-stratum all over the country on an Austroloid background on which the Aryan-speakers came to impose their culture and language. The ethnical and linguistic affinity of the people of the Harappan culture is also often brought to bear on the problem of the Dravidians but still we have to go a long way before a categorical solution can be provided.

(4) Lastly, we have the immigration of the Aryan-speakers into the country. This ethnic group has wielded little influence on the racial pattern of South India. Anthropologists have identified these Aryan-speakers as belonging to the Nordic ethnic strain. They were tall, fair-skinned, yellow or golden haired and blue eyed. But owing to miscegenation in course of time and climatic influence, the colour of the skin and the eyes changed considerably. They also intermingled with other groups of people and thus there is a lot of hybridisation. Thus we find the presence of light eyed individuals among the long headed people. These Aryan-speakers gradually penetrated into South India in small numbers, intermarried with the indigenous folk and thus have, to a little extent, contributed to the racial map of South India.

It is to be clearly understood that the racial features or affinities of different groups of people living in different regions need not have similar characteristics or cultural affinities. Chatterji asserts, 'In other words it cannot be asserted that there must be an ineradicable racial character' ³⁷. The economic conditions, social set-up, mental and emotional training together influence the cultural framework of a given community and these find an expression through the language which that particular community or group has adopted for itself. Hence there is greater justification for identifying language-cultures rather than race-cultures. Further mingling of races has gone on for such a long period of human existence that it is almost impossible to identify the traits of any particular race, but cultures that can be as-

cribed to specific peoples or communities can be identified. In the culture of India where all the major racial groups have inextricably mingled to produce the present population pattern, losing their original genetic characteristics, we can recognise many common traits based on the four great linguistic families.

Thus we find hybrid ethnic groups in the country who either form a distinct linguistic or cultural group or partake in the cultural milieu of the region in a general pattern. We have the *dāsas*, *dasys*, *nishādas*, *kirātas*, etc., encountered in different parts of the country. They have characteristics which bring them closer to one of the main racial groups but at the same time, they display other traits which remove them away from that particular racial group.

Another minor racial element that is encountered in South India is classified as Armenoid type. This is a short-headed group with prominent highbridged nose, a high vaulted head with a brown to dark skin colour. This type which seems to have originated from the Alpine race evolved in south west Asia and gradually moved down into the Tamil Country. Keith³⁸ feels that they might have migrated from Persia or an adjacent country as a result of trade migration along the Persian Gulf. This will explain some similarities noticed in the cultures of the Caspians of the Iranian high lands and the Dravidians. These round-headed people are probably a later arrival in South India, just prior to the dawn of the historical epoch. A Mongolian element is not altogether absent in South India from Orissa in the east to Malabar on the west coast though in very small numbers. Its presence may be due to oceanic migrations from the north-east in protohistoric times.

South India has three main language groups.³⁹ The dominant one is no doubt the Dravidian family represented by Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam besides dialects like Tulu, Konkani, Coorgi and the tribal tongues like the Gondi, etc.; the Indo-Aryan is represented mainly by the Marathi but a number of Prakrit dialects are known to have prevailed in the Deccan and Mysore plateau during the protohistoric and early historic times; and thirdly the Austro-Asiatic speeches, now surviving only among some hill tribes like the Kharia, Juang Savara, Gadabu in the north-eastern parts of Deccan. Traces of the Mundari words can be found in both the Dravidian and Aryan languages. Whether the oldest inhabitants of the region, the Negrito, have contributed anything to the languages of the later immigrants we have no way of telling since their language has disappeared completely. The long-headed Austroloids who came from the west originally and moved on to South-East Asia, Malanesian and Polynesian Islands, are held responsible for the introduction of the Austro-Asiatic languages into the country.

There is considerable controversy regarding the racial identity of the people who brought the Dravidian or proto-Dravidian speech into India. As we have seen earlier, the Palaeo-Mediterranean, Mediterranean and the Oriental who are all essentially the long-headed people often approaching the mesocephalic group, are supposed to have been the people who brought this tongue into India. In support of this, it is pointed out that in Mesopotamia and around the Mediterranean, languages very similar to the proto-Dravidian were in existence, like the Sumerian, etc.,

in the 4th-3rd millennia B.C., Lycians of Asia Minor called themselves *Dramiḷa* in their inscriptions from which the term *Tamiḷa* is derived. Susian and Dravidian have some close structural affinities. Place names along the entire route from Mesopotamia to India conform to Dravidian forms. The Hurrian and Kassite languages have also exhibited some affinities with the Dravidians. All these factors, according to some scholars provide strong evidence to derive the Dravidian from that local region in Mesopotamia or further west, the Eastern Mediterranean country. Another view would take the original home of the Dravidian tongue into Europe on the basis of similarities between it and the Finno-Ugrian speech. According to a third view, the round-headed Armenoids introduced this speech family into India from the Mediterranean world.

All these views naturally presume that the Dravidian speakers or the Dravidoid race came into India from the Mediterranean region. But as we have pointed out earlier, Keith and Sarkar thought that the Dravidians evolved autochthonously from the precedent Veddid and Austroloid racial groups. If this view is accepted—and it may be stressed at this juncture that no conclusive evidence is yet forthcoming for the presumed immigration of the Dravidians from across the borders of the subcontinent—then the language of these people might have evolved locally, of course, from the speech of the Austroloids who originally belonged to the Mediterranean world.

The Aryan is the last major speech family to enter the subcontinent. It found the Dravidian speech family with a substratum of Austric languages quite widespread all over the country. Though the Aryan was able to impose itself over the Dravidian getting somewhat influenced in the process by the latter in North India, in the South it only managed to influence the Dravidian languages in various degrees, while the latter continued to hold the field.

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PREHISTORY OF SOUTH INDIA

S NAGARAJU

SOUTH INDIA is one of the earliest habitats of man. On a rough estimate the antiquity of human activity in this part of the world can be traced back to about 500,000 years. Its history based on written records commences from about 2500 years before the present. This means the historical period covers only about the last 200th part of human existence in South India, the rest falling within the domain of pre-history¹. As it is, our knowledge of prehistory is dim and has many gaps and inconsistencies. The reasons for this situation are many. Although prehistoric studies in South India commenced just around the middle of the 19th century, it has gained momentum only during the last two or three decades. The meagreness of source material is an added reason for this. In this area of hot and humid climatic conditions the artefacts of wood, bone and such others perish quickly and the only objects that throw light on the culture of the early periods are the stone implements. Further, the old habitations of this monsoonal region get buried under the alluvium brought by floods due to torrential rains even though some of them, luckily, are re-exposed by erosion. The region being thickly populated, human activities in later times have tampered with many early inhabitations, this process being recently accelerated owing to extensive industrial and agricultural development programmes. Despite these, scholars have persisted in surface explorations and excavations in providing a picture of the past.

The classification and chronology of prehistoric cultures of South India may be set as follows:

Cultures ²	Geological period	Date
I Palaeolithic		
1 Early	Middle Pleistocene	c 500,000-50,000 B P
2 Middle	Upper Pleistocene	c 50,000-20,000 B P
3 Upper	Upper Pleistocene	c 20,000-10,000 B P
II Mesolithic	Holocene	c 8000-2000 B C.
III Neolithic & Chalcolithic	Holocene	c 2500-800 B C.
IV Iron age	Holocene	c 1000 B C -100 A D
(The early historic period commences from c.300 B C)		

Palaeolithic Cultures

Geographically the distribution of Palaeolithic cultures can be seen all over South India except the area west of the Sahyadri, Kerala, Southern Tamilnadu

beyond 11° N. latitude and the alluvial coastal plains like the East and West Godavari Districts of Andhra Pradesh. The coastal alluvial plains are post-Pleistocene formations which explain the absence of palaeolithic cultures in these regions. Probably the environmental and ecological situations like the existence of impenetrable forests, absence of game animals or raw material for tool making, may have hindered the spread of palaeolithic man to areas to the west of the Sahyadri, south Tamilnadu and Kerala.

Even within the area of palaeolithic occurrence sites are distributed on the basis of several local geological and geographical factors. Most of them are located on river banks and other sources of water. It appears high hills were not normally frequented by palaeolithic men. Owing to varying climatic conditions in the different phases of the Pleistocene period, the aggradational and degradational deposits in the form of cliff sections with succession of deposits or in terraces spread out at different levels are seen on the banks of many rivers and streams. This stratigraphy not only betrays the environmental condition but also the relative chronological position of the deposits and, in turn, of the associated lithic industries. So far as South India is concerned the work of De Terra and Patterson (1939) is the first in marking out the chronological and environmental details of the different industries associated with different deposits. Their observations in the Kortalayār valley (near Madras) suggested the occurrence of alternate pluvial and interpluvial conditions in South India corresponding to the glacial and interglacial stages of the Himalayan regions and to the Alpine glacial cycles. Based on this and further work, specially in Andhra Pradesh, Sankalia has framed the stratigraphical sequence of geological deposits of the above periods, thus:

Upper Pleistocene	Finer gravels not laterized	Middle palaeolithic	Wet phase	V
	Fine gravels and clay	Advanced handaxes and Levallois flakes	Dry phase	IV
Middle Pleistocene	Coarse river gravels	End of hand axes of period I	Strong wet phase	III
	Open plain	Handaxes of period I	Dry phase	II
Early Pleistocene	Laterite formation on the East Coast	No tools, man absent	Long wet	I

It may be noted that this stratigraphical and cultural sequence cannot be clearly demarcated everywhere not even in the Kortalayār valley as the recent investigations show. The reconstructed cultural succession is based only on the typology and state of preservation of tools. In many sites of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka only two wet and dry phase cycles, each with a gravel and a silt deposit are met with. In these, the lower gravel deposit yields Early Palaeolithic tools and the upper contains Middle Palaeolithic tools.³

Early Palaeolithic Cultures: In South India, industries of the Middle Pleistocene and the early half of the Upper Pleistocene are grouped under Early Palaeoli-

thic. The South Indian Early Palaeolithic tool assemblage includes mainly handaxes, cleavers, scrapers, discoids, choppers and chopping tools. Both handaxes and cleavers have butts at one end, but the pear shaped handaxe has a point at the other while that of the cleaver is wide and sharp. Scrapers normally have a straight, wide, sharp scraping edge on the end or side or in a concave profile. Discoids are simply circular with the cutting edge all round. Choppers and chopping tools are generally made on pebbles with chopping edges fashioned to cover a good part of the periphery. For the preparation of tools free-flaking techniques like the stone hammer technique and the anvil technique were in vogue in the beginning. The resultant flake scars on the tool are deep and the meeting of several such flake scars on alternate faces makes the edges somewhat zigzag. These tools are described as Abbevillian. The advanced cylindrical hammer technique came to be used later. In this the flake scars tend to be shallow and the resultant cutting edges will be usually straight. Edges are trimmed by step flaking. Tools employing these techniques are known as Acheulian. Tools of all these varieties, with their sub-types varying in quantity, have been found in the different sites of South India. The variations could be due to either environmental or chronological factors.

In northern Karnataka, besides the work done by Foote, extensive explorations by Sankalia, Joshi, Paddayya, Pappu and others have brought to light in the upper Krishna valley more than 40 sites on the lower banks of the Krishna and its tributaries. Asangi, Muṇḍaganūr, Kolhār, Birakhabhi Sītimani, Yelgūr on or near the Krishna, Gulbāl on a tributary stream of the Bhima, Kōvalji, Anagavādi, Bāgalkōṭ on the Ghataprabha, Khyād, Hiremūlaṅgi, Taminhāl, Ālūr and Manōji, along the Malaprabha, Niṭṭūr, Hampasāgara, Kanukoppa, Gaḍiganūr, Darōji on the Tungabhadra and its nullahs are some of the important sites. Many of the pebble beds along rivers yield artefacts. Investigations by Joshi and Pappu along the Malaprabha and the upper Krishna respectively have shown that early stone age tools occur specifically in a stratigraphical context in the lower cemented gravel of the two successive gravel and silt deposits, normally seen in the cliff sections of these rivers. There are also factory sites like the one at Kōvalji. Extensive occurrence of Acheulian tools like handaxes, cleavers, choppers, scrapers and discoids, mostly of quartzite, and sometimes of sandstone is a noteworthy feature. Abbevillian tools are few. Fine varieties of bifacial handaxes, almond, oval, pear or triangular shaped with symmetrical outline, thin and convex to lenticular in section, occur on the sites along the Malaprabha, Ghataprabha and Krishna. Cleavers, mostly 'U' shaped, struck on flakes, are biconvex, lenticular, planoconvex, parallelogram or trapezoid in section with usually straight edges. Other varieties, some 'V' shaped and some with oblique, convex or concave edges also occur. Quartzite is the raw material generally used. Tools found at Gulbāl are noteworthy since they are made of limestone.

At Niṭṭūr, on the right bank of the Tungabhadra in Bellary District, 31 pebble tools were found mostly unifacial or bifacial choppers made on dyke basalt. The unifacial choppers have pointed, straight, convex or concave working edges while the bifacial have cleaver-like or convex cutting edge. The gravel bed with these

tools have also yielded fossil remains of *Bos namadicus*. In South Karnataka only eight sites are known. Most of them are on the flanks of low hills stretching from the Sahyadri transversely eastwards forming the water divide between the Kaveri and the Tungabhadra and are found at Nyāmati, on the bank of the Tungabhadra in Shimoga District, Kadūr and Nidaghaṭṭa in Chikmagalur, Karaḍigudda in Hassan, Kibbanahaḷli and Biḷgere in Tumkur and Tāḷya and Jāṅkal in Chitradurga District. At Kibbanahaḷli Early, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic tools of quartzite have been found. The Early Palaeolithic tools include both Abbevillian and Acheulian handaxes, varieties of cleavers made on cores and flakes, choppers, discoids and scrapers. This is the only site in the plateau part of South India to have a rich percentage of Abbevillian tools.

In Tamilnadu the Early Stone Age sites are found only at Kīlvānpākkam and Tirumalāpūr of North Arcot and Attirampākkam, Pūṇḍi, Vaḍa Madurai, Pallavaram, Arani etc., in Chingleput Districts. The latter are situated within a radius of about 35 to 40 kms along the Korttalayar and the Arani rivers. A cave site has come to light at Guḍiyam though it is observed that it was not used for continuous habitation, but used to be frequented. The Tamilnadu sites contain a very rich range of tools. Apart from varieties described above as coming from North Karnataka, there are, for example, Abbevillian tools with pebble butt. Acheulian tools which may be considered as crude types nearer to the Abbevillian technologically are also known.

Earlier field-workers sought to find out the stages of palaeolithic industries here with the help of stratigraphical, technological and typological data available. The Pleistocene formations reveal the existence of a primary laterite stratum superimposed by boulder conglomerate and overlain by detrital laterite. The rivers dissecting these successive formations have formed terraces. It is said that the boulder conglomerate is the horizon of the Abbevillian tools and those of developed stages of the Acheulian could be seen associated with successive deposits. The following chronologically successive stages of the evolution of Early Palaeolithic tool types had been suggested on the analysis of typological and technological characteristics.

Earliest Group	Second Group	Third Group
Non-laterized, rolled tools with heavy green patination. Abbevillian handaxes with pebble butt and crude and irregular flaking are the early series while less patinated step-flaked handaxes of Acheulian are the later.	Tools stained red due to their association with detrital laterite spread at a later time above the boulder conglomerate, but unpatinated. Pear and Ovate shaped Acheulian handaxes.	No laterite staining. Handaxes of cylindrical hammer technique and ovates with step flaking and a few cleavers.

Recent investigations, however, show that such a sequence too requires revision. Attirampākkam excavations (1964) have revealed a shale bedrock superimposed by clay, detrital laterite and brownish silt. Upper detrital laterite contains post-Acheu-

lian flake industry. Hence the only evidence for Early Palaeolithic from this area is that these industries, with their varieties, appear only in a single bed of clay and hence could be classified only on type-technological grounds. These are succeeded by the Middle Palaeolithic.

In Andhra Pradesh about fifty sites are known from the southern districts, located mostly on the banks of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra and on smaller streams. In Kurnool District the sites opposite the Kurnool town on the Tungabhadra, Kṛishṇāpuram on the Bhavanasi, Dōrnāla and Chintapalli on the Tigaleru, Giḍḍalūru on the Sagileru, all located between the ridges of the eastern Nallamalai hills are noteworthy. At Wazirabad at the junction of Musi and Krishna in Nalgonda District, sites further down in the Krishna valley, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa on the Krishna, and Karempuḍi on the Naguleru five sites near Gollapalle and Vedullacheruvu on the bank of the Rallakaluva in Chittoor District, a dozen in the Nellore District, have yielded useful material.

Many sites in Andhra Pradesh show two successively wet and dry phases of the Pleistocene as represented by successive sets of gravel-silt deposits, which appear to have succeeded another cycle of wet and dry phases as revealed by laterite formations and their erosion. Though the geological record appears to be of a complicated nature often denying correlations for wider area, provisionally it may be said that the first dry and the successive wet and dry phases are periods in which the Early Palaeolithic industries flourished.

Almost all varieties of tools found in Tamilnadu and Karnataka are seen in most of the localities here, but more abundantly. The wealth of tool varieties here is astounding. Early Palaeolithic tools made of quartzite in the form of pebbles in river beds include both Abbevillian and Acheulian handaxes, cleavers, scrapers, discoids, ovates, cores, Chactonian and proto-levallousian flakes. Pebble tool is the most distinctive component. In Kurnool District 40% of the tool assemblage are pebble tools. This abundance of pebble tools in this region has led to the suggestion that here the two Early Palaeolithic cultural traditions—the Sohanian characterised by the pebble tools and the Madrasian characterised by the core tools like handaxes and cleavers—might have found a meeting ground. But recent opinion holds that pebble tools and handaxes are part of only a single tradition. In many sites in Africa (Olduvai Gorge etc) there is evidence for the growth of handaxe industries, starting from the parental pebble tool industry and evolving through the Abbevillian and Acheulian stages. But clear stratigraphic evidence for the reconstruction of such an evolutionary sequence has not come forth so far in Andhra Pradesh. All varieties are seen mixed up in the same deposit. However, in some localities at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa too of certain varieties are found in certain localities only, leading to the postulation of independent existence of different traditions.

From this regional survey certain general observations regarding Early Palaeolithic cultures of South India can be made in spite of the fact that they present a complex set of problems. (1) The major concentration of Early Palaeolithic communities appears to have been confined to the area of Krishna-Tungabhadra systems and the

immediately adjoining southern regions drained by smaller rivers in southern-most Andhra Pradesh and north Tamilnadu. (2) Early Palaeolithic man had occupied mostly open sites⁴ on the banks of rivers and streams where suitable raw material for tool-making was available. He avoided high hills and marshy areas. (3) He used varieties of pebble tools and core tools. Tools like rostro-carinates and beaked tools were also used though rarely. (4) He employed techniques like stone hammer and cylindrical hammer for fashioning tools and feather edge chipping and step flaking for trimming the edges. (5) He used quartzite extensively as the raw material, although he was not disinclined to use sandstone, limestone or basalt.

He was essentially a hunter moving from one area to another spreading certain common lithic traditions in a wider region, a phenomenon true for the whole world. The South Indian Early Palaeolithic industries have identical characteristic components as those in the Old World, specially of Africa, western Asia and Europe. As it is in Africa that the lithic industries started and evolved in a chronologically earlier stage than in other areas, spreading gradually to other regions later, it would not be unreasonable to trace the origin of South Indian Early Palaeolithic industries also to Africa. In this wider background of African evidence, we may surmise that in South India also the Australopithecines and Pithecanthropians or Homo-habillis were responsible for Early Palaeolithic industries.⁵ As in Africa, pebble tools are the earliest in sequence and pure pebble tools are found at Nijūr, and in the Chittoor District in the earliest stages. It may be surmised that man the tool-maker might have started his career in South India first in Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Chittoor Districts. In the Abbevillian stage his activity appears to have extended slightly southwards to Chingleput District, (Attirampakkam etc), and to Tumkur District (Kibbanahalli). In the succeeding Acheulian stage the area of human occupation covered larger areas, like south Andhra Pradesh, northern Tamilnadu and almost the whole of Karnataka save the western coast.

Middle Palaeolithic Cultures: The Middle Palaeolithic cultures are characterised by their distinctive tools invariably smaller in size and of chert, jasper and such fine grained siliceous stones, employed extensively all over except in parts of Andhra Pradesh, south Karnataka and Tamilnadu where quartzite continued to be used. The tools being made generally on flakes, the industry is often called flake industry. Simple Clactonian flakes with large bulbs of percussion and unprepared platform, flakes with faceted platform, flakes removed by a pointed punch-like instrument showing tiny platform and small butt, prominent bulb, Levalloisian flint flakes with prepared platform and displaying previous work on core are seen in the tool assemblages. Despite the extensive use of flakes several examples of small flat nodules turned to tools by simple retouching are also seen. A noticeable feature is that these tools are prepared with the least effort possible to achieve the desired shape.

The main types of tools found in South India are (1) scrapers of several varieties end side, hollow etc. (2) points and arrow-heads sometimes with tang and (3) borers. Multipurpose implements like borer-cum-scraper, point-cum-scraper etc. were also in vogue.

The distribution of this culture is almost co-extensive with the Early Palaeolithic. In Karnataka a good number of sites are discovered in Bijapur, Gulbarga, Belgaum and Raichur Districts, and a couple of sites in Dharwar and Bellary Districts, all located on the banks of the Krishna and its tributaries. Kibbanahalli is the only site so far known in south Karnataka where quartzite is used. The restricted distribution may be attributed to paucity of systematic work. An analysis of industries, particularly of the Malaprabha valley show that 50% of the tools are borers, 40% scrapers and the rest points. In the Kāladgi region scrapers are said to predominate others. Taminhāl, Ālmaṭṭi and Bāgalkōṭ sites in Bijapur District have stratified deposits, the lower yielding Early Palaeolithic beds and the upper, Middle Palaeolithic. The site at Gulbāl in Gulbarga District shows the occurrence of this industry in a gravel bed overlying basal rock and superimposed by two successive silt deposits. At Kāvālgi and Sālvaḍgi in Bijapur District extensive factory sites are located.

In Andhra Pradesh, majority of sites so far noticed are located on the banks of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra and their tributaries and streamlets like Rājākāluva, Buhūḍo, Punchu in Chittoor District, Galēru, Bhavanāśi, Tigalēru, Kaṇḍlēr, Duvvōlli, Guṇḍlakamma, in Kurnool District Sagilēru, Bokkilēru, in Cuddapah District Pennar, Boggēru, Kaṇḍlēr, Deḍlavāgu, Veṅkaṭagiriēru, Bairaula in Nellore District. Peddavaḍugu in Adilabad District and a few sites in Anantapur, Medak, Nalgonda and Mahboobnagar Districts, Giḍḍalūr and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are important sites.

Scrapers predominate in these sites although points and borers are also available. Stratified deposits noticed in several sites reveal the association of this industry with the upper of the two successive gravel deposits. Chert and jasper and such finer siliceous material (in Mahboobnagar and Kurnool Districts) and quartzite (in Chittoor District) have been used depending upon their availability.

In Tamilnadu most of the sites known are only from Chingleput District on the banks of the Korttalayar and the Arani. Attirampakkam is a classic site. Excavations conducted at the Poonḍi site revealed a clear stratigraphical sequence with this industry appearing in a horizon over that of the Early Palaeolithic and below Mesolithic. Borers and scrapers of quartzite predominate.

This regional distribution indicates the concentration of Middle Palaeolithic sites in the basaltic regions of Karnataka, its outliers in Andhra Pradesh and the immediately adjoining regions southwards located on the river banks, in plains or along the foothills wherever the raw material was easily available, and some times in areas away from the sources of raw material because it was not difficult to carry the light tools to distant places where water and game are easily available.

Man continued to be a nomadic hunter. The small size and limited variety of tool types indicate that he must have made use of wooden or bone tools. The available stone tools may have been used to fashion or strengthen those of wood and bone. The association of Middle Palaeolithic tools with the upper of the two gravel deposits, the lower gravel usually yielding Early Palaeolithic tools, would lead to establish its

chronology. The gravel deposits yielding this industry are often sandy, finer and less well-cemented and within the deposits there is a gradual change in nature from the sandy pebble stage to the finer sandy silt indicating that "these sediments are not still water deposits but laid down by flowing rivers", the climate being wet in the beginning changing gradually to drier conditions. Fossil remains of *Elephas antiquus* and *Bos namadicus* found in some places in the contemporary gravel deposits and the existence of elephants suggest a wetter climate. Radiocarbon dates of samples found in the corresponding gravel deposits in Maharashtra fall between 30,000 to 17,000 B.P. Providing a longer span for the beginning a time range of 50,000 to 20,000 B.P. may be suggested.

A few sites in Andhra Pradesh (and also in Maharashtra) show the existence of a transitional stage, the Middle Palaeolithic cultures being evolved from the Lower Palaeolithic. However, Middle Palaeolithic cultures are not distinctively of South Indian origin or association. Industries displaying similar characteristics have been found in almost the whole of the Indian subcontinent (except the Gangetic plain and Assam). They are also known from different parts of the Old World in Africa, Asia and Europe, the Mousterian stone industries of Europe standing in close comparison. The Neanderthal men who flourished in the early part of the last interglacial phase were the authors of this Mousterian culture. In Europe they lived in caves and rock shelters, buried the dead ritualistically in caves and adorned themselves with ornaments. Several skeletal remains show that they belonged to a stock different from that of the *Homo sapiens*. Although the absence of other cultural clues would make the suggestion that people of similar breed were authors of the South Indian Middle Palaeolithic cultures look far fetched, there is a possibility that this Mousterian culture made its impact on areas southwards, the South Indian Middle Palaeolithic being the result of such a cultural migration. But it is difficult to make out the exact relationship.⁶

Upper Palaeolithic Cultures: This is a distinctive stage succeeding the Middle Palaeolithic and preceding the Mesolithic. Recognition of the existence of this last stage of palaeolithic culture in South India is a recent event in South Indian prehistoric studies.⁷

Simple and backed blades and burins are the characteristic industries. Burin is a special type seen and hence the industry is often termed as Blade and Burin industry. The other tools are awls, points, choppers and scrapers. Cores and chips displaying the technique of manufacture are also seen in good numbers. Blades are prepared by an advanced technique of cylindrical hammer and intermediate punch and further converted to knives, points, lunates, etc. by secondary retouch.

In the Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh many sites of this culture are located on the banks of the Swarnamukhi around Rēṇiḡuṇṡa at Timmayyagunṡa, Veṡkamanāyanipalli, Chandi, Vēḡullachuruvu and Nallagunḡḡu, the last two being factory sites. Though quantitatively burins take a second place to simple and backed blades, here the burin collection happens to be the largest when compared to other sites in India. Awls, choppers and points also occur. The principal raw material is quartzite.

At Vēmula in Cuddapah District and Yarragundapakm in Prakasam District similar industries have come to light, reddish chert and chalcedony being the raw material used here.

The occurrence of bone industry besides blades and burin is a distinctive feature of European Upper Palaeolithic culture. In India, specially in open air sites, owing to climatic conditions bones hardly survive for long time. Hence the recent discovery of bone tools in association with blade and burin, in the course of excavations at a cave, the Muchchatla Chintāmaṇi Gavi, near Betamcherla in Kurnool District is epoch making. Bone tools form 90.3% of the tool collection, the stone tools being only 9.7%. The former comprise of scrapers, perforators, chisels, scoops, shouldered points, barbs, and process remains like worked bones, bone blanks, broken and cut bones and splinters. Perforators are more numerous followed by shouldered points and barbs. The implements are made from shafts of long bones which, significantly, are cut in the same fashion as in West Europe. Splinters of required size and shape were removed after making longitudinal incisions and then ground or scooped out for making several kinds of tools. Remains of faunal assemblage, like *Viverra* sp, *Felis* sp, *Equus* sp, *Cervus*, *Bos*, antelope, gazelle etc., distinctive of Upper Pleistocene have been found. In Tamilnadu also tools possibly of this stage have been found in some sites in Chingleput District.

In Karnataka in the factory site at Sālvaḍgi chert blades and burins are found. In Shōrāpur doab sites at Mārīabhāvi (workshop site), Gulbāl, Banhaṭṭi and Huṇasgi have come to light. A composite section of the area reveals a sequence thus:

Surface	Microliths
Black brown silt with lesser of loose granular gravel	Blade and burin (in gravel lasses)
Yellow clay	—
Pebbly gravel	Middle Palaeolithic tools
Coarse gravel	Early Palaeolithic
Bed rock	—

This sequence clearly establishes that the blade and burin industry is certainly Upper Palaeolithic in its context. Though many Upper Palaeolithic sites have not been noticed it is clear that there was this stage in the sequence of prehistoric cultures of South India. It is likely that tools from many other sites which were hitherto classified loosely as Series II or Series III may by further examination fall under this category.

Regional variation within South Indian industries have also been noticed. Sites in and around Rēṇigunṭa and Yarragundapakm have yielded tools comparable to European types. Blades and burins are long, slender and fully retouched or blunted in Gravettian style. This industry is named 'classical' Upper Palaeolithic in contrast to tools from sites like Betamcherla etc., which are not so fine and are termed 'sub-classical'.

It is likely that South Indian Upper Palaeolithic cultures are a part of a general spread of such cultures in other parts for such sites have been noticed in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. They also show certain similarities with corresponding industries in Europe, West Asia and Africa. The European and West Asian Upper Palaeolithic industries have been well dated ranging between c.40,000 and 10,000 B.P.

In South India also, this culture appears to be a part of general spread of such cultures from the local areas in West Asia or West Europe. But its indigenous development from Indian Middle Palaeolithic cultures also has been postulated particularly for the Rēṇiḡuṇṡa industry. In the Old World prehistory this culture is distinct with the first clear association of *Homo sapiens* and beginnings of a rich art tradition, an aspect still to be recognised in the Indian context.

Mesolithic Cultures: The retreat of ice sheets to higher latitude and altitude regions marks the end of the Pleistocene and the beginning of the current Holocene. The climate became drier. Changes in climatic belt and vegetational re-distribution made man re-adjust his ways of life. The Mesolithic culture is said to be a result of such a change.

This culture is characterised by microlithic industries with the use of tiny implements ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 cms in length and made usually of fine grained siliceous stones like chert, chalcedony, jasper and quartz, the implements being fashioned from thin blades removed from cores by punch method. The tool-kit includes non-geometric blades, scrapers, points and lunates and the geometric trapezes and triangles, the latter considered as being later in date than the non-geometric. These industries occur in a vaster region almost throughout Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. It is during this period that man penetrated probably for the first time to southern parts of Tamilnadu.⁸

In Andhra Pradesh microlithic sites have been discovered in Kurnool (Kolimiḡuṇṡa etc.), Anantapur (Dōsigal etc.), Adilabad (Asifabad etc), Cuddapah, Guntur (Nāḡārjunakṇṡa), Medak (Chevala etc), Chittoor (Nallagūṇṡu etc) and Nalgonda (Rāmāṡṡhapura etc) Districts, generally on high ground or river banks in the top-most deposits of fine loose sandy gravel, around high granitoid shelters and in the vicinity of lime stone caves. Non-geometric scrapers, awls, burins, tanged points, points on core, backed pieces, besides simple flakes, blades and cores usually made of quartz, and in some areas of agate and jasper are the tools used.

In Tamilnadu sites are located on high grounds in Chingleput and Pudukottai Districts. Excavations at Guḡiyam reveal the occurrence of microlithic industries in the latest deposit overlying others with Early and Middle Palaeolithic industries. Other sites in Ramnad (Maṇḡiyūr, Kāryapaṡṡi), Tirunelveli (Mēḡnanapuram, Kattalāṅkulam) Districts, as also Pondicherry state are usually associated with sand dunes locally called *teri*, the tool assemblage being described as Teri industry. These sand dunes are ancient formations of a period when the climate was generally dry throughout the world and the sea level about 20-30 feet higher than the present. Therefore these are now seen in somewhat inland regions, though, formerly they were just on

the seashore. During wetter climates these dunes were fixed and later began to weather and achieved a reddish tinge. Probably, lagoons formed. Men of the Mesolithic period lived around these, with fishing as their mainstay. These tools normally seen on top of the reddish *teris* include blade flakes, simple blades, backed or obliquely blunted blades, scrapers- hollow, concave, side, end and thumb nail-simple unretouched- asymmetrical, unifacial and bifacial points, lunates, transverse arrowheads and triangles. Since these include triangles it is termed geometric. This feature and the distinctive, secondary retouched mark the industry as a separate entity distinct from other Mesolithic industries of South India. Geo-chronologically the beginnings of this industry could be dated to the 4th millennium B.C.

In Karnataka, these sites are seen on river banks, high places or near rock shelters. In North Karnataka in the Districts of Gulbarga (Huṇasgi, Bulbai, Marlabhāvi, Tumkūr etc.), Bijapur (Deur, Sālvaḍgi, Anagavāḍi, Kōvaḷḷi, etc.), Dharwar (Nadiharaḷaḷḷi), Belgaum (Sūravakeḷḷa, Gōkāk falls), Raichur (Hirēbennūr), Bellary (Saṅganakallu etc.), tools of jasper, chert and quartz predominate. While in the Districts of Bangalore (Sudasandra, Sarjāpur, Jālaḷḷi etc.) Chitradurga (Brahmagiri), Tumkur (Kibbanahāḷḷi), Mysore (Bīḷigiriraṅga hills) of South Karnataka mostly quartz tools are seen. The tools include retouched and backed blades, scrapers, points, borers, lunates, triangles and trapezes.

The South Indian Mesolithic industries reveal typo-technological similarities with those in other parts of India and also in West Asia, Africa and Europe. The distinctive features of Teri industries are found in Ceylon also. This may be due to the migration peoples and/or ideas through a wide area.⁹ People continued to be hunters. There is no evidence to fix the date of Mesolithic stage in South India, although in the Old World it is said to have lasted from around 10,000 to 4000 B.C. The *teris* are dated c.4000 B.C. Despite the appearance of Neolithic-Chalcolithic period, microliths continued to be used in South India.¹⁰

Neolithic-Chalcolithic Cultures

Sometime in the 3rd millennium B.C. a new mode of life appeared in South India when people settled at certain places engaged in the production of food and domesticated animals. These early village communities had far better and varied material equipment. New ideas of religion and culture began to emerge. Herein the roots of South Indian culture can probably be seen in the present day folk cultures. The neolithic people had spread through a wide area of South India except Kerala, the Sahyadrian heights, southern most parts of Tamilnadu and probably northern Andhra Pradesh. In Andhra Pradesh neolithic sites occur in Anantapur, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Chittoor, Guntur, Nellore, Nalgonda, Mehbobaṇagar, Medak and Krishna Districts. In Tamilnadu many sites are found in North Arcot, Dharmapuri and Salem Districts while some antiquities are reported from Coimbatore and Madurai Districts besides Pondicherry State. In North Karnataka these sites abound in Bijapur, Gulbarga, Raichur, Dharwar and Bellary Districts. A stray neolithic implement is reported from Honnāvar in Karwar District. In South

Karnataka a few sites have been noticed in Chitradurga and Shimoga Districts, and a good number in Kolar and Mysore Districts.

Nearly a score of sites have been excavated at Utnūr, Kesanapaḷḷi, Palavoy, Siṅṅunapalli, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Koḍḍkal, Tērdāl, Haḷḷūr, Piklihāl and Maski, Saṅṅanakaḷ, Kupgal and Tekkalakōṭa, Brahmagiri, T. Narasipur, Būḍitiṭṭu and Hemmige, and Paiyampalli in Mehboobnagar, Krishna, Anantapur, Kurnool, Guntur, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Dharwar, Raichur, Bellary, Chitradurga, Mysore and North Arcot Districts.

Certain types of pottery and stone industry are distinctively Neolithic. Burnished grey ware is a typical variety found abundantly. Hand-made pots of gray colour, smeared with a thin solution of clay and burnished all over, have given this industry its name burnished grey ware, although, others, brown, buff and slightly reddish wares, appear along with unburnished ware in small quantity. Pottery types include globular pots with round base and everted rim, simple bowls with round base, everted sides and featureless rim, spouted and channel pots. Perforated sherds are also found. Postfiring painting with red ochre at the lip is seen often, occasionally with purple painting of bands and simple lines in groups. The ground stone industry includes axes, triangular in outline, with a butt at one end and a straight or slightly curving cutting edge on the other, the cross section varying from round to oval, and rarely rectangular. Tools are prepared by chipping, pecking and grinding. Adzes, chisels, spheroidal balls, corn crushers and rubbers are also found.

Evidences for the practice of agriculture are not many. The existence of permanent settlements indicates a continuous supply of food possibly by the practice of agriculture. Extensive occurrence of axes, a cutting implement, suggest probably the clearance of forest land for agriculture. Stone saddle querns and crushers were probably used to pulverise grain. Disc-shaped stones with a central hole found in some habitation sites might have been used for digging with the help of long wooden poles pointed at one end to which they were fixed. More important is the occurrence of bones of cattle, sheep and goats in the sites. Cattle seem to have been used in agriculture operations and also as pack animals. Cattle and other animals were also used for food. Clear evidence of agriculture comes from Haḷḷūr and Tekkalakōṭa where charred grains of ragi (*Eleusine coracana*) and horse gram (*Dolichos Bifloras*) are found.

The Neolithic people lived usually in one-roomed houses, circular (Tekkalakōṭa) or rectangular (Hemmige) in shape. It is not possible to estimate the number of houses in a village settlement or the density of population. There might have been 10 to 20 houses in a settlement. The Boyas of Bellary today live in houses almost identical in shape with those constructed in the neolithic period, suggesting a continuous building tradition. Houses were constructed with either pisé or wattle and daub walls covered with conical patched roofs, the periphery of the house being lined with stone boulders.

In a number of places in North Karnataka and the neighbouring region of Andhra Pradesh huge ash mounds have been found out. Some of them as at Utnūr,

Kodekal, Kuditini have been excavated. These are usually heaps of burnt cowdung. Neolithic people appear to have periodically moved into other regions to graze cattle and, on return after their sojourn, fixed the cattle pens in their original place where cowdung accumulated. This may have been burnt ceremoniously from time to time thereby creating ashmounds. Paintings of cattle in rock shelters near settlements and terracotta figurines found in the Neolithic sites indicate the role of cattle in the life and economy of the people. A sense of reverence towards them was also evoked. The paintings and figurines may be cult objects.

Burial was the usual mode of the disposal of the dead. Adults were buried in oblong pits of a depth of two to three feet, in a flexed or extended position with north-south orientation. A flat bowl (lamp?) and a spouted vessel were kept along with. The bodies of children were huddled in urns of somewhat large-size, round-bottomed urns with everted rim, its mouth being covered with the base piece of a similar pot and inserted in a pit about two feet deep. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Pīklīhāl, Brahmagiri and T. Narasīpur such burials have come to light. Radiocarbon dates show that this culture began around c. 2500 B.C. and continued till about the first millennium B.C.

This time span roughly corresponds with the period of the Indus Civilization as also of the Chalcolithic cultures of Central India and the Deccan. Owing to the migration of peoples or ideas some internal changes in the cultural components as also the intrusion of alien elements appear to have come in the life span of the neolithic. Trade was probably responsible for this. At T. Narasīpur and Hemmige sites only finished ground stone tools have been found. Raw materials are not available in the nearby region. Hence these may have been imported from other manufacturing centres. Likewise, external trade with cultures of northern Deccan and regions beyond also appear to have been established. Gold and fuschzite, quartzite of the Indus sites and the typical burnished grey ware at Daimabad and the Deccan are examples. The ribbon flake blade industry appears to be the earliest imports from the northern Chalcolithic complex. This is seen as a part of the early phases of Utnūr, Pīklīhāl, Brahmagiri which could be dated on radio-carbon evidence, to the earliest period of Neolithic in South India. In Saṅganakallu I and Early Neolithic phase of Haḷḷūr and T. Narasīpur blade industry is not in evidence. Instead, flake implements like scrapers and discoids, probably surviving from pre-Neolithic phase are found. If the blade industry is regarded as an indigenous component of Neolithic culture it would be difficult to explain its absence in the Early Neolithic phases. Wheelmade and painted pottery is a well known feature of Chalcolithic, while in the the Early Neolithic phases of Brahmagiri, Pīklīhāl etc., simple black-on-red ware, i.e. hand-made red wares with paintings in ink occur. This probably indicates the import of ideas rather than the manufacture itself. Wheel-turned black-on-red ware and copper appear in the later stages, in sufficient quantity in northern Neolithic sites. Appearance of other Chalcolithic elements can be recognised in some northern sites, viz., horizontal multiple pot burials at Tekkalakōṭa. So the whole South Indian complex consisting of many Chalcolithic elements and belonging to the pre-iron

using period is often termed 'Neolithic-Chalcolithic'. The analysis of skeletal remains from Tekkalakōṭa, Brahmagiri and T. Narasīpur show that the Neolithic-Chalcolithic people belonged to a Mediterranean stock.

The South Indian Neolithic appears to owe its origin to the similar West Asian culture. The Neolithic ideas may have moved from the focal region eastwards to Iran and Baluchistan and on to Kashmir and South India. The Neolithic axes and the grey ware are analogous to those in Kashmir and Baluchistan respectively as also West Asia. It is not possible to say whether the domesticated animals were brought from the same source or belonged to the local wild species. Unlike in the West Asian Neolithic culture where wheat was the staple food, in South India ragi was a major food crop as it has been even today. Although there is a suggestion that this grain is of African origin, circumstantial evidences suggest that it was cultivated in South India itself in the Neolithic period. Around 15th millennium B.C., Egypt launched maritime expeditions to different parts of Africa and Asia. Thus African contacts with South India developed and probably the 'head rest' was introduced into this region. Bell shaped clay head rests with long flat strips on top are found in several Neolithic sites in the upper Kaveri valley. But ragi could not have been thus introduced. Egyptian records show clearly that manufactured items were exported from there while rare botanical and zoological specimens were imported. Ragi could be one of the plants that was imported thus from South India, and, from there spread to other parts of Africa.

Certain cultural elements distinctive of South India make their appearance in this period. Many plants and animals native to this area were first domesticated. Religious ideas and practices as those of village gods and several practices associated with them, still current among South Indian folk, probably originated. There is a theory that the Dravidian tongue is the gift of the people of this period.

Iron Age

This heralds a new period of innovations in technology and culture marked by the increase of wealth and probably a steep rise in population. The area of occupation is larger, the Iron age settlements being noticed almost throughout South India, Kerala coming into the picture for the first time. Forest areas like the Western Ghats and coastal tracts beyond were also penetrated because the iron implements could make the clearance of forests easier. Rise in population meant a greater need and occupation of wider areas. More than 600 grave sites and 10,000 extant graves are known so far in South India. The excavated habitationals sites include Brahmagiri, Maski, T.Narasīpur, Tekkalakōṭa, Haḷlūr, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Yelēśvaram (Naigonda District) and Peddabankūr (Karimnagar), while the grave sites are at Brahmagiri, Maski, Jāḍigēnahalli, Tērdāl, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Yelēśvaram, Pōchampād (Adilabad), Sanūr and Amṛitamāḷgālam (Chingleput), Suttukeny (Pondicherry) and Pōrkalam (Trichur, Kerala).

In the habitationals sites we see this Iron age culture overlapping with the previous Neolithic-Chalcolithic culture at the lower levels and early historic assem-

blages in the upper. The best documented sites are Brahmagiri and Maski. The earliest evidence of use of iron comes from Haljūr with radio-carbon dates of c. 1000 B.C. Other dates from Tērdāḷ and Haliṅgli etc. show the continuance of Megalithic culture in the eighth-sixth century B.C. whereafter, with the expansion of political activities of the Nandas and Mauryas, new ideas and elements percolated into South India through the Deccan and Andhra Pradesh, gradually moving southward. The Megalithic culture continued therefore, to flourish even upto second-third century A.D. in Tamilnadu and in some other culturally isolated pockets.

The distinctive features of this culture are the use of iron, black and red ware and 'megalithic' funerary customs. Although it is not clear whether in its early stages iron was imported or locally manufactured, many sites show evidences of iron manufacture in the form of kilns. Iron implements are seen deposited in huge numbers in many graves, a clear indication of availability of iron in plenty. In fact, extensive iron ore deposits are seen in Bellary, Chitradurga, Chingleput, North Arcot and Salem Districts, where clusters of Megalithic habitation also occur. Swords, daggers, axes, chisels, spades, hoes, sickles, wedges, knives, tripods, hook lamps, pans, tridents and horse-bits are important implements used in the period. These implements found in different parts of South India are almost alike indicating a good number of (probably families of) blacksmiths and iron-mongers roaming about with their goods. The black-and-red ware is wheel-made covered with some haematite material and well fired by the inverted firing technique. Decoration is scarce. Series of multiple parallel incisions under the slip are seen occasionally. Pots have several marks scratched on them but the purpose of this post-firing graffiti is not known. Round bottomed bowls with wide mouth and featureless rim, flat based dishes with straight or incurved rim with several sub-varieties are the common shapes. Usually globular cooking pots, flat lamps and pottery ring stands of amazing variety are made of unpolished red ware.

With regard to funerary monuments Megalith of nearly forty varieties can be listed. The most recognisable feature of megalithic graves is the occurrence of stone circles. Large boulders about 1 to 4 feet thick are arranged in a circular plan around the graves. Another feature is the raising of cairn heaps on the graves either within the stone circle or without. Though these two are the most common features, these varieties do not appear to be essential items of funerary architecture. There are several megaliths without them.

The burials could be classified under the following basic types:

1. Cist Burials: The cist varieties are normally surrounded by stone circles. Dolmenoid cists are box-like structures built of several orthostats one or more on each side covered by a large cap stone. Orthostats and cap stones are usually undressed rough blocks or partly dressed flattish stones, arranged in such a way as to leave a gap along the eastern side. The floor areas inside are some times paved with one or more slabs, the skeletal remains and funerary goods placed either on floor or in urn or in sarcophagus. The slab cists have the cap stones and orthostats dressed, the orthostats being placed in such a way that the side edge of one slab abuts against the plain

surface of the neighbouring at right angles, covering a rectangular area and looking like Swastika in plan. Most of these slab cists have a port-hole normally 6" to 1½" in diameter, caused in one of the slabs mostly the eastern. Transepted cist is a sub-variety in which the enclosed area is partitioned into two by another slab placed in the centre.

2. Pit Burials: These are found normally in the centre of stone circles and/or covered by cairn heaps. There are simple pits with skeletal remains placed on floor, pits with remains on large urns, usually jars. In some parts of Tamilnadu and Kerala the pits are dug in the basal rock itself. Some times sarcophagi is used instead of urn.

3. Barrows: These are large earthen mounds circular or oblong with or without stone circles.

4. Rock cut caves : These consist of large rectangular wells dug in the laterite rock and a side chamber of different shapes, hewn from one of the walls of such a pit. Often a central pillar is left uncut and to raise from floor to roof.

5. Hood stones: Dome shaped, laterite blocks covering an underground circular pit cut into natural rock. Sometimes the pits are provided with a stairway. The urn containing the skeletal remains and covered by a dome-shaped pot is seen inside the pit. Instead of Hood stones sometimes three or four boulders are erected in an inclined position with their heads meeting together, over which a stone of plano-convex shape is kept. These are called Hat stones.

6. Menhirs: These are also tall monolithic blocks planted vertically into the ground varying from 3 to 16 feet. These may be just memorial stones.

7. Alignments: Sometimes several stones are planted in a row and are known as Alignments. Two or more such parallel Alignments are called Avenues.

8. Platforms are built of single rectangular stones.

Of these types, dolmenoids and slab-cists are seen almost throughout South India. Pit burials also have all-South India distribution. Urn burials without stone circles are noticed in Tamilnadu and Kerala, while Sarcophagus burials are known mostly from Tamilnadu. Hood stones and Hat stones are specialities of Kerala while rockcut caves are found in the coastal laterite regions of Kerala and Karnataka. Alignments are reported only from Kerala as also Raichur, Gulbarga. Nalgonda and Mehboobnagar Districts. Avenues and platforms are noticed only in Gulbarga, Raichur and surrounding region while Barrows occur only in North Karnataka.

Apart from architecture, three other features of funerary customs of this period may be noted. The burials were done in separate cemeteries located far away from settlements, on hill slopes and rocky regions unfit for cultivation. Secondly, the dead bodies were exposed elsewhere and after the lapse of sometime only skull and long bones were collected and given a decent burial. Thirdly, multiple burials also were in vogue. The funerary goods include a large number of pots, iron implements of various varieties and in some sites gold ornaments, etched carnelian beads, bronze bells and figurines.

The construction of such huge monuments indicates sufficient manpower to shift slabs and boulders and erect them properly. The majority of these graves contain host of weapons indicating that the dead probably belong to a warrior class. The fact that as compared to the large number of Megalithic graveyards, there are very few habitation sites and the presence of horse bits and horse equipments in several graves suggest that these people were, to a certain extent, itinerant, probably moving warriors who also spread the culture. Some sort of class structure appears to have existed in this society. The warrior groups with advanced technological knowledge like the manufacture of effective iron weapons may have occupied a superior position in the society over the local population of agriculturists who might be the descendants of the Neolithic. The rich furnishings also suggest that they commanded sufficient surplus wealth. These people might have influenced the local peoples to attain better positions. The alien people appear to have caused momentous changes among the locals. The process of fusion of blood and culture appear to have operated gradually. The social structure based on stock now changed into a class structure based on wealth and economic occupation. This could be seen from the funerary monuments in some sites like Jadigēnahalli where besides weapons agricultural implements, sausepans, tripods are also seen along with. In Tamilnadu most of the Megalithic sites would be near a small tank suggesting that these people were responsible for the introduction of irrigation and rice cultivation.

Megalithic monuments of comparable types are found in North Deccan, parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam and Rajasthan in India, Pakistan and further westwards and northwards in Western and Central Asia, North Africa and Europe and also in South-East Asia. This has given rise to theories relating to the origin and external affinities of South Indian megaliths. There are theories ascribing these monuments to nomadic tribes, Dravids or Scythians. It is also said that this culture is a part of the Heliolithic civilization that spread from Egypt. However, definite clues are yet to come forth to settle the issues in question.

Notes and References

1. There is a practice among some archaeologists to consider the periods just preceding the historical, particularly the Iron age and the Neolithic-Chalcolithic as Proto-historic. However, so far as South India is concerned, written documents are not available to the extent even to have a feeble historical reconstruction for these periods. Hence, there is no need to recognise a Proto-historic period in the South Indian context.

2. Various other terms are also in use for the different stages set here, despite the fact that some standardisation is being attempted by scholars.

The Early Palaeolithic of the present classification corresponds to 'Early Stone Age' and includes industries described as Series I of Sankalia and Burkitt's classifications.

The Middle Palaeolithic roughly corresponds to 'Middle Stone Age' and includes industries described as Series II of Burkitt and some of Series II (Nevasian) of Sankalia.

The Upper Palaeolithic is almost a newly recognised sub-division. The industries of this stage used to be included under the 'Middle Stone Age' or Series II of Sankalia. The tools of Series III of Burkitt's classification can be brought roughly under this stage.

The Mesolithic corresponds to the 'Late Stone Age' of earlier classification.

3. Many local causes also determine the nature of succession of deposits and hence the variation. The correlation of Pleistocene geological deposits in such a wide region of South India is yet to be undertaken. Currently archaeological associates of the deposits themselves are being considered as grounds for correlation.

4. The cave-site at Gudiyam is an exception. That, however, was occupied intermittently.

5. From the finds of fossil hominids from many sites in Africa, it is considered that the Australopithecines are associated with the pebble tool industries and that the Pithecanthropians are responsible for the Abbevillien—Acheulian industries. There is also a school of thought that rather than these of the Palaeoanthropes stock, the *Homo habilis*, a precursor of the *Homo Sapiens* in the evolutionary sequence, is the stock to be associated with these early lithic industries.

6. It has also been seen that the African Fauresmith and Sangoan industries have some features in common with the Middle Palaeolithic. Indian Middle Palaeolithic too may have been the result of a general spread of Levalloisian—Mousterian tradition seen almost throughout the Old World in early Upper Pleistocene times.

7. The Series III industry of Burkitt and Cammide (1936) was an indication for the existence of Upper Palaeolithic. But the absence in the Indian context of many other cultural associates normally seen along with Upper Palaeolithic elsewhere hindered the acceptance of such a stage even though scholars like Seshadri, Soundararajan and Mishra were advancing pleas towards that.

8. It is said that a microlithic site has come to light recently in Kerala also.

9. Some scholars, however, have claimed an independent local evolution for the South Indian microlithic industries.

10. It is also considered that the use of microliths may have persisted even in historical times in certain isolated pockets.

MATERIAL CULTURE DURING THE EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD

(C. 300 B.C. – 300 A.D.)

(As Revealed from Excavated Remains)

C. MARGABANDHU

THE STUDY OF MATERIAL CULTURE on the basis of excavated remains is quite a new field. The sources for such a study comprise mainly the various antiquities revealed from excavations. But such evidence is too meagre to reveal the entire range of man's activities and achievements.

South India is generally understood, during the last two millennia or more, to be the country south of the Narmada or specifically south of the ancient Krishna. This is called the ancient *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. For practical purposes of this study South India will include "all that country in South India which is geologically the oldest part of India and the world. This is the area which extends from Raichur in the north to somewhere at Rameshwaram in the south; the coastal tracts on the east and the west are comparatively recent geologically."¹ It consists of the modern states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu.

So far as the archaeology of the early historic period is concerned, practically nothing was known till Mortimer Wheeler excavated at Arikamēdu and Brahmagiri, and established at least a precise chronological position providing a new starting point for the study of the pre-medieval cultures of South India.

Broadly speaking the historic period in South India has its dim beginnings in the Megalithic culture and reaches a stage in the post-Megalithic.

Megalithic culture in many places overlaps or is even contemporary with the early historic material. Actually the concepts and ritualistic traditions continue to persist in later times also. The people of the early historic period absorbed some of the traits and innovations of the "Megalithians" in so far as it helped to better their agrarian and industrial economy.

Megalithic Period

The acquaintance with an extensive use of iron led to the exploitation of the considerably rich deposits of iron ore in Andhra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu. This resulted in the knowledge of mining and metallurgy which made all the difference in their lives. It was one of the industries that engaged and provided food to quite a large section of the society. The use of largesized stones in the construction of grave monuments also mark a stage in the technological advancement—such as

the rocks to be split up to extract slabs of the desired size and thickness to form the cist-chambers. The very conception of burying the dead in such structures and the organisation behind it anticipates a well-knit social order. Careful excavations have revealed the extent of care, planning and organisation that have gone into the construction of these huge monuments.

It has been observed that almost everywhere the megalithic structures are on barren rocky terrain either granite or laterite. Surveys in some places especially in the Chingleput District show that these megalithic habitations lie near artificial ponds. It has been pointed out by Banerji² that megaliths sprang up in regions where the climate was conducive to the thriving of population. He argues that in South India megalithic monuments are found near large tanks which accommodated the rain water from the slopes of hillocks nearby and that the megalithic people were the likely initiators of tank irrigation in the south. It is quite possible that these ponds strewn over Andhra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu were the creation of megalithic people

The nature of habitation of the megalithic people is not much in evidence. Although sites with both burials and settlements nearby are rare, a few such have come to light at Paiyampalli in Tamilnadu, Kēsarapalle in Andhra Pradesh, Brahmagiri and Maski in Mysore. At Halūr³ 'floors of the structures' destroyed by 'burning' have been noticed. Kēsarapalle⁴ has given evidence of floor-levels with post-holes.

Paiyampalli⁵ has yielded better evidence for circular, rectangular houses measuring 1.5 to 3m and 1.7 × 4m respectively. Floors were made with stone chips covered with *nurrum* and plastered with lime. Traces of post-holes were also found, but the nature of the roof could not be ascertained. The houses usually consisted of a single room but a double-roomed house was also constructed. At Brahmagiri⁶ a few post-holes in the habitation site indicate "timber construction for domestic buildings." Similar is the evidence at Maski⁷ also.

The available evidence is quite meagre. Nothing is known regarding their kitchen equipment. Some wicker lamps were used for lighting. Paiyampalli⁸ has yielded circular lamps with eight lips for the wick.

Food and Economy

The megalithic people mainly practised agricultural economy with hunting and fishing as part time occupations. The available agricultural tools show their way of life. Iron sickles,⁹ iron strapped hatchets¹⁰, a prong of a hay fork¹¹ indicate that they used them for digging and ploughing. A plough-coulter has been identified at Brahmagiri.¹²

Direct evidence of grains is found from Paiyampalli¹³ where charred grains of gram (*khuli*), green gram and cereals resembling ragi have been recovered. These people were mainly rice cultivators. Paddy husks were found in burials and grains of rice occur in associated levels at Kunṇattūr¹⁴. Perhaps they were the first to introduce cultivation of rice in South India. Evidence for the use of grinding and

pounding grains was revealed by objects such as pestles, mortars, saddle querns etc. made of soap stone and granite. Some of them come from Brahmagiri¹⁵ and Maski.¹⁶ Fish hooks indicate fishing. They also practised hunting as a supplementary occupation as has been revealed by the occurrence of bone remains of sheep, goat, cattle etc. Evidence at Maski¹⁷ reveals domestication of cattle of short-horned humpless variety.

Though the megalithians¹⁸ were essentially agricultural people, their semi-urban character has been revealed by their sophisticated range of carpentry and smithy tools and the community very likely comprised craftsmen, versatile in these professions, in addition to weavers, jewellers etc.

Regarding cloth and clothing no direct evidence is forthcoming. Spindle whorls indicate the knowledge of spinning and weaving. At Ādichanallūr¹⁹, Rea mentions traces of cloth sticking to the bronze objects kept inside the urns. In the Nilgiris region, Brecks²⁰ mentions a bronze bowl and iron razor having traces of cloth wound round them. The evidence for toilet objects is not considerable. A razor has been found from Nilgiri megaliths. Circular bronze mirrors with projecting tangs have also been reported at Ādichanallūr²¹ though they have been labelled as frying pans.

Various ornaments made of gold, silver, copper and shell as well as terracotta and beads of semi-precious stones reveal their aesthetic taste and also show that they knew how to work on metals, stone and shell. Gold was worked skilfully to prepare ornaments as revealed by the finds from Ādichanallūr, Maski, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, etc. Gold diadems from Ādichanallūr²² urns, rings from Janāmpet cromlechs, spiral rings from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa²³, and a thin piece of gold wire with holes at either end from near Mysore region reveal their taste for jewellery. Gold beads come from Brahmagiri²⁴, Maski²⁵ and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa²⁶. Of other metals spacing beads of silver occur at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa²⁷ and copper bangles are reported at Brahmagiri²⁸. Shell also is used for ornaments. Decorated shell ear-ornaments come from Perumbair²⁹. Sāñūr³⁰ has yielded ear-studs with incised decorations. At Brahmagiri³¹ shell bangles have been reported. In addition, a number of terracotta ear-ornaments are also known from megaliths.

Polished and perforated beads of agate, carnelian, chalcedony, coral, crystal, garnet, jasper, lapizlazuli, magnesite, paste, quartz, serpentine, steatite, shell and terracotta are found. It is significant that glass was also used for preparation of bangles and beads as revealed at Maski³², Paiyampalli³³ etc. It is however in the etched carnelian beads that the megalithic people show their distinctive taste. Many of the patterns etched on carnelian beads were common to South Indian megaliths³⁴.

The metal equipment of the megalithic builders is quite astonishing. Iron, copper and bronze were adeptly used for the preparation of carpentry, masonry and agricultural tools and implements as well as weapons of offence and defence. The iron tools include flat iron axes with cross-hands, daggers, swords, knives, barbed and plain arrow-heads, lances, flanged spears and spear-heads. In some cases daggers were equipped with copper hilts as at Pochampād.³⁵ Carpenter's kit comprised axes, chisels, adzes and others.

Offensive weapons such as lances, swords etc. indicate fight with the help of swiftmoving animals such as horses. At Sāñūr and Janāmpet³⁶ bridle bits of iron have been reported³⁷. Snaffle bits, barbed bits with looped ends, barbed bit with looped nose and mouthpiece have also been found. In addition, bones of horse also occur in many South Indian burials.

Among objects of daily use, mention may be made of frying pans, iron nails, ladles, lamps in addition to multiwicked lamps etc. Copper and bronze objects comprise bells with iron tongue, bronze ferrules from Maski, etc. All these varied objects indicate that the megalithic builders were master metallurgists. This high accomplishment was possible because of constant supply of raw material and of the knowledge they possessed of mining these metals.

It is difficult to analyse the religious or philosophical background behind these burials. The elaborate arrangement, variety and execution of these burial monuments indicate the united effort of the community and the belief in life after death among the megalithic folk.

The dating of the megaliths still borders on doubt. But fresh evidences have been shedding more light on this aspect. The terminal date in South India is well attested by the availability of Roman coins. It is agreed that the megaliths continued till about the first century A.D. Regarding its beginning the traditional and radio-carbon dates definitely indicate that megaliths are earlier than the third century B.C.³⁸ Recent evidences in Karnataka and Vidarbha have substantially pushed back the date to the earlier part of the first millennium B.C. As Prof. Deo states, "It is therefore logical that a full-fledged Megalithic culture having a cultural homogeneity of its own, which involves a longer period of time is assigned to a period which can be well placed around c. 1000 B.C., by which time, the Chalcolithic culture in the Deccan and the south has exhausted themselves."³⁹

The identification of the people is yet a problem. Attempts are made to identify them with the present nomadic and aboriginal tribes. The study of skeletal remains from Adichanallūr, Brahmagiri⁴⁰ and Yēlēswarem⁴¹ has given mixed results.⁴²

That the megaliths appear as a developing complex with several streams of influence combining in them is apparent. These monuments and the material equipment spread over a very large region speak of a well-knit social organisation essentially of a rigid and conservative character, having similar ideas of the funerary cult. Whether they were Dravidians or not, whether they came from outside India or not, it is quite clear that they contributed abundantly to the spread and homogeneity of iron technology. In order to fully comprehend the megalithic material culture, it is essential to undertake a comparative study of ceramic traditions and the cultural assemblage of both the late neolithic-chalcolithic and the neolithic cultures of Central India and the Deccan respectively and the megalith of South India in general.

Post-Megalithic Period

The beginning of the early historic period in South India is quite gradual but enough evidences are not forthcoming. However, by about the 4th-3rd century

B.C., a number of small self-sufficient villages and towns with a main agrarian base developed along the major riverine tracts in general. From about the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. to the early centuries of the Christian era, a progressive growth of these places took place owing to their becoming nodal points and meeting centres of local as well as cross-country trade and commerce or, as coastal ports and inland market towns or, as centres of provincial or central administration.

Some of the important sites excavated in the last two decades have revealed some information regarding the various factors that contributed to the development of these towns and cities. The excavated sites include Banavāsi, Brahmagiri, Chandra-valli, Hallūr, Hemmige, Tekkalakōṭa, T.Narasīpur and Maski in Karnataka, Amarāvati, Dharaṇikōṭa, Kēsarapalle, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Pīklichāl and Yēlēswarem in Andhra Pradesh, Aḷagarai, Arikamēḍu, Kāñchipuram, Karaikāḍu, Karūr, Kāvēripūmpa-attinam, Korkai, Maḷaiyampullūr, Pallavamēḍu, Pērūr, Scīgāmēḍu, Tīrukkāmpuliyūr, Uraiyūr and Vasavasamudram in Tamilnadu. Some of these settlements had quite an early beginning going back to the neolithic-chalcolithic times and the habitation continues right upto medieval and modern times. This aspect of continuous habitation in South India's towns and cities is quite distinct and characteristic. It speaks of its innate conservative character. Very few sites yielded features of fortifications, town planning and house complexes. The architectural features are not clear enough to distinguish them and formulate an evolutionary development of town-planning. Certain broad generalisations alone can be attempted.

Dharaṇikōṭa⁴³

Dharaṇikōṭa, situated on the right bank of the Kṛishna, has long been known as a fortified township and port-cum-mart. Seven structural phases of a high wall were traced here. The earlier six relate to a period when its function was more to serve as an embankment-cum-wharf abutting a deeply cut navigation channel, for leading in the boats laden with merchandise, which connected the river during high tide and these were berthed at the wharf along the embankment.

In the earliest phase, the new channel was cut into the natural lateritic ridge for facilitating boats to berth. A hearth with vent-holes and ash found in the occupational deposits indicate that the users of the ridge and wharf lived nearabout. Phase II was a very busy period as evidenced by the construction of the wharf raised upon wooden posts indicated by rows of post-holes. In phase III, the wooden wharf appears to have gone out of use and was replaced by a brick wharf built along the inner edge of the channel. The embankment was further raised by a new ramp. In phase IV, the wharf-cum-ramp was superimposed by a brick revetment on both sides of the channel with lateritic gravel as the packing material. In phase V, the embankment of the fort received reinforcement of the innerside while the apex of the embankment was raised further with sand and sandstone chips. It was held in its proper gradient and secured against erosion by the provision of retaining walls of laterite blocks, sealed on their tops by a layer of rubble in lateritic gravel. It now took the

shape of a defensive fort wall, standing behind a deep and wide channel, resembling an earthen fort and moat. Some repairs were carried out in phase VI belonging to the late Sātavāhana times. The earliest phase may be dated to the 2nd century B.C. In the last phase, the channel was deliberately filled in, transforming it into a land fort. It occurred during the time of the Ikshvākus in the 3rd-4th century A.D. This in short represents the history of this unique port-cum-fort, a feature not represented elsewhere in contemporary sites.

On the other hand the actual habitation commences almost from the toe of the rampart. While a hearth with vent-holes in phase I suggests that the users of the ridge were living nearby, in phase II regular habitation activity is indicated by the occurrence of post-holes, drains or cut channels. Phase III shows some structural activity such as drains and soak-pits indicative of sanitary development. Phase IV was represented by a circular brick structure perhaps a well or a barn. Phase VII has revealed a tiled platform being the latest structural activity before the final abandonment of the township.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍā⁴⁴

Here the citadel with its fortification wall, ditch, gates and barracks throw light on the town-planning and reveal the most flourishing condition of the capital of the Ikshvākus during the 3rd century A.D. The citadel wall enclosing a trapezoidal area of about 3000' × 2000' ran along the right bank of the Krishna on the west, while on the south it surrounded the Peddakundēlguṭṭa hill at a height of 170'; on the east its maximum extant height was 16' above the surrounding plain. Two phases of construction of the defence wall were traced; the first or lower phase was represented by a rampart of *murrum* of 80' width at base, resting on the natural soil, except on the west where it overlay an earlier occupational deposit represented by a floor and a few hearths.

In the second phase, a burnt brick (size: 20' × 9½' × 2½') wall 9' × 14' thick was added, built either directly on the existing rampart or on a secondary filling over it, but on natural high ground, directly on the bare rock surface. Except for the portion overlaying the hill, the fortification wall was surrounded by a ditch 12' deep and varying from 74' to 132' in width. Two main gateways, one each on the east and the west and a narrow postern gate on the north perhaps serving as an emergency exit were found. Close to the eastern gateway were barracks including stables and a nicely plastered masonry cistern. In the central region of the fortified area, several fragmentary brick structures, apparently dormitories for the royal retinue were exposed. A private bath was also found in one of them.

The biggest establishment within the fort was the *aśvamēdha* site along with several other distinctive ritualistic structures, enclosed by a massive compound and the palace complex. A number of other equally important structures were found outside the fortifications such as the stadium, temples, pillared halls, bathing ghats and so on. That only important personnel of defence, the royal retinue and the nobility resided in the area within the rampart is clear. Along the river bank a number

of religious structures including the Kārtikēya temple and other Brahmanical shrines were built. The whole valley was dotted with Buddhist structures⁴⁵ as revealed by innumerable *stūpas*, monasteries, *vihāras*, *chaityas* and other allied structures. A dock-yard with a heavy brick embankment and special U-shaped dock-like recessing, near the western gate of the citadel on the river side was also built, for the entry of ships. Limestone, cuddapah slabs, burnt bricks, rubble were utilised for building purposes.

A number of rubble structures⁴⁶ distributed along the valley, especially to the east of the citadel, reveal their residential character. The general plan of the area represents a well-laid out township, provided with streets, lanes, and by-lanes measuring 25', 15' and 8' respectively. The main street practically divided the township into two halves. Almost every compound was associated with large storage jars, often arranged in rows. One of the houses which yielded terracotta crucibles, a touchstone, an iron pestle, terracotta and stone weights, terracotta bangles, ear-rings and oblong moulds with designs for ornaments was identified as a goldsmith's shop. Another house had a hoard of Ikshvāku coins kept in a small pot.

Kāvēripāṇḍitānam⁴⁷

This ancient port-cum-capital city, situated on the bank of the river Kaveri, has been under excavation for five seasons. A number of architectural aspects of this town have been revealed. Three significant structures—a wharf, a water reservoir and a Buddhist *vihāra*, have been brought to light. At Kīlāiyūr, a massive platform 18.28 × 7.62m in size was exposed. Remnants of two wooden posts were laid close to the brick work. The structure was built on natural sand and most likely represented a wharf in the backwaters where boats could be anchored to the wooden posts. The size of the bricks (max. 24" × 12" × 3" and min 17" × 17" × 3") conforms to those used in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. A brick structure with 2m. high walls and an internal dia. 8m. exposed at Vāṇagiri suggested a water reservoir, fed by 83 cm. brick built inlet channel from the Kāvērī. It shows mouldings produced by chamfered and rounded edges, the channel probably having a corbelled roof. The structure belongs to 1st century A.D. A number of tiles used for the construction of houses are rectangular and flat (6" × 2") having a hook-like projection at one end. They were of uniform size prepared from moulds. Similar ones also occur at Kāñchīpuram.

An important structural complex is a Buddhist *vihāra* with five square rooms and a common verandah. The cells are 3.5m. square. A subsidiary structure had a number of offsets. The walls, built of large-sized bricks (42 × 24 × 10cm) of 1.7m. thick were originally decorated with moulded bricks and stucco. Traces of painting were also found. A bronze Buddha and a terracotta goddess figurine were important finds. Inside the *vihāra*, limestone carved with Buddhapāda and sacred symbol was found in another subsidiary structure of a later phase. It recalls similar features of art from Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. The main building goes back to c. 4th century A.D.

Arikamēdu

It represents a port-site of a buried town on the southeast coast. Much of the town has been washed out by the river and its former landward extent is unknown. Brick robbers have despoiled much of the site. A number of structures built with burnt bricks, drains, soak-pits, rings, etc were exposed.

Two sectors (northern and southern) were excavated and were found to have been occupied in the 1st-2nd century A.D. At the northern or sea-ward end, at the water level, was a large simple brick structure upwards 150' long, identified as a warehouse built about 50 A.D. It had been susceptible to floods and was abandoned at an early date. The southern sector comprised a site 10' above sea-level, occupied for a 100 years or more from the middle of the 1st century A.D. onwards. Its principal structures comprised two-walled courtyards associated with carefully built tanks, supplied and drained by a series of brick culverts. It is conjectured that these tanks and courtyards were used in the preparation of muslin cloth, a well-known product of this area. Among other industries of the town was bead-making as evidenced by finished and unfinished beads and other objects of semi-precious stones, perhaps assembled and worked. The occupation of this town began c. 100-50 B.C. and seems to have ended by the 2nd c. A.D.⁴⁸

Banavāsi⁴⁹

This ancient site rises some 4 m. from the surroundings and is enclosed by a fortification wall constructed of large-sized baked bricks (40×8 cm.). The fortifications were surrounded by a deep moat on three sides and the river Varada on the fourth. Two phases of repair by using brick-bats and laterite blocks were also found. Other structures exposed include traces of an apsidal temple or a *chaitya* and a square platform built of baked bricks (42×22×7 cm.). Large quantities of terracotta floor-tiles were found on the floor. This ancient town is said to have been visited by Hieun-Tsang in the 7th c. A.D. and the existence of a *chaitya* has been mentioned by him.

These are some of the historic sites wherein the evidence of major architectural features has been revealed by excavations such as fortifications, warehouses, palace complex, etc. In many other sites excavated, the actual evidence is extremely meagre to reconstruct the various structural features.

At Piklihā⁵⁰ there is little indication of any settlement of greater size in the early historic period. At Brahmagiri⁵¹ where excavations were conducted on a vertical scale, a road of stone rubble, 17'-18' wide terraced at interval to conform with the slope has come to sight. In addition, a few grooved tiles set on edge were also recovered. A few brick structures were recovered from Kēsrapalle belonging to the Ikshvāku period. In all the above three sites megalithic period of habitation is succeeded by the early historic levels.

Kāñchipuram, Uraiyūr and Korakai have yielded some architectural features of notable importance. The ancient city of Kāñchī,⁵² famous alike for its political and cultural glory, has yielded evidence for its association with Buddhism, in the

early centuries of the Christian era. In the lowermost levels, remains of a *stūpa* were traced. The structure had four courses of bricks. The bricks in the lower two formed a segment of a circle, while two upper courses were found to run straight. A row of post-holes was also traced. In the structure was found, an inscribed potsherd bearing the name of a Buddhist monk. It is dated c. 2nd-1st century B.C.; but the full outline plan of the structure is yet to be exposed.

At Pallavamēḍu,⁵³ traditionally associated with the Pallavas, earlier excavations have yielded some fragmentary ring-wells, in association with an urn-interment in the earliest levels. A shell industry was in evidence by the finds of cut chank of shells, bangles etc. in various stages of manufacture. Further work revealed that the river Vegavati was flowing nearby. A storage jar was found in early levels, and mud-brick structures consisting of platforms and floorings were in evidence. Vasavasamudram,⁵⁴ at the mouth of Palar, has yielded cultural assemblage similar to that from Arikamēḍu. It has revealed two ring-wells, located close to each other. In addition, a brick-lined pit with a drain seems to have existed near the ring-wells. This supports evidence, that the occupation of this site by a small isolated group of people having some commercial contact with the Mediterranean, sometime during the later part of the second century A.D.⁵⁵

At Uṛaiyūr,⁵⁶ a small baked-brick structure consisting of two adjoining cisterns measuring 68" square and 35" × 88" were exposed. The bottom of the rectangular cistern is at the lower end than the other. The real purpose of their use cannot be determined; but the possibilities of their industrial purpose such as dyeing vats cannot be ruled out. Tamil literature abounds in references to Uṛaiyūr being famous for its cotton industry in early times.

Korkai,⁵⁷ an ancient port and important centre of pearl fishery since early times, situated on the mouth of the Tambraparni has revealed some structural evidences. A brick structure overlying a ring-well was found. Soakage jars in clusters, one over the other, were also exposed. Their occurrence for the first time in the extreme south is to be noted. The brick structure was provided with a flight of steps. The bricks are large (45 × 28 × 7-1/2 cm.). A number of perforated tiles also were recovered. Tirukkāmpuliyūr⁵⁸ and Aḷagarai did not yield any substantial structural evidence except that of a granary with two apartments, even though cultural material goes back to early 4th-3rd century B.C.

The above evidences are not enough to reveal the actual town-planning and the house complexes during the early historic period. One fact emerges prominently. By about 4th-3rd century B.C., a number of settlements had already sprung up along the main rivers and also on the sea-coast, testifying essentially to their agrarian and commercial character. The general features of town-planning, had also come into vogue, such as fortifications of a town or city, palace complex and allied structures, residential townships having main streets, lanes, by-lanes provided with paved platforms, drains, soak-pits, jars, ring-wells etc. All these architectural manifestations of a semi-urban character, cannot develop without a solid industrial economy, consisting of craftsmen such as coppersmiths, ironsmiths,

and various artisans producing industrial raw-materials. Unfortunately, not much material evidence has been revealed by excavations in this aspect.

Pottery constitutes the largest bulk revealed from excavations. The range of technology, typology, fabrics, shapes is quite immense. To a large extent, the following are the various wares that were used in the early historic period.

1. Black-and-red ware of the megalithic fabric; 2. The Russet-coated painted ware; 3. Red ware—of all fabrics—coarse, fine, wash, slip, etc.; 4. Black-polished and slipped-ware; 5. Grey ware; 6. Red slipped ware and 7. Northern black polished ware.

Apart from these the number of fabrics represents either the original or copies of imitations from foreign proto-types. They include (a) Arretine ware; (b) Amphorae; (c) Rouletted ware and (d) Samian or Megarian ware.

Many of the fabrics of 1 to 6 are more or less the same reported at sites in South India. The identity of types signifies their use for similar purposes at several places.

Toilet, Dress and Ornaments

The material evidence is extremely scanty with regard to the toilet equipment. A few skin-rubbers used for removing dirt from body has been recovered from Arikamēḍu,⁵⁹ Brahmagiri,⁶⁰ Maski,⁶¹ etc. An ivory comb piece has also been found at Kāñchīpuram⁶² from early historic levels. In addition, antimony rods of copper have been reported at Aḷagarai,⁶³ Tirukkāmpuliyūr⁶⁴ and Uraiyūr.⁶⁵ Bronze mirrors were already known as revealed in urn-burials at Ādichanallūr⁶⁶ and seen to have survived in the early historic period.

Evidence regarding the actual remains of cloth or impressions of textiles is very rare. Throughout the period, South India has been known as famous for manufacture of textiles. At Tirukkāmpuliyūr⁶⁷ evidence comes in the shape of a silk thread identified as fibre datable to the 4th-5th century A.D.

Indirect evidence for textiles is attested by the objects such as spindle-whorls, spools, etc from many sites; the former is made of terracotta and has been recorded from Aḷagarai,⁶⁸ Arikamēḍu,⁶⁹ Brahmagiri,⁷⁰ Kāñchī,⁷¹ Maski,⁷² Tirukkāmpuliyūr⁷³ and so on. In some, double perforations are also found. Some spools have also been identified at Māski.⁷⁴

The largest and richest of the materials comprise the various objects that form part of ornaments and jewellery. These consist of two types: jewellery or complete ornaments and general ornamental objects or pieces. They were made of gold, copper and bronze of semi-precious stones—agate, amethyst, carnelian, chalcedony, crystal, garnet, jasper, lapis-lazuli, magnesite, paste, quartz, steatite, soapstone, coral, shell, glass and terracotta. The type of ornaments includes ear-plugs or discs, studs, rings, pendants, necklaces, hair-pins or clips, bangles, armlets, anklets, finger-rings and so on. Apart from the general shapes of beads found, some others of a type have also been worn in ornaments which include spacer and segmented beads, pendants, amulets, cemented and stratified eye beads and etched carnelian and agate beads.

Gold was worked artistically for preparing jewellery. Gold objects found consist of necklaces, beads, bangles and plaques. Gold beads have been reported at Arikamēdu.⁷⁵ Brahmagiri⁷⁶ has yielded bangle piece made of gold. A gold bead comes from Pērūr⁷⁷ in the earliest levels datable to c. 100 B.C. Uraiyūr⁷⁸ has reported gold pieces of chain in levels of the early Christian era. In addition, gold necklaces, beads, pendants and spacer beads, have been reported from the burials at Suttukeny.⁷⁹ near Pondicherry. Beads are of tubular shape with inset decoration that reveal foreign influence in their manufacture. The technique of granulation and filigree work has been employed in the preparation of long, thin tubular beads. Spacers and box-like pendant are also quite distinct. Similar bead necklaces have not been reported anywhere except at Taxila.

A number of gold ornaments, beads and other objects have been revealed from excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.⁸⁰ One of them⁸¹ is a delicately made plaque which testifies to the skill of the Ikshvāku goldsmiths. It consists of a nobleman holding a lotus, and standing in the posture of adoration. In addition, one of the goldsmith's shops has been identified with various tools and other objects for preparation of jewellery, within the residential complex of the town.

A few copper objects, known so far, include bangles, rings, ear-discs etc. Bangles of copper have been reported at Brahmagiri,⁸² Maski,⁸³ Pīklichāḷ,⁸⁴ Tirukkāmpuliyūr,⁸⁵ Uraiyūr,⁸⁶ etc. In addition, Brahmagiri⁸⁷ has yielded finger rings, bracelets with indented edges, spiral rings etc. At Pīklichāḷ⁸⁸ an earstud or disc of copper comprising of a copper-plate beaten over a clay core has been found. Uraiyūr⁸⁹ has also yielded copper rings.

The richest variety of ornamental pieces comes in the shape of beads made of semi-precious stones. To a large extent the raw materials were perhaps brought from far off places. For instance, bead manufacturing centres have been traced at Arikamēdu,⁹⁰ Kāvēripūmpaṭṭiṇam,⁹¹ etc. The traditional shapes such as spherical, bi-conical, cylindrical, tubular, barrel, with circular, rectangular, faceted sections have been found in abundance. Some distinct shapes include groove and lug-collared beads, which reveal chronological importance as evidenced at Arikamēdu,⁹² Brahmagiri,⁹³ Chandravallī,⁹⁴ Kāvēripūmpaṭṭiṇam,⁹⁵ Maski,⁹⁶ and other sites. Etched carnelian beads also occur at Maski.⁹⁷ The variety and shape of beads made of semi-precious stones are yet to be studied in detail. Unless the reports of excavations are published, it is difficult to assess the cultural implications, especially of the migration of patterns and shapes.

The next largest bulk of objects are made of shell. Ornaments include bangles, ear-ornaments, beads, etc. most of them decorated with designs, while some of them were incised with patterns. Shell cutting industry has long been an ancient profession with the people bordering areas of northern and southern coastlines. Most of the sites of this period have yielded objects made in shell. Shell industry consisting of beads, chank-cut pieces, columella of conch-shell, and objects in various stages of manufacture have been reported from a number of sites along the coast and also in the interior. They include Arikamēdu,⁹⁸ Kāvēripūmpaṭṭiṇam,⁹⁹ Kor-

kai,¹⁰⁰ Tirukkāmpuliyūr,¹⁰¹ etc. Bangles with various cut designs covered on them occur in plenty at Karūr¹⁰² and Pallavamēdu;¹⁰³ the latter had a factory site of this industry. Some of the bangles and beads have been found decorated with painted designs at Aḷagarai.¹⁰⁴

Manufacture of glass objects especially for ornamental purpose has become a popular industry from the beginning of the Christian era. (c. the 1st c. A.D. onwards). Many glass beads, bangles, ear-studs, etc have been reported from a number of sites in large numbers. Some of the glass ornaments have also been identified as imported from the Mediterranean world. The biggest *cache* of glass objects, mostly beads, and a huge glass manufacturing industry has been found at Arikamēdu.¹⁰⁵ The completed beads and also those in various stages of manufacture coupled with slags, lumps etc literally run into thousands. A complete study is yet to be undertaken on the glass industry at Arikamēdu. Many coloured glass were utilised and the popular ones include, blue, green, copper red etc. At Kāraikāḍu¹⁰⁶ is reported a glass industry coeval with those found at Arikamēdu. Tirukkāmpuliyūr¹⁰⁷ has yielded a number of glass objects comprising beads, bangles and ear-ornaments in later levels of early historic period. Dharaṇikōṭa¹⁰⁸ has revealed glass objects comprising beads, bangles, ear-ornaments, goldsmiths' mould for manufacture of ear-rings, datable to c. 2nd century B.C.-2nd century A.D. A few of them have been identified to be Roman glasses. But a detailed study is yet to be done on foreign glass objects and unless more objects are found, it is difficult to postulate any foreign origin.¹⁰⁹

Object made of terracotta represent the poor people's ornaments. Many of the ornamental pieces such as beads, pendants, ear-discs or plugs, rings, bangles and finger rings, amulets and other plaques such as *bullae* and medallions have been found in rich varieties in the South Indian sites. The common shapes in beads include globular or spherical, biconical, barrel, cylindrical and long tubular beads. But the significant shapes in terracotta are pear and arecanut shaped, lug and groove collared beads reported from many sites. A variety of shapes also occurs in ear-discs or plugs reported in this period. They consist of bicone, sharp groove in the middle, gamehead like a cylindrical stalk, wheel-shaped and others. Some of the terracotta ear-studs have star-studded decorations incised on them. Many of them reveal cultural influence from contemporary sites of Deccan and Central India.¹¹⁰

Metal Objects and Metallurgy

Iron and copper were extensively used for objects in the early historic period. Already the technology of iron had reached an advanced stage in the earlier megalithic times and there is no doubt that it was further improved in the early historic period, especially for the manufacture of tools, implements and weapons. Most, if not all the sites have yielded iron objects, but details of them are not known. Even then, the available evidence tends to show the mastery of metallurgy in this period. The common tools, implements and weapons comprise axes, daggers, knife, chisel, sickle, hooks, tanged blades, arrowheads, nails etc. A few copper objects

also have been found such as rods, rattles etc. These occur at many sites including Aḷagarai,¹¹¹ Arikamēḍu,¹¹² Brahmagiri,¹¹³ Hemmige,¹¹⁴ Maski,¹¹⁵ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,¹¹⁶ Tirukkāmpuliyūr,¹¹⁷ Uṇṇaiyūr,¹¹⁸ and others.

Arts and Crafts

In addition to metallurgy, the advancement in the field of arts and crafts was in no way lagging behind. A rich crop of objects have been found mostly made of terracotta which includes, human and animal figurines, representation of deities, playthings such as toys, model toy-carts and wheels, clay *bullae*, medallions, etc. Some of the finest terracotta human and animal figurines and other artistic objects have been reported at Arikamēḍu,¹¹⁹ Aḷagarai,¹²⁰ Brahmagiri,¹²¹ Kāñchīpuram,¹²² Kāvēripūmpaṭṭiṇam,¹²³ Korṅkai,¹²⁴ Maski,¹²⁵ Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,¹²⁶ Tirukkāmpuliyūr,¹²⁷ Uṇṇaiyūr,¹²⁸ and so on. Some of them are of high quality and superior workmanship. In addition, stucco figurines also come from Kāvēripūmpaṭṭiṇam¹²⁹ and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa¹³⁰ from later levels datable to c. 300-400 A.D. Though the terracotta art was not quite advanced as those existing in the contemporary Maurya, Śuṅga and Sātavāhana sites in North, Central and Western India and the Deccan, yet the variety and types definitely speak of the aesthetic taste and skill of the craftsman of the period in South India. Specimens of terracotta human and animal figurines and other artistic objects unearthed from Kāñchīpuram are enough to show how much the later art on stone and bronze owes its inspiration to the earlier art in clay and terracotta.

Much more material, though reported, is yet to be published and if done, will definitely reveal fresh information on the varied aspects of the poor man's art of South India in this period.

Food and Economy

Economy was mainly agrarian in this period. The implements found such as axes and sickles clearly reveal their use for agricultural purposes. As regards food, rice continued to be the staple diet. At Tirukkāmpuliyūr, husk and charred paddy have been found. A granary-like structure of a later period indicates storing of food grains. Much of direct evidence is not forthcoming in this respect. It is likely that rice, ragi, grams for the use of which evidence has already been known during the earlier megalithic period, continued to be the staple diet items in the early historic period.

Though economy was agricultural, advancement in other fields such as carpentry, smithy, weaving, manufacture of various industrial raw-materials such as bricks, iron objects, carving of wood, etc for building construction from palaces to public roads, trade and commerce both internal and international, clearly reveal that already a semi-urban economy had ushered in and begun to pave way for a more secure and settled life in the early historic period.

Such a large and extensive mass of material revealed from the excavations during this period testify to the many-sided activity of man in developing the varied

facts of economy. Moreover, the trade and commercial contacts with the outside world, for which enough evidence has already been well known, clearly reveal that there was a surplus economy in all aspects. There are indications already of control and authority in the rise of the historic kingdoms of South India.

Notes and References

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76. Wheeler, *AI*, No. 4 (1947), pp. 262-63, Pl. CXVIII, 16.
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79. The author had the rare opportunity of seeing these valuable finds from Suttukeny at Pondicherry. The author is extremely thankful to Dr. Francois Gros, Professor, College d'Indologie, Pondicherry and to the Advisor to the Governor, Pondicherry for showing him the gold objects from Suttukeny.
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82. Wheeler, *AI*, No. 4 (1947), pp. 262-63, Pl. CXVIII 17, 18.
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126. *IAR*, 1956-57, p. 38, Pl. LXI, A B; 1955-56, p. 26, Pl. XL.B.
127. Mahalingam, op. cit., pp. 54 ff; Pl. XIV-XVI, XXXI.
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POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANDHRA PRADESH

C. SOMASUNDARA RAO

THE TERM *ĀNDHRA* is at present used to denote the people, their country and the language. Another word *Telugu* connotes the same meaning; and the people refer endearingly to their land as the *Telugu-nāḍu*, the land of the Telugus. In all the earliest references to the people and the country, the term *Āndhra* is invariably used.¹ The *Aitar̥eya Brāhmaṇa* regards the *Āndhras* as the descendants of Viśvāmitra. The Buddhist literature mentions them as *Andhakas* and their habitat as *Andhakarāṭṭha*. Rock edict XIII of Aśōka speaks of *Āndhras* as a people living on the borders of his kingdom. Pliny, probably basing his statement on Megasthenes, states that the *Āndhras* had 30 walled towns and a large army. The *Purāṇas* refer to Simuka as an *Āndhra* who overthrew the *Kāṇvas* and founded his dynasty. The area inhabited by the *Āndhras* came to be known as 'Andhāpatha' in an inscription of the Pallavas of the 4th century A.D. In later centuries, the *Āndhras* were mentioned in the inscriptions as *Āndhras* and the *Telugus*.

Thus the early literature makes reference only to the people. It is from the rise of the *Sātavāhanas* to power that the dynastic history of *Āndhra* can be traced. But the early part of the history of *Āndhra* upto the advent of the Eastern *Chālukyas* is full of controversies.

The *Sātavāhanas* are the earliest known rulers of *Andhra Pradesh*. But their homeland, genealogy and chronology are all problems that have defied satisfactory solutions. The main sources for the reconstruction of their history are the *Purāṇas* and the epigraphic records. The earliest of their epigraphs are all found in Western Deccan, the region around Nasik and Nānāghaṭ in Maharashtra. The statement in the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravēla that Śātakarṇi's dominions lay to the west of his own kingdom of Kalinga is also taken to indicate that Maharashtra was their original homeland from where, after Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, they moved towards *Āndhra*. The *Purāṇas* call them *Āndhras* and this is, on the other hand, taken to mean that they refer to the community (*jāti*) of *Āndhras* while the rulers belonged to the family (*kula*) of *Sātavāhanas*.

The *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Vishṇu* and *Mhāgavata Purāṇas* that give an account of these rulers are in themselves not uniform. The *Matsya* refers to 29 rulers while the other three give the number as 30. But while according to this *Purāṇa* their total period of reign was 460 years, the *Vāyu* gives it as 411 or 300. The first ruler of the family was Simuka. Further, while Simuka who is said to have destroyed the *Kāṇvas* is placed in c. 28 B.C., by some scholars, others think that that was the beginning of the rule of Puṣumāvi I. This pushes back the date of Simuka to c. 271 B.C. The Śātakarṇi

whom Khāravēla is said to have ignored, is identified with Śātakarṇi II who is said to have commenced his rule in 184 B.C. In spite of Khāravēla, this Śātakarṇi asserted himself to celebrate the *aśvamēdha* and other sacrifices.

The chronology of the later Sātavāhanas also is not beyond dispute. Several initial dates for Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi are fixed ranging from c. 40 B.C. to 124 A.D. Those that place Simuka later suggest that Gautamīputra ruled from c. 124 A.D., while the latest suggestion of Prof. Venkat Rao is that he ruled between 62-86 A.D. It is needless to enter into these controversies.

With regard to their political history, depending upon the chronology one accepts, the achievements of the rulers also differ, although there is no controversy with regard to the historicity of these rulers themselves. Thus, among the early Sātavāhanas, while Simuka is credited with the overthrow of the Kāṇva rule in Magadha by some, this is said to be the achievement of Puṣumāvi I by others. Eighty-five years before Puṣumāvi ruled Śātakarṇi II, a contemporary of Khāravēla, who is said to have performed sacrifices like the *aśvamēdha*, *rājasūya* and *agnyādihāya*.

Among the later rulers Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is said to have wrested from the successors of Nahapāṇa, the Kshaharāta, territories which the latter had seized from his predecessors. It has been thought by some that it was Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī and not Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who was defeated by *mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman, the Kārdamaka. The record of this Śātakarṇi's mother Gotamī Balaśrī describes him as benevolent to his subjects, a father to his people, meticulous in maintaining caste purity, one who humbled the pride of the Kshatriyas and restored the glory of the royal Sātavāhana family.

Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi (II) succeeded his father. Two of his inscriptions are found at Āmarāvati and Dharaṇikōṭa, and many coins found in Andhra are assigned to him. The next ruler of importance is Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī. His dominions were confined entirely to the eastern Deccan. His brother Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi was a son-in-law of Rudradāman who is said to have installed him as a ruler of the Western Āndhra dominions.

Hāla, one of the Sātavāhanas and Kuntala Satakarni, yet another, are regarded as belonging to some collateral branches of the family by some scholars while others place them in the main family. However, it is true that the Sātavāhanas had established themselves well in the Western Deccan, considering the territories Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi conquered and later on confined themselves to the eastern dominions comprising great many parts of the present Andhra Pradesh.² At the peak of its power, the Sātavāhana kingdom extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea and the Narmada on the north to the Krishna in the south. Vijayanti, the present Banavāsi in the North Kanara District of Karnataka formed an integral part of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's kingdom.

When the Sātavāhana power declined their kingdom was split and Ābhīras, Ikshvākus and Chūṭus ruled in the north-west, central and south-west regions respectively. The Ābhīras were originally generals under the Śaka Satraps and ruled in Madhya Pradesh. The Chūṭus held power in the region around North Kanara in

Karnataka while the Ikshvākus ruled in the Krishna-Guñṭūr region. Not many details are known about these excepting a few about the Ikshvākus.

The successors of the Sātavāhanas in Āndhra were the Ikshvākus of Vijayapuri also known as Śrīparvatīyas (3rd century A.D.). They contracted matrimonial alliances with the local powers like the Dhanakas and the Pūgiyas and also with the Chūṭus and the Satraps of Malwa and Saurāshṭra. The alliance with the latter group, however, did not last long, for, they joined the Ābhīra ruler Vasushēṇa³ in putting an end to the Ikshvāku power. But none of these rivals could hold the Āndhra region. It was left to the Pallavas⁴ to become the masters of the region, south of the Krishna. The northern parts went into the hands of the Bṛihat-phalāyanas first and the Śālaṅkāyanas, a decade later.

The Pallavas with their capital at Kāñchī, ruled over the region south of the river Krishna for a long time, though with occasional losses. Viṣṇugōpa had to face the incursion of the Guptas under Samudragupta, but he was reinstated on his throne. During the period of their rule, the Pallavas had to cross swords with the Ānandas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Kandara, the founder of the Ānandas, won the battle of Dhānyakataka and wrested the Krishna valley, probably from the Pallavas.⁵ Though the successors of Kandara like Attivarman and Dāmōdaravarman could hold parts of the Guntur District, their power was subdued by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The association of the title '*Trikūṭa-malayādhipati*' with Kandara and later with Mādhavavarman, son of Dēvavarman, is a pointer in this regard. Yet, inscriptions show that the Pallavas held the region of the Nellore District and parts of the Guntur District. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins under Vikramēndra II soon clashed with the Pallavas for the latter's territory in Āndhra and were successful against Sīrṇavarman.⁶ With the incursions of Pulakēśi II into the Āndhra region and the subsequent establishment of the Eastern Chālukyan branch at Vēṅgi, the Guntur and Nellore regions must have come into their hands. For the possession of the Nellore region inhabited then by the Bōyas, there were clashes between the two dynasties. The Eastern Chālukyas succeeded in annexing the region in the time of Vijayāditya III (849-91 A.D.)⁷ and in holding it at least upto the end of the rule of Amma II (945-70 A.D.).⁸

One of the dynasties that ruled contemporaneously with the Pallavas was that of the Śālaṅkāyanas (4th century and the first half of the 5th century A.D.). It was from their time that Vēṅgi came into prominence. It was their capital; and it continued to be so for sometime during the Eastern Chālukyan rule. In the middle of the 4th century A.D., the Śālaṅkāyanas, like the Pallavas, were defeated by Samudragupta.

The Śālaṅkāyanas were succeeded by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, who held Āndhra for about two centuries (5th and 6th centuries). Rising to power in parts of Telanṅāṇa, they gradually extended their sway into the coastal Āndhra. This was the achievement of Mādhavavarman who performed 11 *aśvamēdhas* and 1,000 *kratus*. The occupation of vast areas could be as much due to the prowess of the king as to his alliance with the Vākātakas. The reign of his grandson, Indrabhātāraka

was occupied with conflicts with his relatives and the Eastern Gaṅgas. He was successful in both. The latter success was, however, temporary owing to the probable confederacy of the Maukharis, the Eastern Gaṅgas and the erstwhile friends of the Vishṇukunḍins like the Vākāṭakas. This must have made Mādhavavarman, one of the successors of Indrabhaṭṭāraka to undertake an expedition to Kalinga. In the first quarter of the 7th century A.D., authority was transferred from the Vishṇukunḍins to the Durjayas (Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi) and from the latter to the Eastern Chālukyas.

The Eastern Gaṅgas, with whom the Vishṇukunḍins and later the Eastern Chālukyas etc., had inimical relations, were a dynasty that ruled for about a thousand years over Kalinga, the region corresponding to East Godavari, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam Districts. Their power began in c. 498 A.D., and ended by 1434 A.D., when the Gajapatis usurped the throne. Their history from the time of Vajrahasta III (1038-1070 A.D.) is more clear than the early phase of their rule. During the early period, the Eastern Gaṅgas lost a part of their territory to Kokkili and his successors, who are known as the Chālukyas of Madhyama Kalinga,⁹ and to the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi. The latter take the title indicative of their rule in Tri-Kalinga.

The Eastern Chālukyas had an exceptionally long rule for over four centuries (624-1076 A.D.). Their rule extended from the present East Godavari District to the Nellore District. For sometime, a branch of the family ruled in Madhyama Kalinga with its headquarters at Elamañchili in the Visakhapatnam District. The areas coming under Rāyalasīma and Tēlaṅgāra were outside their jurisdiction. The Renāṇṭi Chōḷas, the Bāras, the Vaidumbas, the Chālukyas of Lēmulaṇḍa and the like held these regions, either independently or as feudatories of powers like the Early Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pallavas. Only the Muḍigonḍa Chālukyas could have been of some help to the Eastern Chālukyas.

Vishṇuvardhana, brother of Pulakēśi II of Eḍāmi was installed as his viceroy by the latter in the newly acquired territory around Vēṅgi. This prince, more probably referred to as *kubja* (the hunch-back) later became the founder of the Eastern Chālukya family. The country over which they ruled was a coveted area because of its fertility, fed as it was by the Krishna and the Godavari. The two powers of the south in Karnataka and Tamilnadu waged between themselves, long drawn out battles for the occupation of this country. The history of the Eastern Chālukyas is, in one sense, a part of the history of the two other regions. Numerous copper plates of these rulers have been found and in comparison, the stone records are fewer in number. The history of these rulers from Guṇaga Vijayāditya III onwards in the second half of the 9th century has been fairly reconstructed, although here and there genealogical and chronological problems have resulted in differences of opinion among scholars.

Vishṇuvardhana ruled for 18 years (624-41 A.D.) and was succeeded by his sons Jayasimha I and Indra bhaṭṭāraka, the latter ruling, according to some sources, only for a few days. Vishṇuvardhana II was the son of Indra. He bore the title

vishamasiddhi while his son Maṅgi yuvarāja was known as *vijayasiddhi*. Maṅgi was succeeded by his son *sarvasiddhi* Jayasīrṃha II, after whom (718 A.D.) there occurred a dispute for the throne between his half brothers Kokkili and Viṣṇuvardhana III. The former, being the younger, reconciled himself with the latter and ruled independently from Elamanchili in Middle Kalinga. We know of four generations of this collateral family.

Viṣṇuvardhana III called *vishamasiddhi*, came into conflict with Pallava Nandivarman II in assisting his ally Prithivīvyāghra, a Bōya chieftain against the Pallava general Udayachandra. The closing years of his reign witnessed a change in Karnataka where the Chālukya was overthrown by Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga. These Rāshtrakūṭas later had inimical relations with the Eastern Chalukyas. Gōvinda II claims to have led an expedition against Vēṅgimaṇḍala when the Vēṅgi ruler offered him rich treasures etc. Although this might not have resulted in any loss of territory, this was the beginning of the feuds between these Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. The conflict lasted as long as the Rāshtrakūṭas lasted i.e., from c. 753 A.D., to 973 A.D.

Notwithstanding the matrimonial alliances concluded between the two dynasties in the reigns of Viṣṇuvardhana IV (771-806 A.D.) and Vijayāditya II (806-46 A.D.) of the Eastern Chālukya family, the hostilities continued unabated. Neither of them emerged completely victorious. Barring Guṇaga Vijayāditya (848-91 A.D.) who retaliated against the Rāshtrakūṭa attacks, the other successful Eastern Chālukya kings contented themselves with driving out the invader. While the Rāshtrakūṭa kings like Kṛishṇa, Dhruva, Amōghavarsha and Kṛishṇa III were successful against the Eastern Chālukyas, there is evidence to show that the latter under Vijayāditya II and III and Chālukya Bhīma I and II repelled the Rāshtrakūṭa forces. In the early part of his reign, Vijayāditya III was forced to become a vassal of Amōghavarsha. But later he grew strong and threw off the yoke by his remarkable victory over Kṛishṇa II, the successor of Amōghavarsha.

The constant interference of the Rāshtrakūṭas in Vēṅgi and their success were due mainly to the struggles for succession to the Eastern Chālukya throne. The brothers of kings or the members of the collateral families who contended for the throne could easily invoke and secure the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas against their own relatives. The rival claimants to the Vēṅgi throne. Bhīma Saḷuki, Yuddhamalla and his family, could become a serious menace to the kingdom owing to the support from the Rāshtrakūṭas. In spite of the success scored by some of the Eastern Chālukya rulers, the constant hostility sapped the energies of the kings and drained the finances of the kingdom. As the region became a battleground, chaotic conditions prevailed.

The fall of the Rāshtrakūṭas was brought about by the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa in 973 A.D. The same year witnessed the death of Dānārṇava of the Eastern Chālukya family at the hands of Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma.¹⁰ Śaktivarman and Vimalāditya, sons of Dānārṇava, had to flee for life to the Eastern Gaṅga court. But the successful attack of Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma on Kalinga drove the panic-stricken sons of

Dānārṇava to the Chōḷa court. Rājarāja Chōḷa gave them refuge and gave his daughter Kundavvai in marriage to Vimalāditya. He took measures to drive out Jaṭāchoḍa Bhīma and restored Śaktivarman to the Vēṅgi throne by 999-1000 A.D. This matrimonial alliance bound the Eastern Chālukyas to the Chōḷas. This alliance was renewed in the time of Rājendra Chōḷa by the marriage of his daughter, Ammaṅgādēvi with Rājarājanarēndra (1022-61 A.D.). From now onwards, the Eastern Chālukyas depended upon the Chōḷas for support, whenever they were threatened, internally or externally. The Chālukyas always tried to foil the attempts of the Chōḷas to make Vēṅgi their dependency. They created disorder in Vēṅgi by championing the cause of rival claimants to the Vēṅgi throne and invaded it. With the Chōḷa alliance, the Eastern Chālukyas had to face enmity with the branch of their own family, the Western Chālukyas.

Rājarāja succeeded his father Vimalāditya as the Eastern Chālukya king. His coronation was however delayed by three or four years because of the opposition of his half brother Vijayāditya who claimed the Vēṅgi throne with the Western Chālukya support. By 1022 A.D., the Chōḷas came to Rājarājanarēndra's rescue and crowned him. In 1031-35 A.D., however, Vijayāditya succeeded in establishing himself in Vēṅgi. But later, in the battle of Kalidiṇḍi, the Chōḷas seemed to have scored a victory and restored Vēṅgi to Rājarājanarēndra. The political situation in Vēṅgi in the forties and the fifties of the 11th century A.D., fluctuated from the Chōḷas to the Western Chālukyas and *vice versa*.¹¹ Even after the death of Rājarājanarēndra in 1061 A.D., the conflict between the Chōḷas and the Western Chālukyas continued, probably because the first championed the cause of Rājendra, the son of Rājarājanarēndra, while the latter that of Vijayāditya VII. Despite the successes of Chōḷa Vīra Rājendra over the Western Chālukyas, circumstances did not allow securing Vēṅgi for Rājendra. On the other hand, Vijayāditya could wield his power in Vēṅgi, possibly with the help of another power, Gaṅga Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman and receive recognition of his rule from the Chōḷas. It was only after the death of Vijayāditya VII in 1076 A.D., that Rājendra (who became the Chōḷa ruler in 1070 A.D. and assumed the name Kulōttuṅga), son of Rājarājanarēndra, could become the master of Vēṅgi as well.

The accession of Kulōttuṅga, son of Rājarājanarēndra, to the Vēṅgi throne in 1076 A.D., marked another change in the status of Vēṅgi. It lost its independence and became the seat of a viceroy. Kulōttuṅga, the first of the Chālukya-Chōḷas,¹² sent his sons to Vēṅgi as viceroys. The Velanāṭis ruling over parts of Guntur District were feudatories of Chālukya-Chōḷas. With the viceroys and Āndhra feudatories, Kulōttuṅga brought Kalinga under his sphere of influence by placing Anantavarman Chōḍa, ṅga on the Eastern Gaṅga throne.

The Chālukya-Chōḷas prevented Vēṅgi from passing into the hands of the Western Chālukyas. The latter under Vikramāditya VI and Sōmēśvara III made every effort to wrest the region and succeeded at times which is evidenced by the inscriptions of the Velanāṭi and other chiefs in Andhra acknowledging the suzerainty of the Western Chālukyas. Vikrama Chōḍa, the successor of Kulōt-

tuṅga, and the Velanāṭi chiefs drove out the Western Chālukyas in 1135 A.D., after their success in the battle of Godavari. From this time, the Velanāṭis became powerful in Āndhra as the representatives of the Chālukya-Chōḷas. Whenever the Velanāṭis tried to impose their own suzerainty over other principalities in Āndhra, the chiefs defied the supremacy of the Velanāṭis. But these rebellions were crushed and by 1169 A.D., Velanāṭi Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa II calls himself the ruler of the area bounded by the eastern ocean, Kālahasti, Śrīśailam and the Mahēndragiri. But this situation was not to last long; for, the internecine warfare among the chiefs and the assumption of independence by some of them afforded an opportunity for the Kākatīyas to expand their power into the coastal Andhra. In these efforts Prōla II was killed; but his successor, Rudradēva reduced the power of the Velanāṭis by 1186 A.D., by conquering the Nāṭavāḍi, the Kōṭa and the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chiefs.

The Kākatīyas rose to power first as generals of the Rāshtrakūṭas¹³ and later as vassals of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Serving their masters loyally, they obtained parts of Tēlaṅgāṇa. They took advantage of the declining fortunes of their masters and asserted their independence. Soon Rudradēva (1150-96 A.D.) and his nephew Gaṇapatiḍēva (1199-1261 A.D.) extended their empire at the expense of the Chālukya-Chōḷas. Gaṇapati's help to Chōḍa Tikka and Manumasiddhi II of the Telugu-Chōḷa family of Nellore secured for them the Rāyalasīma area as well. They maintained their hold by their strength and by matrimonial alliances with local chiefs like the Nāṭavāḍis, the Ayyas and the Chālukyas of Niḍadavōlu. Many other feudatories like the Rēcherlas and the Malyāḷas assisted the Kākatīyas. With the help of these, they could unite the territory of the present day Andhra Pradesh under one sceptre.

The vast empire of the Kākatīyas had, however, to face the enmity of the Hindu powers like the Sēvuṇas of Dēvagiri and the Pāṇḍyas of Madura and of the Muslim Sultans of Delhi. Rudradēva and Mahādēva lost their lives in their conflict with the Sēvuṇas; Gaṇapatiḍēva was imprisoned and released later. Rudramadēvi (1259-89 A.D.)¹⁴ and Pratāparudra (1289-1323 A.D.) were, however, successful over the Sēvuṇas. The Pāṇḍyan trouble, however, remained. In spite of their initial successes, the Kākatīyas could not retain their hold over the Telugu-Chōḷa kingdom of Nellore. The region was coveted by the Pāṇḍyas who succeeded in wresting it from the Kākatīya control after their victory in the battle of Muttukūru in 1263 A.D. But the conflicts continued; and the kingdom had a frequent change of masters. Neither the Pāṇḍyas nor the Kākatīyas could hold it as their own. The Kāyasthas, one of the former subordinates of the Kākatīyas, asserted their independence under Arhbadēva who defeated both the Pāṇḍyas and the Āndhras (Kākatīyas) and put his own nominee on the Nellore throne. This rebellion was put an end to by Rudramadēvi's successor Pratāparudra. The latter could make headway and consolidate the position in the internal affairs; but his reign witnessed the Khalji and Tughluq invasions of Andhra, which ultimately led to the fall of the Kākatīyas in 1323 A.D.

The Muslim rule in Andhra was temporary. The atrocities they committed

provoked a rebellion by the Hindus. The Musunūris¹⁵ under Prōlaya-nāyaka and the Redḍis¹⁶ under Prōlaya Vēma conquered the coastal tract and became its masters by 1325 A.D. Later Kāpaya-nāyaka, the successor of Prōlaya-nāyaka, occupied even parts of Telaṅgāṇa, while Harihara and Bukka of the Saṅgama family shook off the allegiance to the Muslims by 1336 A.D., and established the Vijayanagara empire.¹⁷

Among these three, the Musunūri rule was a short one, lasting half a century. Their possessions in Telaṅgāṇa went into the hands of the Rēcherlas who, like the Redḍis and the Saṅgamas, founded an independent principality with Rāchakonḍa in the Nalgonda District as its headquarters. They seem to have served the Kākatīyas and to have become independent later.¹⁸ Soon they came into clash with Kāpaya-nāyaka who conquered parts of Telaṅgāṇa from the Muslims in 1335-36 A.D. Anavōta-nāyaka killed Kāpaya-nāyaka by 1369 A.D. and annexed the latter's territory there. Initially, the Rēcherlas were friendly with the Bāhmanīs and fought against the Redḍis and the Saṅgamas. Later, in Māda's time (1421-30 A.D.), they fought on the side of Vijayanagara as against the Bāhmanīs. The latter then began the conquest of the territory of the Rēcherlas. The Rēcherlas could hold their own for a short period because of the help of Kapilēśvara Gajapati. The Bāhmanīs, however, succeeded in wresting their region in the time of Muhammad Shah II. After the loss of their territory in Telaṅgāṇa, the Rēcherlas served the Vijayanagara rulers and obtained large territories in Rāyalasīma and the coastal tract.

The second half of the 14th and the first half of the 15th centuries witnessed the conflict between the Redḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. The Redḍis were masters of the coastal Āndhra, south of the Krishna, and of parts of the Kurnool District. The Saṅgamas tried to extend their empire upto the Krishna. The struggle for succession to the throne on either side was an opportunity for the other to extend its sphere of influence. The establishment of the Redḍi kingdom of Rājahmundry during the reign of Kumāragiri Redḍi, followed by the conflict between the two Redḍi kingdoms, had a disastrous effect. The Rāyas supported the cause of the Redḍis of Rājahmundry and attacked the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. They succeeded in annexing the erstwhile areas of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom by about 1424 A.D. The other kingdom of the Redḍis survived only for a quarter of a century until it was occupied by the Gajapatis of Orissa.

Though the Saṅgamas were successful over the Redḍis, they were not so fortunate in their conflict with the Bāhmanīs. They withstood the Bāhmanī attacks and tried to maintain their hold over the Raichūr doab. The Gajapati attack had a devastating effect in that the Saṅgamas lost the coastal Āndhra tract.

After successfully wresting the Redḍi kingdom of Rājahmundry, Kapilēśvara's forces not only conquered the southern parts of Āndhra, but advanced into the far south by 1463 A.D. Though they left the southern-most parts, their authority prevailed upto the Udayagiri region. The defeats sustained by the Saṅgama rulers after Dēvarāya II at the hands of the Bāhmanī Sultans and the Gajapatis exhibited

the weakness of the rulers and favoured the rise of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha to power. He usurped the Vijayanagara throne in 1485 A.D., and ruled for six years. He tried to recover the lost possessions in Andhra, but was overpowered by Puruṣhōttama Gajapati. The work of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was continued by his general, Tuḷuva Narasa-nāyaka who was named the regent of the sons of Narasiṁha. But there was much opposition to his power; and he could achieve limited success over the Adil Shahis and the Gajapatis. His son, Vīra Narasiṁha succeeded him as the regent of Immaḍi Narasiṁha and slew the master and brought about the Tuḷuva usurpation by 1504-05 A.D. The rebellions of the chiefs in defiance of the authority of the Sāḷuvas and the Tuḷuvas did not give time for the kings to undertake measures against the Gajapatis. It was only Kṛṣṇadēvarāya (1509-29 A.D.) who could muster strength and give fight to Pratāparudra Gajapati and effectively occupy the Āndhra region, south of the Krishna. He conquered the territory from the Krishna to Siṁhachālam, if not Cuttack, and gave it back to the Gajapati after the conclusion of a matrimonial alliance.

The split of the Bāhmanī kingdom into five independent principalities in due course from about 1491 A.D., did not leave the Vijayanagara empire in peace. Bijāpūr and Gōlkoṇḍa were interested in extending their frontiers at the expense of Vijayanagara. With occasional losses, the Tuḷuvas held the Raichur doab from the time of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's conquest of Raichur. Aḷiya Rāmarāya, the regent of Sadāśivarāya, raised the Tuḷuva power by playing one Sultan against another. He profitted himself by his successful diplomacy. The Sultans realised that they were loosing because of their own mutual jealousies. They patched up their quarrels and stood united against Rāmarāya. In the battle of the Rakkasutaṅgaḍḍi in 1565 A.D., Rāmarāya was slain and the Tuḷuvas were defeated. From this time onwards, the kings of Vijayanagara could not think of their claim to the Raichur doab. It passed effectively into the hands of the Ādil Shāh.

The victory of the Sultans over Vijayanagara had far-reaching effects. Though the empire survived for a century more under the Āravīḍus, who usurped the throne in 1571 A.D. under Tirumala, the glory of the empire was gone. The empire became a prey to the expanding Qutb Shāhis and Ādil Shāhis. Owing to the fall of the Gajapati dynasty and the difficulties in which the Vijayanagara rulers were involved after 1565 A.D., Ibrahim Qutb Shāh could strengthen his power in Telaṅgāṇa and later occupy the coastal Āndhra from Śrīkākuḷam to Koṇḍavīḍu. Though efforts were made by Veṅkaṭapatiṛāya I (1586-1614 A.D.) to regain Koṇḍavīḍu and its environs, he failed in his objective. Making Koṇḍavīḍu as their base of operations, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh (1580-1612 A.D.) and his successors could occupy the whole coastal tract of Āndhra in course of time. The western parts of Āndhra went under the authority of the Sultans of Bijāpūr. Internally, the Southern Nāyaks, particularly those of Madura and Gingee, created many problems by the assertion of their independence and by entering into alliances with the Muslims as against the Vijayanagara rulers. The help rendered by the loyal rulers like the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Ikkēri could be of no avail. As a result, Śrīraṅga IV (1642-81 A.D.?)

lost his kingdom and spent his last days as a fugitive in the courts of his erstwhile subordinates, with the vain hope of recovering the lost empire.

A survey of the history of Āndhra from the earliest times to the 16th century points out the shifts of political power from region to region. Upto the end of the Chālukya period, the centre of activity was the Vēṅgi region. During the heyday of the Kākatiyas, the entire Āndhra was brought together under one rule. The following centuries, however, witnessed the see-saw of political struggle among the Bāhmanīs, the Reddīs, the Gajapatis and the Rāyas.

Notes and References

- 1 For early references, see G Yazdani (Ed.) *The Early History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, Parts I and II. B.C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 20.
- 2 G Venkatrao in *The Early History of the Deccan* (ed Yazdani), Parts I-VI, p. 89. For a detailed discussion on the various issues of the Sālavāhana problem, see K Gopalachari *Early History of the Andhra Country*, D. C. Sircar *Successors of Sālavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, M. Rama-Rao *Studies in the Early History of Andhradēśa* and a number of other papers in several Journals.
- 3 Nāgārjunikonda inscription of Vasuśrīṇa, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 197-203, Plate.
- 4 Manchikallu inscription of Śmṛhavarman, *ibid.* XXXII, pp. 87-90, Plate.
- 5 Chezerla inscription of Kandara's grandson, *SLI* VI, No. 594.
- 6 Indrapālanagara plates of Vikramāditya II, *Bhūṭi* July, (1965) *JIH*, (1965).
- 7 Addanki inscription of Paṇḍaranga of the time of Viṣaḍḍitya III, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 271-77.
- 8 Mahiyāṁḡundi grant of Amma II, *ibid.* IX, pp. 47-56.
- 9 Muñḍeru plates of these kings were noticed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1908-09, pp. 104-05, 107. Later this branch was displaced by the Eastern Gangas (See Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri *80th Birthday Felicitation Volume*, pp. 117-24).
- 10 The Eastern Chālukya inscriptions of the 11th century A.D. do not refer to this rule, but mention that after Dārānava, Vēṅgi became leaderless for 27 years. Reference has been made to the rule of Āndhra Bhīma (Jāṭī, hōdī Bīma) after that of Dārānava in the Mallavaram plates of Parāntaka. N. Ramesan *Studies in Medieval Deccan History*.
- 11 The relations of Rājaraṇa Nārāṇḍra and his son Rāḍḍra (Kuḍḍuṅga I) with Vijayāditya (VII) have been viewed differently. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi*, Chaps. XX-XXII; G. S. Gai and D. C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.* XXXV, pp. 253-68.
- 12 See M. Somasekhara Sarma, Chālukya Chōḷis (Telugu) in *Telugu Śaśvriti*, Vol. 3 of *Telugu Vijaṇāna Sarvasvaṁ*.
- 13 Bayyārām tank inscription of Madama, sister of Kakati Ganapatiśēva (*Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol. I, pp. 71-94). Māṅgallu grant of Dūḍḍinava (*ibid.*, pp. 57-70).
- 14 Rudramāśvī was formerly taken to be ruling upto 1295 A.D., but now the discovery of the Chandupāṭḷa record dated in 1289 A.D., which records a gift in order that the queen might attain *Śiva-lōka*, shows that by the time of the record, she passed away (*Bhārati*, May, 1974, pp. 4-7).
- 15 M. Somasekhara Sarma *The Last Chapter of Andhra History*.
- 16 M. Somasekhara Sarma *History of the Reddī Kingdoms*.
- 17 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya *Further Sources of the Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I (Introduction).
- 18 Most of the information comes from *Telugūḍḍrā i Vanśāvali*, edited by N. Venkataramanayya.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF KARNATAKA

SHRINIVAS RITTI

Hoary Past

THE ANTIQUITY OF KARNATAKA can be traced back to the epic period. Karnataka as such does not find a mention in the *Rāmāyaṇa* but many a place associated with it is identified with different regions in Karnataka. Tradition locates the capital of the Vānara chiefs Vāli and Sugrīva around Pampā near Hampi in Bellary District. As indicated by Nāgachandra, these Vānaras were so-called because of their Vānara insignia on their banners.

Karṇāṭa or Karnāṭaka is alluded to in the *Mahābhārata* and so are Kuntala, Mahishaka and Vanavāsaka. These regions are variously associated with different parts of Karnataka, such as the Mysore region and the Banavāsī area in North Kanara District. The legend of Paraśurāma associates him with the west coast calling the region as Paraśurāmakshētra. It may be noted that the story ascribing the creation of Sapta Koṅkaṇas is recorded in Kannada inscriptions of the 12th century. The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and the work of Pliny (1st century A.D.), mention certain localities which are identified with those in Karnataka. The famous geographer Ptolemy also mentions a number of places which have been identified with places in different parts of Karnataka. A clearer picture emerges when we come to the last centuries of the pre-Christian era, though here again we have to depend to some extent on legends and tradition.

The Mauryan Period

The rise of the Magadha empire ushered in a new era in the political history of India when, for the first time, an all India empire was conceived and almost accomplished. The Nandas were the first to rule over a vast empire of which, according to traditional accounts, Karnataka was a part. There is yet another tradition associating Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan empire, with the far off Śravaṇabelagoḷa in the South Karnataka. This tradition obviously indicates that this place was a famous Jaina centre situated in the Mauryan empire. That almost the whole of Karnataka was a part of the Mauryan empire is indeed clear from the minor rock edicts of Aśōka located in this region at Maski and Koppal in Raichur District, Brahmagiri, Jaṭiṅga Rāmēśvara and Siddāpur in Chitradurga District, and Niṭṭur in Bellary District. Aśōka's edicts mention the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Kēraḷas and the Satyaputras as his southern neighbours. It is suggested that this last mentioned region corresponds roughly to the South Kanara District. Obviously, it was outside the Mauryan empire.

Under the Mauryas Suvarṇagiri and Isilā were divisional head-quarters where their officers were stationed. Probably Suvarṇagiri was the present Kanakagiri near Maski, while Isilā was the present Brahmagiri itself.

Under the Sātavāhanas

The disintegration of the Mauryan empire gave rise to many smaller ruling dynasties, both in the south and the north. In the south the Sātavāhanas rose to prominence.

The original home of the Sātavāhanas has been a controversial subject. It is possible that the Sātavāhanas, who originally belonged to the western part of the Deccan extended their sway, in course of time, to the whole of the Deccan including Karnataka. There are noticeable vestiges of Sātavāhana rule in Karnataka, apart from the coins occasionally discovered in different parts of this region. There are sites which can be clearly ascribed to the Sātavāhana period. The site at Waḍagaon-Mādhavapur, on the outskirts of Belgaum has brought to light house-sites with bricks, coins and pottery, clearly ascribed to the Sātavāhana period. So is the remnant of the *stūpa* unearthed at Banavāsi. The unexcavated rich site near Sannati in the Gulbarga District is yet another site of the period. Recently, Banavāsi has yielded a Sātavāhana inscription of about 2nd-3rd centuries, belonging to Śivaśrī Puṣumāvi. One of the kings of this dynasty, namely Hāla, calls himself *Kuntala-janapadēśvara* which is an indication of the Sātavāhana association with Karnataka. Another of the kings is known as *Kuntaka Sātakarṇi*. In early inscriptions, the Bellary region is described as *Sātāhanihāra* and *Sātahaniraṭṭa* i.e., the area under the Sātavāhanas. The Sātavāhanas ruled in the Deccan right from the 2nd century B.C. down to the 3rd century A.D. But their major sphere of activity seems to have been the upper part of the Deccan. Karnataka was probably a province in the Sātavāhana kingdom.

Towards the end of the rule of the Sātavāhanas parts of Karnataka were governed by a family known as Chūṭu, probably as subordinates to the Sātavāhanas. The names of chiefs of the former family indicate that it was also related to the Sātavāhanas. Inscriptions of this family are found in Banavāsi in North Kanara District and Maḷavaḷḷi in Shimoga District. The Banavāsi record mentions "Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi", his daughter Sivaskanda Nāgaśrī and her son described as *yuvārāja*. The Maḷavaḷḷi inscription also mentions a king of the same name as a ruler of Banavāsi. On palaeographic ground, which seems to indicate that the Maḷavaḷḷi record is later than the one at Banavāsi, it is possible to infer that the ruler mentioned in the Maḷavaḷḷi record is the same as the unnamed *yuvārāja* mentioned in the inscription at Banavāsi.

Pallava Interregnum

There is no reliable evidence to know the position of Karnataka immediately after the Sātavāhana rule. It is likely that it came under the sway of the Pallavas of Kāñchī. This is indicated, on the one hand, by the provenance of a Pallava copper plate grant in this region at Hirehaḍagali in Bellary District and on the other, by the statement in the Kadamba inscription at Tālagunda, that the first member of the dynasty obtained the territory from the Pallavas. It is not very unlikely that there was some sort of relationship between the Chūṭus and the Pallavas. The simi-

larity of the name Śivaskandanāgaśrī, the Chūṭu princess noted above, with the Pallava name, Śivaskandavarma is indeed noticeable.

The Kadambas of Banavāsi

Karnataka enters a brighter period with the advent of the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas, the first founders of the Kannada kingdoms in the northern and southern regions respectively of Karnataka. These events occurred almost simultaneously in these regions.

The Kadambas of Banavāsi are so called because of Banavāsi which was their capital. This picturesque place amidst woods on the bank of the Varada had already been a famous place attracting messengers of peace in the days of the great Maurya king Aśōka.

A number of legends are woven around the origin of this first Kannada dynasty to establish its rule on the Kannada land. A more factual explanation is given in the famous Tālagunda inscription which says that they assumed that name because of the Kadamba tree near their house. The family hailed from Sthānakundūru i.e., Tālagunda in Shimoga District., the findspot of the inscription. It explains how Mayūraśarma, the founder-member of the dynasty, went to Kāñchī along with his *guru* Vīraśarma, to prosecute the Vēdic studies and owing to humiliation he suffered from a mounted Pallava guard, throwing away the *darbha* grass characteristic of a Vedic scholar, he unsheathed the sword and gathering an army, rose against the Pallavas whom he defeated. He occupied the area upto Śrīparvata and defeated chiefs like Bṛihadbāṇas. The Pallavas finally accepted his authority over the region from the western ocean to Prēhāra. But the recent discovery of an inscription at Guḍnāpur near Banavāsi makes us think twice about the historicity of this claim. The Guḍnāpur inscription gives the names of the father and the grandfather of Mayūraśarma as Vīraśarma and Bandhushēṇa respectively. His father did entertain *kshātra* ambitions. Perhaps he was a petty chief with some authority vested in him. Though it is not unlikely that Mayūraśarma did go to Kāñchī for his studies and the *guru* who accompanied him was obviously his grandfather of the same name, it becomes difficult to think that he became a ruler in so accidental a way. It may perhaps be right to surmise that this miraculous heroism is ascribed to him in view of his fighting out the Pallavas and establishing a new kingdom. Anyway, it goes to the credit of this hero that he freed this land from Pallava occupation.

The Chandravaḷḷi inscription speaks of his subduing Traikūṭaka, Ābhīra, Pallava, Pāriyātraka, Śakasthāna, Mokari, Puṇṇāṭa and Sayindaka kings. Pāriyātraka was the region between the Western Ghats, Aravali and the Vindhya. Sayindaka or Sēndraka was the region around Shimoga. Puṇṇāṭa was the area between Kaveri and Kapini rivers near Mysore. It is doubtful if he proceeded as far as Śakasthāna and Mokari which are identified with the regions of Sakas of Ujjayini and the Maukharis of Rajasthan respectively. Mayūraśarma may be said to have ruled between c. 325-45 A.D.

The next ruler of importance was Kākusthavarma (c. 405-30 A.D.) and with him, the kingdom rose to prominence. He developed contacts with the contemporary rulers of Gupta dynasty in the north by giving his daughter in marriage to Skandagupta, son of Kumāragupta. The Vākāṭaka ruler Narēndrasēna is said to have married Ajitabhaṭṭārikā, a daughter of the king of Kuntala. She is surmised to have been another daughter of Kākusthavarma. Yet another daughter of his was married to his southern neighbour, Gaṅga Mādhava. One other daughter was married to a local chief of the Bhaṭṭāri family. But his relationship with the Pallavas was inimical. He waged wars against them.

After Kākusthavarma, the Kadamba kingdom came to be partitioned between his two sons, Śāntivarma and Kṛṣṇavarma I.¹ Śāntivarma's line continued to rule from Banavāsi for some generations and that of Kṛṣṇavarma from Tripavata. However, they became united in the reign of Kṛṣṇavarma II.

Śāntivarma's rule (c. 430-55 A.D.) was peaceful except for his conflict with the enemies who were probably the Pallavas. No other details are forthcoming. Perhaps he had to face an attack by the Gaṅgas also. During the time of his son and successor Mṛigēśavarma (c. 455-80 A.D.) the Kadamba kingdom came to be expanded. The conflict with the Gaṅgas and the Pallavas continued. Palāśikā or Halsi in Khanapur taluk of Belgaum District now assumed the position of the secondary capital. The Guḍṇāpur inscription states that he killed a king called Viśṇudāsa. It is suggested that this king was the elder son of Kṛṣṇavarma I of the Tripavata line. Other rulers said to be subdued by him were the Gaṅgas, Pun-nāṭas, Koṅgālvās, Pāṇḍyas, and the Ālupas. The inscription also narrates that he constructed a Kāma-jinālaya and donated lands for the maintenance of this temple.

Ravivarma, the eldest son of Mṛigēśavarma, seems to have had a major clash with his rival of the Tripavata line, Viśṇuvarma and killed Chaṇḍaḍaṇḍēśa² a chief of the Pallava line who helped him.

During the rule of Ravivarma, Kṛṣṇavarma II of the Tripavata line attacked him. This led to the unification of the Kadamba kingdom. Kṛṣṇavarma thus became the ruler of the whole of the Kadamba kingdom. This event may be placed roughly in 530 A.D. But he could rule over the reunited kingdom only for a decade till 540 A.D. Pulakēśi I of the Chālukya family who was probably a subordinate, slowly strengthened himself and finally succeeded in overpowering Kṛṣṇavarma II and establishing his own rule in the region with Bādāmi as his capital. The successors of Kṛṣṇavarma tried to rise against the new power but Pulakēśi and his successors continuously put them down. Thus came to an end the period of the imperial Kadambas in Karnataka.

The Kadambas laid the foundation of a Kannada kingdom extending over an area covering the districts of Belgaum, North Kanara, Dharwar, Shimoga, Chitradurga and Bellary, which in course of time grew further in extent and developed distinct and characteristic features of its own. Kannada language slowly started making its appearance in inscriptions, the Halmiḍi inscription being an instance in point.

The Gaṅgas

The Gaṅgas of Talakāḍu commenced their rule almost simultaneously with the Kadambas of Banavāsi. Many legends surround the origin of this family. A 10th century record places their original home at Ayōdhyā from where two early members of the family, Daḍiga and Mādhava, migrated to the south and settled at Gaṅga Pērūr (in the Cuddapah District of Andhra Pradesh). In course of time they ruled over Gaṅgavāḍi with Kuvaḷālapura or Kōlār as their capital. Nandagiri or the modern Nandi hills was also an important place in their region. Hence they bore the title *Nandagirinātha*. Later on, Talakāḍu became their capital. We get this story of their origin mostly in the records of the later members of the family, while those of the early ones are silent about them. For example, Daḍiga and Mādhava do not figure in the early Gaṅga records.

From the early records, it can be stated that Koṅguṇivarma, Mādhava I and Harivarma, in that order, were the first rulers of this family. Harivarma was succeeded by Mādhava II, also known as Simhavarma. He is said to have been crowned by Pallava Simhavarma. Mādhava had a brother named Vishṇugōpa. It is held by some scholars that Vishṇugōpa was another name of Mādhava himself.

During the period of Mādhava III the Gaṅgas came into conflict with the Kadambas. Perhaps to avoid a conflict, Kadamba Kākusthavarma sought the friendship of Mādhava by offering his daughter in marriage. Mādhava was succeeded by Avinīta. It seems, he came to power when he was quite young—even when he was on his mother's lap. He married Jyēshthādēvī, the daughter of the Punnāṭa chief Skandavarma II. He maintained close relations with the Pallavas, and his long reign extended over a period of nearly 60 years.

With the commencement of the reign of Durvinīta, the Gaṅga kingdom enters into a new phase. Durvinīta had to fight his way to the throne. Soon after his accession, he fought battles at Andari, Ālattur, Poruḷare and Pernagara. Skandavarma the Punnāṭa chief, had no sons and Durvinīta consequently inherited that region also.

Durvinīta ruled for nearly fifty years between 529-79 A.D. He is well known in the literary history of our country, for he wrote a commentary on the 15th *sarga* of *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi. Other works ascribed to him are the Sanskrit rendering of the *Bṛihatkathā* in Paisāchi language and a grammatical work called *Śabdāvatāra*. It is suggested that this work might have been a Kannada commentary on a work of that name written by his teacher Pūjyapāda. A legend narrated in the *Avantisundarīkathā* of Daṇḍi makes him a contemporary of Pulakēśi II's brother Vishṇuvarddhana, but chronological difficulties make it difficult to accept such a situation.

The next ruler of repute is Śrīpurusha whose long rule of about 65 years (c. 725-90 A.D.) witnessed changes in the politics of the Deccan. By now the Rāshtrakūṭas had established their independent rule and the Pallavas were growing stronger further south. In the process of expanding their kingdom, they attacked the Gaṅga territory and Śrīpurusha had to fight many battles with them. With the help

of Chālukya Vikramāditya II he could repulse the enemy, but in course of time, he had to face a stronger rival Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa I. A fierce battle was fought near Maṇṇe (768 A.D.). The Gaṅga king could retain his independence though at the cost of some territory which was lost to the Rāshtrakūṭa king. His conflict with the Pallavas also continued and Śrīpurusha is credited to have defeated Pallava Paramēśvaravarma II in a battle at Viḷande. Pallava records indicate that fights continued between the Gaṅgas and the Pallavas during the time of the next king Nandivarma Pallavamalla also. The Vēḷvikuḍi inscription suggests that Śrīpurusha came into conflict with Pāṇḍyas also, when he was assisted by Chālukya Kīrtivarma II.

It became difficult for Śivamāra II, the successor, to check the growing strength of the Rāshtrakūṭas. He had to submit to Dhruva in a battle fought at Mudugundūr. Though the inscriptions of Śivamāra claim victory for him, there are clear evidences to show that he was taken captive and Gaṅgavāḍi became a province of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. Dhruva's eldest son Stambha or Kambhayya was appointed the governor of this province. Hereafter, till the end of the 10th century, the Gaṅgas remained loyal feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, the second son of Dhruva, reinstalled Śivamāra II on the Gaṅga throne. But Śivamāra tried to become independent. Śivamāra was again sent to prison. What happened to the latter after this event is not known. Śivamāra is a tragic figure in Gaṅga history. He is credited with the authorship of *Gajāshṭaka* and *Sētubandha*.

Rāchamalla II seems to have tried to revive the efforts to secure the independence of the Gaṅgas. He formed an alliance with the Nolambas by offering his daughter Jāyabbe, in marriage to Poḷalchōra of that family and with their assistance, attacked the Rāshtrakūṭas. But Baṅkēśa, the Rāshtrakūṭa general, subdued him thoroughly.

Rāchamalla's son Nītimārga fought a successful battle near Rajārāmaḍu. Thereupon, Amōghavarsha gave his daughter Chandrōbbalabbe in marriage to Nītimārga's younger son Būtuga I. This put an end to the constant fights between the two powers and henceforward the Gaṅgas became the trusted guards of the southern frontiers of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom.

Nanniya Gaṅga, one of the grandsons of Śivamāra II claimed the throne and with the assistance of the Baṇas and Vaidumbas, fell on the new Gaṅga ruler, Rāchamalla II and the Nolambas who now sided with the Gaṅgas. Pulinaḍu, Maṇṇe-200, Gaṅga-600, and even Talakāḍu were temporarily occupied by the enemy forces. but Nolamba Mahēndra fell on the victors and defeated them thoroughly near Sōremaḍi in c. 892 A.D. That was the end of Nanniya Gaṅga's revolt. But this encouraged Mahēndra to rise against the Gaṅgas themselves. However, Būtuga, brother of Rāchamalla II, fought against him successfully in a series of battles at Hiriyūru, Sūḷūr and Sāmiyūr. Mahēndra kept up the fight for long till at last Būtuga's son Eṇṇayaṅga put an end to his life in c. 895 A.D. and earned the title *Mahēndrāntaka*.

Four decades later there was an internecine battle fought between Būtuga II and his elder brother Rāchamalla III. The former received support from Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III. Būtuga had helped both of them in defeating their rivals, and also had married Amōghavarsha's daughter Rēvakanimmaḍi, which made him the master of Belvola, Puigeṛe, Bāgenāḍu and Kisukāḍu provinces given to him as dowry. In course of time, Būtuga earned the governorship of Banavāsi-12000 also in reward to his signal service to Kṛishṇa III, in the latter's battle at Takkōlam (947-48 A.D.). Būtuga was followed first by his son Maruḷa who was in position for just two years, and then by Mārasimha II who is stated to have been placed on the throne by Kṛishṇa III.

The period of Mārasimha once again witnessed serious political changes in the Deccan. With the death of Kṛishṇa III in 969 A.D., the Rāshtrakūṭa power began to decline and by his ceaseless efforts, Taila II reestablished the Chālukya authority. Mārasimha rescued the capital from the invader. But he could not tide over the disruptive forces. With Khoṭṭiga ended the Rāshtrakūṭa rule (972 A.D.). No sooner was his successor Karka III placed over the throne by Chālukya Taila II than he was attacked. Mārasimha's loyalty and devotion to the Rāshtrakūṭa throne were so great that he fought to the last to keep up its glory. In this effort he crowned Indra IV, a grandson of Kṛishṇa III, as king at Baṅkāpur. But this was a vain effort. The opponent was too strong for him. In despair Mārasimha retired to Śravaṇabelāgoḷa where he breathed his last by the vow of *sallēkhana*.

Mārasimha was practically the last of the Gaṅga chiefs. Following his death in 974 A.D., a dispute arose for power between his son Rāchamalla IV and brother Nītimārga. His minister Chāvunḍarāya supported Rāchamalla and was successful in getting the throne for him. But Chālukya Taila did not allow the Gaṅga to rule even as a subordinate. Considerable portions of Gaṅgavāḍi were annexed to his kingdom. Right at this time the Chōḷas were growing strong in the south and sharp rivalry was developing between them and the Chālukyas. In the process of expansion, the Chōḷa king occupied the southern parts of Gaṅga kingdom by the close of the 10th century. Gaṅgavāḍi came to be a territorial unit in one or the other of the kingdoms in the successive periods. Some members of the Gaṅga family are found occupying subordinate positions mostly in the Belgaum region. What relationship they had with the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍu is yet to be known.

The Chālukyas of Bādāmi

With the rise of Chālukya Pulakēṣi I in c. 540 A.D., a new chapter was opened in the history of Karnataka. The smaller ruling kingdoms were now merged into one and a vast empire which made way for the allround cultural growth, came to be established.

The name Chālukya is explained in a number of ways. It figures in inscriptions as Chalki, Chaluki, Saliki, Chalikya and so on. Chalki occurs as a part of a personal name in a 3rd century inscription from Nāgarjunakoṇḍa. It is possible that the family got its name through a person of that name. It has also been sug-

gested that Chalki—Saliki—is a Kannada term denoting an agricultural implement. Perhaps the early members of the family belonged to the agricultural community and in course of time rose to the position of rulers. Inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries and also Bilhaṇa the author of *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* give a different account altogether saying that a hero sprang from the *chuluka* or the folded palms of Brahma at the time of his performing the *sandhyāvandana*, to punish the wicked at the behest of Indra. There are good reasons to hold that the Chālukyas were local people belonging to the Kannada land. Their names and titles testify to this fact. They are called by their successors, the Rāshtrakūṭas, as Karnāṭakas.

The earliest member of the family was Jayasimha whose son was Raṇarāga. These two appear to have held some position under the Kadambas. Tentatively they may be assigned to a period between 500-540 A.D. Pulakēśi, son of Raṇarāga, was the first member of the family to establish himself as the sovereign ruler at Bādāmi, as a mark of which he built a fort there in addition to performing the *aśva-mēdha* and other sacrifices (543 A.D.). He had two wives, Durlabhadēvī of the Bappūra family and Indukāntī, and three sons Kīrtivarma I, Maṅgalēśa and Pūṅgarvama. Possibly Kīrtivarma succeeded his father in 566 A.D., and launched upon a programme of expansion of the kingdom, by overpowering the Kadambas, Nālas and Mauryas (of Koṅkaṇa). Kīrtivarma was a devotee of Viṣṇu. At his behest Maṅgalēśa constructed a cave temple at Bādāmi. Kīrtivarma's own son being as yet a minor, Maṅgalēśa took over the reigns of government as a regent. He continued the policy of expansion. His victory over the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa or his son Buddharasa helped the spread of the Chālukya influence beyond the Vindhyas. Maṅgalēśa is also credited with the victory over Svāmikarāja of a Chālukya family, perhaps a scion of the family in charge of Rēvati or the Reḍi island in Ratnagiri District. Maṅgalēśa appointed Dhruvarāja Indravarma the governor of his region.

Maṅgalēśa was unwilling to hand over the throne to his nephew Pulakēśi II. Perhaps he thought his own son was the rightful heir to the throne. Enraged by this, Pulakēśi collected a strong army and attacked his uncle. In a fierce battle that followed, possibly in the Bellary region which was in charge of the Bāṇas, Maṅgalēśa lost his life and Pulakēśi triumphantly entered Bādāmi. It is not known what happened to Maṅgalēśa's son. This event must have taken place in c. 601 A.D.

His conflict with Maṅgalēśa had created factions, and those who had supported the latter were naturally reluctant to accept the former as their master. Appāyika and Gōvinda appear to have formed an alliance to oppose the new king. But they were put down.

After thus establishing peace at home, Pulakēśi planned an elaborate expedition starting from the west. The Aihole *prasaṣti* gives a realistic account of this expedition. The Kadambas were still antagonistic. Hence, with a large army, or in the words of the Aihole *prasaṣti*, an army as vast as an ocean, Pulakēśi laid siege to the fort of Banavāsi, and occupied it. The neighbouring Ālupa rulers of

South Kanara also accepted subordination. The Gaṅgas and the Mauryas of Konikaṇa were the next to be subdued.

He then proceeded to the port of Puri, modern Elephanta, and occupied it with the help of a naval fleet. Further up, Gujarat became a part of his kingdom and a governor of the Chālukya family was placed in charge of the region. This brought him to the banks of the Narmada to face Harshavardhana of Kanauj, the mightiest of his northern contemporaries. Though one may not believe all that is stated in the Aihole *prāśasti*, it is clear that Harsha's efforts to gain an upper hand were foiled by Pulakēśi. The latter was not able to cross the Narmada but the extension of the Chālukya supremacy upto Narmada is itself a splendid achievement.

The Chālukya army then marched towards east. Kāliṅga, the modern Orissa, and the Andhra region with its prominent fort at Pishṭapura fell one after another. Vishṇukunḍa of the Vēṅgi region were then subdued and the region around Kol-lēru was occupied. Proceeding southwards, he met the Pallavas and fought with Narasimhavarma of that dynasty. Although Ravikīrti, the author of the Aihole *prāśasti* gives a glowing picture of this fight, certainly Kāñchī could not be captured by his patron. It was, however, a triumphant display of his superior military strength. Further, with an easy victory over the Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Kēraḷas, the king returned to the capital. This was indeed a *digvijaya* in the real sense of the term. Barring perhaps the Pallavas, all other rulers accepted his authority and he became the unquestioned monarch of the south.

He organised the administration of the newly annexed territories by appointing princes of the royal family as governors. One of his brothers, Dharāśrāya Jayasimha was placed in charge of the Northern region. Another brother Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana held charge of the Vēṅgi region which developed into an independent kingdom in course of time.

The end of this victor, the hero of many battles, has remained a mystery. Nothing is known about the later events except the fact that within a decade, Bādāmi became a prey to the onslaught of Pallava Narasimhavarma who laid bare the capital and bore the title *Vātāpikonda* and also commemorated the victory by engraving an inscription on its fort wall.

The career of Pulakēśi came to an abrupt end. It was however to his credit that he founded the first Karnataka empire. He built up an invincible military force which brought all India fame to the kingdom. His contact with Iran is also well known. The name of one of the queens of Pulakēśi is disclosed from the Māraṭūr grant, as Kadambā. Perhaps she was an Āḷupa princess. He is known to have had five sons—Vikramāditya, Ādityavarma, Chandraditya, Raṇarāgavarma and Dharāśrāya Jayasimha.

Darkness envelops the history of the next thirteen years till the rise of his son, Vikramāditya I, in 655 A.D. To him goes the credit of reoccupying the capital. As inscriptions put it, he freed the kingdom from the clutches of three kings who

are said to be the Chōlas, Pāṇdyas and Kēraḷas headed by the Pallavas. He is also credited with the defeat of the Pallava, lord of three kindgoms. This also seems to refer to the alliance of these kings only. He fought with three generations of Pallava kings, Narasimhavarma I, Mahendravarma II and Paramēśvaravarma, to avenge the defeat suffered by his father and spent most of his time in the south. His northern boundaries were safe under the care of Satyaśraya Śīlāditya, a son of Dharāśraya Jayasimha.

During Vikramāditya's rule of twentyfive years the Chālukya kingdom was once again placed on a firm foundation. His son and gradson Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya respectively participated in most of these expeditions. The feudatories were subdued and once again peace and plenty reigned in the Chālukya kingdom. The next ruler Vinayāditya is credited with victory over Vajraṭa, a king of the north. He claims victories over Kavēra, Pārasika and Simhala countries outside India. The latter two are well-known while the first one is identified with Khmer or Cambodia. In 699 A.D., his widow Vinayavati installed the Trimūrti deity at Bādāmi. As a ruler Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.) invaded the Pallava territory only once when his son Vikramāditya II led the army. His another son was Bhīma whose descendants came to be known as the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.

Vijayāditya was succeeded by his son Vikramāditya II. By now the Pallava menace was on the increase. He fought with them at least thrice, once as a prince. His second expedition was more spectacular when he penetrated deep into that kingdom and took possession of the capital Kāñchī. As a retaliation he got incised a record of this victory. Far from ransacking the city and looting the wealth, this magnanimous king spared the city and restored all the wealth to the temple of Rājasimhēśvara i.e. the present day Kailāsanātha temple. This memorable event took place in about 734 A.D. Yet another expedition was led to Kāñchī a little later, when his son Kīrtivarma II led the army. The reign of Vikramāditya fully restored the Chālukya glory.

The two sisters of the Haihaya family who were queens of Vikramāditya, Lōka-mahādēvi and Trailōkyamahādēvi, built the temples of Lōkēśvara and Trailōkyēśvara respectively, named after themselves.

Kīrtivarma II had to witness hard days soon after he came to the throne and had to succumb finally to the overpowering strength of his own subordinates. Prominent among them was Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga, who was slowly paving his way for independence. This chief made himself bold to oppose the governor of Gujarat and occupy Navasari; consolidated his power in the northern region and finally opposed Kīrtivarma himself. In 753 A.D., he defeated his own master. But he died an untimely death. Kīrtivarma could not take advantage of the conditions. He was somehow incapacitated and the next Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Kṛṣṇa I struck the final blow and became an independent ruler. Kīrtivarma ruled till 757 A.D. Though such a sudden fall is inexplicable, the later Chālukya records put the blame squarely on Kīrtivarma. They narrate that owing to his incompetence, the Raṭṭa gained an upper hand and occupied the Chālukya kingdom.

The Rāshtrakūṭas

The Rāshtrakūṭas got this name for their family on account of the office of the *rāshtrakūṭa* they held in the earlier regime, which meant the head of an administrative unit just as the *grāmakūṭa* or *gūmuṇḍa*. The early members held the office of the governor of a province and in course of time rose to the status of imperial rulers. Later records, however, try to weave out an eulogistic *praśasti* of the family by tracing their origin to the mythical Yadu and Brahma, or Sātyaki or Tuṅga. These are attempts to invest the family with epic fame.

There are clear indications about the home regions of the family. The members call themselves the lords of the city of Lattalūru (*Lattalūrapuravarēśvara*) and the lord of the city of Kandhāra (*Kandhārapuravarēśvara*). Lattalūr is modern Lātūr in Osmanabad District of Maharashtra. Kandhāra is the same as the modern Kandhār head-quarters of the taluk of the same name, also in Maharashtra. Both these places are situated in what is now known as the Marathawada region. It was then a part of Karnataka. The activities of the earlier members of the family were confined to this area. When they assumed imperial status, they chose Maḷkhēḍ in Gulbarga District of Karnataka as their capital.

It is now proved beyond doubt that they belonged to the Kannada stock.

As noticed earlier, Dantidurga prepared the ground for establishing an independent kingdom. His work was continued by his uncle Kṛishṇa I. Kīrtivarma II could not face Kṛishṇa I and possibly died in the battle field. Kṛishṇa had to face the opposition of Chālukya potentates who could not, for good reasons, voluntarily accept this authority. One such was Rāhappa, whose identity however is yet to be established. Pālidhvaja, the insignia of the Chālukyas was in his custody.

Kṛishṇa thereafter consolidated his position by leading expeditions, first towards the west in the region of Koṅkaṇa which was annexed to his kingdom. Sana-phulla of the Śilāhāra family was placed in charge of that region. His son Gōvinda II led an army against the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍu as far as Maṇṇe-nagara. But Śī-purusha put up a stiff opposition and the Rāshtrakūṭa army had to beat a retreat. Gōvinda then defeated the Vēṅgī King Vishnuvardhana IV (c. 769 A.D.). With the commencement of Dhruva's rule (780 A.D.) the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom entered a new phase of glory. If Dantidurga laid the foundation of an independent kingdom and Kṛishṇa I strengthened it, Dhruva led it to glorious heights by extending the Rāshtrakūṭa influence across the Vindhya in the north. The political situation there was also quite tempting to an ambitious ruler like Dhruva.

Two ruling families, the Gūjara-Pratīhāras who held sway over Mālava and Rajasthan and the Pālas of Bengal, were vying with each other to establish their supremacy over Central India and Kanauj, the imperial city. Indrāyudha of Kanauj had a rival Chakrāyudha. Both of them sought the help of the two big powers, resulting in a conflict between the latter Gūjara-Pratīhāra king Vatsarāja who subdued Indrāyudha at which juncture the Pāla king Dharmapāla attacked Kanauj only to be defeated by Vatsarāja. Dhruva interfered with the affairs there, more to establish his superiority than to expand. He crossed the Narmada and defeated

both Vatsarāja and Dharmapāla. On his way back, he passed through Vēṅgi where the ruler Viṣṇuvardhana purchased peace by offering him his daughter Śīlabhaṭṭārikā in marriage. In the further south Pallava Nandivarma Pallavamalla was also defeated. Thus Dhruva's achievements on the battle field were spectacular. Consequently the Rāshtrakūṭa power came to be considered an all India power.

Gōvinda III (793-814 A.D.) third son of Dhruva, followed the aggressive policy of his father and made his impact felt right upto the Himalayas in the north and the Cape Comorin in the south. In the wake of his coronation, he had to quell the revolt of Stambha, who claimed the throne by right as the eldest surviving son of the king.

In the north, fights between the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras and the Pālas were continuing. Once Dharmapāla became successful in dislodging Indrāyudha and placing on throne his own potentate Chakrāyudha. But Gūrjara-Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II rushed to the scene and defeated both Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha. Gōvinda planned his northern expedition just at this juncture and organised it on a grand scale with sufficient forethought. Neither the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra nor the Pāla was in a position to face him. Nāgabhaṭa ran away from the battlefield and Chakrāyudha submitted. Dharmapāla withdrew from the scene. Rāshtrakūṭa records claim that their horses could taste the icy waters of the Himalayas. This remarkable event took place in c. 800 A.D.

In Vēṅgi, Vijayāditya II who came to the throne in 799 A.D., tried to assert his independence. Gōvinda set up against him his brother Bhīmaśaluki as a rival claimant. Records speak of Gōvinda's successful expedition against Kāñchī and Ceylon. Thus, the Rāshtrakūṭa glory reached its zenith during the time of Gōvinda III whose military superiority remained unquestioned throughout the country.

His son Amōghavarsha being too young to shoulder the responsibilities of the mighty kingdom, Gōvinda III had appointed his younger brother's son Karka of Gujarat, as the regent. The latter ably discharged his duties warding off all the difficulties that the country faced during the early days of Amōghavarsha's career. The epigraphs are not explicit about the events; but they indicate that the kingdom and even the very life of the king were in danger. It appears that many a chief rose in revolt against the Rāshtrakūṭa. But Karka protected the king and the kingdom and entrusted it to Amōghavarsha when he attained maturity.

In Vēṅgi, Vijayāditya had regained the throne. Karka tried to patch up his relationship with Vijayāditya by offering his sister Śīlamahādēvi in marriage. But the next ruler Vijayāditya III, who fought against the Rāshtrakūṭas, was defeated and forced to lead an expedition against the Gaṅgas on behalf of his overlord. Gaṅga Rāchamalla and his successor Nītimārga continued their struggle to free the northern part of their territory from Rāshtrakūṭa occupation. But Guṇaga Vijayāditya foiled their efforts. Amōghavarsha, however, did not like to continue the warfare. He struck peace with the Gaṅgas through matrimonial alliance by offering his own daughter Chandrōbbalabbe to Gaṅga Būtuga. This step brought the two families closer and the Gaṅgas thereafter remained as loyal subordinates.

In Gujarat, Dhruva, grandson of Karka faced an attack by a Vallabha, as a result of which there was confusion. Dhruva lost his life in the fight. But his son Akālavārsha and his successor Dhruva II fought back the enemy forces and continued to rule. It is not possible to identify Vallabha. He might have been a scion of a Chālukya family. But Amōghavarsha helped his relatives by sending his famous general Bankēśa to Gujarat, with whose help peace was reestablished in that territory.

Amōghavarsha's reign witnessed peace. It is characterised by the growth of Kannada language and literature. The earliest known work in Kannada, *Kavirāja-mārga* is ascribed to this king for good reasons, though some scholars ascribe it to somebody else in his court. The treatise on Poetics mentions a number of authors in Kannada who were the author's predecessors and contemporaries. A Jaina by faith, he encouraged Jaina literature and institutions extending equal patronage also to other faiths and their institutions.

The policy of peace followed by Amōghavarsha did good to the country no doubt. But the ambitious rulers of the north and south slowly consolidated their power and finally fell upon Kṛishṇa II. The Gūrjara-Pratīhāra king Bhōja gained initial success in a battle on the banks of the Narmada and planned to set foot on the Rāshtrakūṭa soil. But his efforts were foiled by Kṛishṇa of the Gujarat branch. Guṇaga Vijayāditya of Vēṅgi also rose in revolt at the same time and the Vēṅgi general Paṇḍurāṅga had an upper hand over Kṛishṇa in spite of the latter receiving help from his brother-in-law, the Chēdi king Śaṅkaragaṇa. Kṛishṇa was pursued and he had to seek refuge under his father-in-law, Kalachuri Kokkalla. Subsequently developments in the Vēṅgi kingdom gave scope for him to interfere in its affairs. Guṇaga's brother Vikramāditya predeceased Guṇaga and the succession fell upon Bhīma. Baddega, the Chālukya chief of Vēmulavāḍa, connived with Kṛishṇa II and tried to deprive Bhīma of his throne. Kṛishṇa was successful in ousting Bhīma. But it was of no avail. The latter's general Kusumāyudha of the Muḍigoṇḍa Chālukya family forced Kṛishṇa to withdraw from Vēṅgi.

Further south, erstwhile Pallava rule had come to an end and the Chōḷas took their place in that region. Kṛishṇa welcomed the new rule and established friendly relations with the Chōḷas by giving his daughter in marriage to Āḍitya I of that family. But soon he challenged the right of Parāntaka to the throne in preference to his own grandson Kannara. It was, however, a vain attempt.

The next ruler of repute, Indra III led a victorious expedition to the North and fell upon Mahīpāla. Narasimha II of the Vēmulavāḍa Chālukya family played a vital role in this expedition. If we are to believe Pampa, this chief pounced upon Mahīpāla, so much so that the latter had to take to heels without a moment's rest.

But Indra had to return home to quell the disturbances there. His fishing in the troubled waters of Vēṅgi was of no avail. He ruled for a comparatively short period of about fifteen years. His marriage with Vijayāmbā, the daughter of Kalachuri Ammaṇadēva paved the way for better relationship with the northern powers.

Amōghavarsha II who ascended the throne in 975 A.D., was obliged to Gaṅga Būtuga II who was instrumental in bringing him to power. The latter had cherished a desire to oust his brother Rāchamalla II and get the throne for himself. Amōghavarsha now sent his son Kṛishṇa III with whose help Būtuga easily got the Gaṅga kingdom for himself.

Kṛishṇa III was an ambitious prince as well as a competent fighter. He was aspiring to military exploits and defeated Sāhasatuṅga of the Chēdi family. But this was an unwise move. The Chēdi rulers were matrimonially connected with the Rāshtrakūṭas and had maintained friendly relations with them. This attack alienated the sympathies of the Chēdis. Its effects could be seen only later when, in time of need, the latter did not come to the rescue of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

On coming to the throne in 939 A.D., Kṛishṇa planned an expedition to the south where Chōḷa Parāntaka was ruling. A severe battle was fought at Takkōlam where Parāntaka's son Rājāditya who was at the head of the Chōḷa army faced Gaṅga Būtuga who led the Rāshtrakūṭa army. The latter gained an upper hand and was finally able to occupy the Tanjore and Kāñchī regions and pitch his camp at Mēlpādi region for quite some time. Kṛishṇa honoured the Gaṅga chief by offering him the governorship of the provinces of Banavāsi, Beḷvola, Puligeṛe and other regions. For the Chōḷas, it was a death blow. At least till the end of the rule of Kṛishṇa the Chōḷa kingdom was virtually under the control of Kṛishṇa. Būtuga's son Mārasimha II played an equally important role in the northern expedition of Kṛishṇa. He defeated the Chandelas and conquered the forts of Chakrakūṭa and Kālañjara. The Gūrjara-Pratīhāras were defeated and Paramāra Sīyaka was thoroughly subdued. Kṛishṇa's expedition to Vēṅgi also met with success. In the internicine fights there, he supported Bādapa, depriving Dānārṇava, of his claim to throne.

Kṛishṇa was the last great ruler in the Rāshtrakūṭa family. He raised the prestige of the kingdom by extending its influence both in the south and in the north. But indirectly at least, he paved the way for the fall of the kingdom. His military expeditions earned him enemies. Even his allies became victims of his onslaughts. The Gūrjara-Pratīhāras, and more so, Paramāra Sīyaka, were waiting for an opportunity, to take revenge. The death of Kṛishṇa in 967 A.D., provided such an opportunity. His brother Khoṭṭiga could not check their attacks. Sīyaka seized the opportunity and raided Mānyakhēṭa, and Khoṭṭiga appears to have lost his life in this confusion. The next ruler Karka II, son of Nirupama the brother of Khoṭṭiga, was too incompetent to set right the broken house. The damage caused by Sīyaka was best exploited by Taila II of the Chālukya family who was biding time to oust the traditional enemies, the Rāshtrakūṭas. He fell upon Karka and captured the capital (973 A.D.). Karka sought shelter in a village near Shimoga and lived upto about 991 A.D.

Thus the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty met with disaster and the Chālukya supremacy over the region was once again established. As an inscription from Gulbarga District puts it, Taila repeated what Rāshtrakūṭas had done earlier in respect of Chālukya Kīrtivarma II.

The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa

It is now agreed that the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa were the direct descendants of the Bādāmi family. There are records which try to fill in the gap of the genealogy from the Chālukyas of Bādāmi down to those of Kalyāṇa. These are again the accounts of Ranna, the author of Kannada *Gadāyuddha* and of Shyāma-bhaṭṭa (18th century), the author of *Ayyaṇavamśacharita* which connect the two families with a continued genealogical account.

Long before he could strike at the Rāshtrakūṭas Taila II was an officer under Kṛishṇa III. In 965 A.D., he became the governor of Tardavāḍi-1000, and assumed the titles *Satyāśrayakulatilaka*, *Āhavamalla*, *mahāsāmanta* etc., all indicative of his important position. He watched the situation in the kingdom from close quarters, consolidating his power and waiting for an opportunity. The attack of Siyaka was more advantageous to Taila than anyone else.

Taila finally established his rule in 973 A.D., at Maḷkhēḍ. The loyal subordinates of the Rāshtrakūṭas, especially Gaṅga Mārasimha and his successors Gōvinda and Pāñchālādēva stoutly opposed the new ruler, but in vain. After Kṛishṇa's death, the Chōḷas had grown strong again and the ambitious Rājarāja not only reoccupied Toṇḍaimaṇḍala but even got some portions of Gaṅgavāḍi. He further proceeded to occupy Noḷambavāḍi also. Taila checked these inroads effectively and forced the enemy to retreat. In the north, Taila had to face Paramāra Muñja. After a series of battles Muñja was captured and even put to death. Taila's rule ended in 997 A.D. His queen was Jākavve. He had two sons, Irivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya and Daśavarma.

Satyāśraya, as a prince, had led successful expeditions to Malwa. No sooner did he take charge of the kingdom than he had to face a severe attack from Chōḷa Rājarāja. Although the Chōḷa records exaggerate, it is evident that Satyāśraya had to suffer heavy losses. In fact, his brother Daśavarma lost his life in this battle.

Vēṅgi had already been a bone of contention between the Chālukyas and the Chōḷas who rivalled with each other to establish their supremacy there. Now Śaktivarma had been on the Vēṅgi throne with the help of the Chōḷa king. When Satyāśraya attacked that country in 999 A.D., the Chōḷa sent a huge army into the Chālukya territory to divert his attention. The Chōḷa army marched as far as Dōnūr in Bijapur District. So the Chālukya had to march back to his capital to face the enemy. Later the Chālukya sent to Vēṅgi his general Bayalnambi who made inroads into the Andhra region and burnt some forts like Dharanikōṭa and Yenamaṇḍala. Satyāśraya also subdued the Śilāhāra chief Aparājita who accepted his suzerainty. Satyāśraya's rule ended in 1008 A.D. But during this short period he consolidated and strengthened the newly acquired power. He had no children. Consequently Vikramaditya, son of his brother Daśavarma ascended the throne and ruled for only seven years. This short period was 'almost uneventful. The next ruler was his younger brother Ayyaṇa. On the basis of inscriptions and also the *Ayyaṇavamśacharita*, it has now become clear that he ruled for about five months only, in 1015 A.D. *Ayyaṇavamśacharita* depicts him as a pious man with a scholarly bent of

mind. According to this work, he voluntarily abdicated the throne in Jayasimha's favour.

Jayasimha II (1015-47 A.D.) bore the titles *Jagadēkamalla* and *Mallikāmōda*. Jayasimha had to face enemies on all sides as soon as he assumed power. Paramāra Bhōja attacked him with the help of Kalachuri Gaṅgēyadēva and also Chōḷa Rājendra. Jayasimha met the allied forces on the bank of the Godavari some time before 1019 A.D., and drove out the enemies. Later, he himself led an invasion to the north against the Paramāra. Within the kingdom, Sēuṇa Bhillama III tried to flout his authority. But he was won over by offering him his daughter Avalladēvi in marriage.

In Vēṅgi Jayasimha espoused the cause of Vijayāditya VI against Rājarāja who had been placed on the Vēṅgi throne, by Chōḷa Rājendra. A battle was fought in about 1021 A.D. near Musāṅgi or Muyangi i.e., Maski in Raichur District, when the Chālukya appears to have suffered a defeat. But a few years later, in about 1031 A.D., Vijayāditya succeeded in putting down his rival Rājarāja in the battle of Bezawada. The rest of the years of Jayasimha appears to be peaceful. He ruled till 1047 A.D. He had two sons, Sōmēśvara I and Jayasimha III. The latter died in a battle with the Chōḷa, during the rule of Sōmēśvara I.

Sōmēśvara I came to the throne in 1043 A.D. His rule is characterised by constant fights with Chōḷas, for political supremacy, especially in regard to Vēṅgi. Rājādhirāja, Rājendra II and Vīrarājendra were his Chōḷa contemporaries. The Chōḷa records give exaggerated accounts of the conflicts and always attribute victory to the Chōḷa. But the fact that the battles were undecided and victory changed hands is clear. The battles of Dannāḍa and Pūṇḍūr were of little consequence. But the battle of Koppam (Koppaḷa in Raichur District) was of a more serious nature. The fact that the battle was fought near Koppaḷa, deep inside the Chālukya territory, indicates the inroads the Chōḷa had made in the latter's territory. In the fierce battle that was fought, Rājādhirāja lost his life when seated on the back of an elephant. But Sōmēśvara lost his younger brother.

The next king Rājendra II then led his army and, according to Chōḷa records, he went upto Kolhapur where he erected a pillar of victory. But looking to the Chālukya inscriptions in the region, it becomes obvious that such a claim has no basis. Rājendra met Sōmēśvara I on the bank of the Tungabhadra once again in about 1059 A.D.

A last battle was fought at Kūḍalasaṅgaṇa in about 1064 A.D. This was again due to the conflicting interests of both in Vēṅgi. The king of the latter region died in 1061 A.D., and Sōmēśvara tried to instal Śaktivarma II, son of Vijayāditya on the throne. But Rājarāja's son Rājendra-chōḷa sought the help of the Chōḷa king. Sōmēśvara occupied parts of the Vēṅgi region and placed his son Sōmēśvara II as the governor of that area. He also placed Śaktivarma on the Vēṅgi throne. But the latter died soon, as a consequence of which Vijayāditya once again assumed powers. This time the Chōḷa also appears to have consented to it.

In the north, Sōmēśvara put down Paramāra Bhōja who seems to have died in one of the battles. In the feud for the throne that followed his death, between his sons Jayasimha and Udayāditya, Chālukya king supported the former. But finally Udayāditya succeeded in getting power for himself.

Inside the kingdom, some powerful chiefs like Śilāhāra Mummuni and Mārasimha and Sēṇa Bhillama tried to rise in revolt. But with the help of able generals the rebels were put down.

Sōmēśvara's career was one of continuous fights. But the territorial integrity of the Chālukya kingdom was not affected. Nor did they materially affect the internal life of the kingdom also. Temple building activities and religious pursuits of the people continued unabated. It was during his period that Kalyāṇa became the capital of the kingdom.

This hero of many battles met with a miserable end. Bilhaṇa tells us that he was attacked by a serious fever and he suffered so much that he decided to put an end to his life. He actually drowned himself in the river Tungabhadra near Kuruvatti on 29th March, 1068 A.D. He had three sons, Sōmēśvara II, Vikramāditya VI and Jayasimha IV.

Vikramāditya VI being ambitious and more competent entertained a desire to obtain the throne for himself. Sōmēśvara was aware of his brother's designs and was watchful of his movements. This resulted in misunderstandings between the two. Factions grew inside the kingdom.

When Sōmēśvara ascended the throne, Vikramāditya who was on his march against the Paramāra king, was called back. Vikramāditya proceeded towards Banavāsi, and defeated the pursuing army of Sōmēśvara. Then he sojourned for some time on the banks of the Tungabhadra and proceeded towards Goa where he married the Kadamba princess, daughter of Jayakēśi I. He then marched to the Chōḷa kingdom. The latter king Vīrarājendra sought the friendship of Vikramāditya by offering his daughter in marriage to him. Sometime after his return to the Tungabhadra region, he learnt of the death of the Chōḷa. Once again he proceeded there and helped his brother-in-law Adhirājendra to get the throne. On the latter's rule coming to an end abruptly, Kulōttuṅga-chōḷa, the successor of Vijayāditya in Vēṅgi managed to occupy the Chōḷa throne. Thus Vēṅgi region now became a part of the Chōḷa kingdom.

This was an unwelcome situation. Vēṅgi which had become an issue of prestige, for possession, was now totally lost to them, though they could hold some area of that region. Sōmēśvara II did not take any step to retrieve the position. Instead, courted the friendship of the Chōḷa king to restrain Vikramāditya. Now Vikramāditya openly revolted against the brother. His younger brother Jayasimha IV, the Kadamba chiefs of Goa and Hāṅgal, the Sēṇa chief Sēṇachandra and his son Āiramma and many other feudatories supported him. Sōmēśvara had his own supporters in the Chōḷa kingdom, the Telugu Chōḷa chief Chidoana-chōḷa and others. But Vikramāditya became successful in the struggle. It is not known whether Sōmēśvara was taken prisoner or whether he lost his life in the fight.

Vikramāditya proved himself to be an extraordinary ruler from the beginning itself by starting a new reckoning of his own, the Chālukya Vikrama era, commencing with his accession to the throne. Inscriptions highlight this novel idea of the king when they poetically put it saying that he wiped out the existing Śaka era and started his own. This era continued to be in use for nearly 100 years thereafter. One feature of fifty years' rule of Vikramāditya is the absence of major wars on the borders. Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa and his rival Vikramāditya obviously sized the strength of each other and realised the futility of fighting. This helped Vikramāditya to give attention to internal affairs. His younger brother Jayasimha IV who had all along been on his side, now rose against him, obviously getting impatient with his brother. Perhaps he felt that he would repeat what the latter had done. But Vikramāditya promptly curbed the enthusiasm of his brother and showed him his place. Another rebel in the kingdom who was similarly subdued, was Śilāhāra Bhōja.

Meanwhile in the southern part of the kingdom the Hoysaḷas who had carved out a small principality for themselves below the Tungabhadra with Dōrasamudra or modern Halēbīḍu in Hassan District as their headquarters, cherished the ambition of becoming independent. Viṣṇuvardhana launched upon a campaign of expansion, raided the region around and successfully gained considerable territory. He freed Gaṅgavāḍi from the Chōḷa occupation and raided the territories of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal and the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchaṅgi. In the beginning Vikramāditya did not view the situation seriously. He sent Paramāra Jagaddēva to subdue him but the latter was overpowered by Viṣṇuvardhana who crossed the Tungabhadra and successfully carried on operations in this region. Vikramāditya now sensed a potential danger to the kingdom itself, and himself proceeded to crush the rebel. He did it successfully and Viṣṇuvardhana had to accept the subordination of the Chālukya, and surrendered all the new territories acquired.

On the northern borders, he led an expedition to Malwa to press the claim of Jagaddēva for the Paramāra throne, after the death of Udayāditya. But he did not meet with much success. Jagaddēva followed the king to Karnataka and took shelter under him. In the Veṅgi region the Chōḷa hold was slowly loosening and this helped Vikramāditya in acquiring considerable portions of that area.

Vikramāditya's rule was one of peace and plenty. The generous king launched upon the programme of *nityabhūmidāna*. A good number of queens filled his harem. Many of them were talented litterateurs and accomplished artists. The famous Vijñānēśvara, the author of *Mitāksharā*, a commentary on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, belonged to his court and lived in the Gulbarga region. Different religions flourished during this period and a large number of artistic monuments came to be constructed to house the deities of different faiths. Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadēva-charita* is a living testimony to the literary activity of this period.

The history of the Chālukyas after Vikramāditya is almost an anticlimax. His son Sōmēśvara III Bhūlōkamalla was more a scholar than a warrior. His *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* or *Mānasōllāsa*, an encyclopaedic work in Sanskrit, is a testi-

mony to the versatile scholarship of this king who had mastery over a variety of subjects. He has also composed a biography of his father under the title "*Vikramā-
nikābhūdaya*". He was rightly called "*Sarvajña Chakravarti*".

Sōmēśvara's disinterestedness in warfare gave scope for adverse elements to raise their heads. The hold on Veṅgi became loose and Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana renewed his aggressive activities. The next king Jagadēkamalla II was not a competent ruler. On the eastern side, a new ruling dynasty, that of the Kākatīyas came to the fore. Prōla of that family tried to assert his independence. Viṣṇuvardhana became restive and attacked Hāṅgal and Baṅkāpur. Within the family, a danger of serious proportions was on the verge of eruption in the form of the revolt of Kalachuri Bijjaḷa.

This Kalachuri Bijjaḷa was related to the royal family through matrimonial connections. Bijjaḷa's mother was a daughter of Vikramāditya VI. This relationship brought Bijjaḷa in close contact with the royal family. He held an important position as governor in the Sholapur area and slowly consolidated his power. At this juncture, the rule of Jagadēkamalla came to an end and his brother Taila III ascended the throne in 1149 A.D. He too was a weak ruler.

Bijjaḷa was biding time and struck a final blow and succeeded in occupying the Chālukya throne by ousting Taila, in 1156 A.D. With this the Chālukya rule in Karnataka virtually came to an end. After a short period of about 20 years of Kalachuri rule, Taila's son Sōmēśvara IV tried to re-establish the Chālukya rule (1182 A.D.), but he could not bring the situation under control. The feudatory chiefs had grown strong and were vying with one another to appropriate their master's kingdom. Prominent among them were the Sēuṇas in the northern part of the Chālukya kingdom and the Hoysaḷas in the southern region. The Kākatīyas in the Andhra region were not an exception. Thus the short rule of Sōmēśvara IV (1182-86 A.D.) was filled with fights and finally he had to vacate the throne for Sēuṇa Bhīllama and retire to Banavāsi where he lived upto 1200 A.D.

The Kalachuris

The Kalachuri family to which Bijjaḷa belonged was a branch of the Kaṭachchuri family of central India which held sway over that part of the country in the 6-8th century A.D. Kālañjara was their capital. The Karnataka branch also bore the title *Kālañjarapuravarādhiśvara* indicating their connection with the latter. With the displacement of the Kaṭachchuri family consequent to the rise of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, its members appear to have dispersed in different regions forming different branches. One of them came and settled in the Sholapur-Maṅgaḷavēḍhe region as the subordinates of the ruling kings, the Chālukyas. As noted above, finding an opportunity, Bijjaḷa of this family took advantage of the situation and established his independent rule.

The first known member of the family was Bijjaḷa I. He was a subordinate of Sōmēśvara I in the Maṅgaḷavēḍhe region. The next chief, Karṇa appears to have participated in many of the battles fought by Sōmēśvara I. The next chief, Jōgama

enhanced the prestige of the family by offering his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya VI. He was the governor of the province of Karahāḍa in 1087 A.D. The ties between these two families were further strengthened by the marriage between the next chief Permāḍi and a daughter of Vikramāditya. Thus the Kalachuris became prominent in the Karnataka politics. Permāḍi's attitude was one of independence and defiance of central authority.

Bijjaḷa, the next chief started building up his strength right from 1136 A.D. By 1150 A.D., he became the governor of Tardavāḍi near the Chālukya capital Kalyāṇa. This was a step further in his designs to usurp the Chālukya throne. Mustering the support of some officers, Bijjaḷa finally overthrew Taila III and occupied the throne in 1160 A.D. Many members of the royal family became victims of this revolution.

Bijjaḷa's independent rule was of a short period of about six years only. As a result of the mounting opposition, he had to abdicate the throne in favour of his son Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva (1167 A.D.). Just at this juncture Bijjaḷa's brother Maiḷugi and grandson Karṇa also pressed their claims for the throne. Saṅkama, the brother of Sōvidēva also rose in revolt. Thus there could not be any stability in the nine year's rule of Sōvidēva. In the next ten years, Maiḷugi and after him, Bijjaḷa's sons, Saṅkama, Āhavamalla and Siṅghaṇa ruled in succession for short durations. At this stage Chālukya Sōmēśvara came to the fore and put an end to the Kalachuri rule.

Politically speaking, the Kalachuri rule in Karnataka was only a passing phase. There was neither peace nor stability in the country during this period. But it is a memorable epoch from the point of view of society, religion and literature. It was this period which saw the most unique socio-religious revolution under the leadership of Basavēśvara.

The Sēuṇas

The Sēuṇas are generally known in history as the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. They describe themselves *Yādavanārāyaṇa* and the 'lords of the city of Dvārāvati'. For this reason they were believed to have come from the north. But a careful study of the inscriptions of this family and those of the contemporary families indicates that they hailed from Karnataka and as subordinates of the ruling kings, they were posted as governors of the northern regions of their kingdom. Names of the members of this family are Kannada and their matrimonial relationships were effected with Kannada rulers like the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Chālukyas. Most of their inscriptions are in Kannada language. One of the kings of the family bore the title *Karṇāṭa-varaṣābhirāma*.

The actual name of the family was Sēuṇa. They are called as such in their inscriptions and the inscriptions of the contemporary rulers, like the Hoysaḷas and the Kākatīyas. The term seems to be a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *Sad-guṇa*. Their history can be traced back to a much earlier period. Rising to prominence from the beginning of the Chālukya rule, they slowly attained to sovereignty.

A good number of inscriptions of this family as well as Hēmādri, the author of *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi* give the genealogy of the family in details. Though it appears that Dṛiḍhaprahāra was the first member of this family, it came to light with the days of the next chief, Sēuṇachandra, from whom the family appears to have got the name Sēuṇa. The territory governed by him came to be called Sēuṇa-dēśa and the headquarters as Sēuṇapura. The latter place is modern Sinnar in Ahmadnagar District of the present Maharashtra State. Sēuṇachandra was in power between 835-860 A.D., during the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I. The next notable chief, Vaḍḍiga I, had married a daughter of Rāshtrakūṭa Nirupama, the brother of Kṛishṇa III. He was succeeded by his son Bhillama II in c. 970 A.D.

Bhillama did not easily accept the authority of Taila II, the Chālukya. He seems to have been supported by the neighbouring Śilāhāra chief also. But when once forced he became a trusted feudatory of Taila and took prominent part in the latter's fights with the Paramāras.

When Bhillama III, the grandson of Bhillama II, ascended the throne, he was too young to shoulder the responsibility of administration. Consequently his grandmother Lachchiyavva acted as regent. Bhillama, when he came of age, revolted against his overlord Jayasimha II. Ultimately, the king offered his daughter Avvaladēvi in marriage to Bhillama who thereafter fought against Paramāra Bhōja and secured victory for the next Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I also.

Sēuṇachandra II and his son Āiramma took the side of Vikramāditya VI who overthrew his brother towards the end of 1076 A.D. This resulted in the expansion of Sēuṇa authority over a larger territory. By the time the next chief Siṅghaṇa I came to power (c. 1110 A.D.), the province of Paḷiyāṇḍa-4000, the tract of Paṇḍa in the Osmanabad District, was annexed to their territory and the chief also got a small tract of Honnatti-12 in Dharwar District, as his personal fief.

When Bijjala occupied the Chālukya throne, Sēuṇa Bhillama V challenged his authority. He captured the fort of Śrīvardhana near Poona and occupied the fort of Paḷiyāṇḍa. He then came face to face with Kalachuri Maḷugi II (c. 1176 A.D.) but was not successful in his endeavour.

When, in about 1181 A.D., Sōmēśvara IV re-established the Chālukya authority, Bhillama fought with him also, but met with defeat. In the meanwhile, circumstances so developed that Sōmēśvara could not hold for long and he had to return to Banavāsi. Bhillama did not lose time in occupying Kalyāṇa. He proceeded further south and occupied all the area above the Krishna and thus became an independent ruler (1186 A.D.).

In the region below the Tungabhadra the Hoysalas, also feudatories under Chālukyas, tried to assert their independence and expand towards north. This event temporarily checked the expansionist activities of Bhillama who died in 1192. His son Jaitugi found it difficult to renew his father's policy of expansion. He had, however, a spectacular victory over the Kākatīyas when Rudrama and Mahādēva died in fights and the latter's son Gaṇapati was taken captive. The latter was rein-

stated on the Kākatīya throne by Jaitugi himself. It was during his period that Dēvagiri was occupied as the capital. This is modern Daulatabad near Aurangabad in Maharashtra.

Siṅghaṇa II ascended the throne in 1200 A.D. He planned an expedition in which he subdued all the feudatory families and isolated Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa who was later defeated and the area upto Tungabhadra occupied. This took place in c. 1215 A.D. With this virtually Tungabhadra became the border between the two kingdoms. Sporadic inroads were made by the rivals on the eastern borders also. One such major clash took place during the rule of Sēuṇa Mahādēva, the grandson of Siṅghaṇa II, when he attacked the Kākatīya kingdom. But Rudramadēvī forced him to retreat.

With the rule of Rāmachandra, began the last stage of the Sēuṇa rule. The fights between them and the Hoysaḷas on the one hand and the Kākatīyas on the other, continued and with no good reasons. They only led to mutual weakening.

Just at this juncture, the whole of the north was under Muslim rule under the Sultans of Delhi. In the last quarter of the 13th century, Jalāluddīn Khilji was the ruler. His nephew, the later Allāuddīn Khilji, a crafty politician, intent on occupying the throne of Delhi and in need of much wealth earned the confidence of the innocent Sultan as the governor of Khara, discovered that the kingdoms below the Vindhyas were very rich. Keeping the Sultan in the dark about his venture, he proceeded with a big army to Chanderi from where he stealthily moved further south. The major powers in that region, the Sēuṇas, the Kākatīyas, the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, engaged as they were in mutual fights, never anticipated any attack from outside. Sēuṇa Rāmachandra was taken completely unawares. A major portion of his army had been out on an expedition, under his son Siṅghaṇa III. Allāuddīn was in a position to dictate terms and consequently got huge wealth and a promise to pay regular tribute. While the victor was on his way back Siṅghaṇa III who had returned to the capital fell on the Muslim army, only to be defeated. The enraged invader now forced a contingent of his army at Elchapur, and exacted the income of that province as annual tribute. Thus ended this invasion of Dēvagiri (1296 A.D.).

This invasion changed the very course of Indian history. It shook the foundations of the southern kingdoms and paved way for the Muslim occupation of most of the south. Strangely enough, the southern kingdoms did not seem to have grasped the seriousness of the situation. They continued their mutual quarrels.

Soon after his return from the southern invasion, Allāuddīn became the Sultan. In 1304 A.D., he sent his general Malik Kafur, this time to Warangal, the capital of the Kākatīyas. Kākatīya Pratāparudra forced him to retreat. But Allāuddīn was not a man to be disheartened. He had already sized the ability of Rāmachandra, and he thought he could try his strength there once again. Thus in 1307 A.D., he sent Malik Kafur with a huge army against Dēvagiri under the pretext that Rāmachandra had stopped sending tributes. This second invasion had more devastating effects. Rāmachandra was taken captive and carried to Delhi and his son Siṅghaṇa

escaped to the woods. Rāmachandra was sent back to Dēvagiri with all honours but he had lost even the semblance of independence. Dēvagiri was turned into a military base of Allāuddīn. Malik Kafur attacked Warangal from this base and achieved the desired victory.

Now there remained only two kingdoms in the south, those of the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas untouched by the invader. But the latter was in no mood to spare them. Malik Kafur started once again to the south in 1311 A.D., this time with a base in Dēvagiri.

Rāmachandra died in 1312 A.D. His son Siṅghaṇa, a proud young man resented the submission to alien power, and revolted. But it was of no avail. The next Khilji ruler Mubārak who was now on the Delhi throne himself came to Dēvagiri to quell the disturbances. The revolt was put down and the Sēuṇa kingdom became a part of the Khilji empire (1318 A.D.). After stationing his own officers at Dēvagiri and other bases like Gulbarga and Sagar he returned to Delhi. This marked the end of Sēuṇa kingdom.

The Hoysaḷas

Like the Sēuṇas, the Hoysaḷas also claim to have belonged to the Yādava stock and they also bore the title the 'lord of the city of Dvārāvati', but there is no doubt that they belonged to the Kannada land.

It is generally believed that the first ruler of this family was Saḷa and a legend is woven around him which also explains the family name Hoysaḷa. Saḷa, a young student at a place known as Sosevūr or Aṅgaḍi, was one day commanded by his teacher, to kill a tiger which had rushed on them, as *hoy Saḷa* (Oh Saḷa, slay). The young hero slew the tiger and his family got the name Hoysaḷa. How far this story is historical, cannot be ascertained. But that it had gained currency during the heyday of the Hoysaḷas is clear from many references to it in their inscriptions as well as the sculptural representation of a hero slaying a tiger, adorning most of the Hoysaḷa temples. It is at the same time difficult to believe in the historicity of the legend.

The first member of the family whose historicity can be relied upon, is Kāma or Nṛipa Kāma. Inscriptions refer to a Hoysaḷa general fighting with Chōḷa general Apramēya and it is held this Hoysaḷa general was Kāma himself and that he was fighting with the Chōḷas in order to free Gaṅgavāḍi from them. He appears to have been in power between 1000 A.D. and 1045 A.D. The next chief Vinayāditya, son of Kāma had close contacts with his Chālukya contemporary Sōmēśvara I. He appears to have received help from him in his fights against the Chōḷas. One of the queens of Sōmēśvara I, known as Hoysaḷadēvi might have been a daughter or sister of Vinayāditya. His son Eṇṇaṅga took an active part in the expeditions of his father as also Chālukya Sōmēśvara II. The Hoysaḷa inscriptions claim that he conquered such forts as Dhārā and Chakrakūṭa in the north. His son Vishṇuvardhana took a leading part in these activities. During this period, Vēlāpura or the famous Bēlūr was their capital. During the time of Vishṇuvardhana it was shifted to Dōrasamudra or Haḷēbīd.

Eṛeyaṅga was succeeded by his son Ballāḷa I who tried to assert independence. His brothers Udayāditya and Vishṇuvardhana stood by him. Paramāra Jagaddēva sent by the Chālukya to curb him returned defeated. Encouraged by this, Ballāḷa stepped up his expansionist activities. He defeated the Chaṅgāḷvas, occupied Āḷvakhēḍa, and raided the territory of the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchaṅgi. Vikramāditya sent his famous general Āchugi II of the Sinda family who successfully drove Ballāḷa back upto his headquarters (1104 A.D.).

Vishṇuvardhana, his successor, renewed his offensive activities. His general Gaṅgarāja helped him considerably in freeing Talakāḍu from the Chōḷa occupation. Then Kōḷār and Naṅgali, by 1116 A.D. the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi, the regions of the Koṅgāḷvas and the Chōḷas of Niḍugal, Nīlgiris and the Koṅgu country, the region of Salem and Coimbatore, came under his control. He attacked and defeated the Pāṇḍyas and conquered Noḷambavāḍi. The forts of Baḷḷāri and Kummaṭa fell. He further marched towards Beḷvola. Vikramāditya who was all along watching his movement sent a strong army under the famous Sinda feudatory Āchugi and his son Permādi. Āchugi routed the Hoysaḷa chief who surrendered all his new acquisitions (1122 A.D.).

The attempts made by Vishṇuvardhana after the death of Vikramāditya VI did not yield any considerable result. It was only Ballāḷa II who finally declared independence. But, as seen above, he faced Sēuṇa Bhīllama in the region north of the Tungabhadra and in the battle of Soraṭūr he defeated the Sēuṇa who had to vacate Beḷvola. Ballāḷa had thus expanded his authority from the Kaveri in the south to the river Malaprabha in the north. He had to move up and down from Dōra-samudra to Lakkunḍi to hold together the newly acquired regions. At this juncture Sēuṇa Siṅghaṇa II fell on Ballāḷa who later had to yield and vacate Lakkunḍi and move to the other bank of the Tungabhadra. Thereafter this river became the border between his kingdom and that of the Sēuṇas.

Towards the last part of his career, Ballāḷa extended his authority deep in the Chōḷa region in the south, by interfering in the political affairs of that country since he was matrimonially related to them. The Chōḷa king who had been ousted by Māravarma Sundarapāṇḍya sought the help of Ballāḷa. Hoysaḷa Narasimha II successfully fought the Pāṇḍya and reinstated Kulōtuṅga on the Chōḷa throne.

During the reign of Narasimha II, there was again an attack of the Pāṇḍya on the Chōḷa country and this time it was the turn of Rājarāja to be deprived of the throne. Narasimha again helped Rājarāja in getting back the throne (1222 A.D.). In order to avoid any such eventuality in future, Hoysaḷa stationed a contingent of his army at Kaṇṇānūr under his son Sōmēśvara (1223 A.D.).

The next king Sōmēśvara was more attached to the south. Rājendra II, the successor of Rājarāja, who ascended the throne in 1240 A.D. did not like the Hoysaḷa interference. This led to a discord between the two and this time the Hoysaḷa helped the Pāṇḍya against the Chōḷa.

Meanwhile his two sons, Narasimha III and Rāmanātha started quarrelling with each other. This led to the partition of the kingdom (1250 A.D.). But the Sēuṇa

in the north and the Pāṇḍya in the south took advantage of this weakened situation and attacked from their ends. The hold on Kaṇṇanur was lost. Rāmanātha camped at Kundāni and ruled till 1295 A.D. Narasimha III died in 1291 A.D. and his son Ballāḷa III succeeded him. During his time, both the sectors of the kingdom merged into one. Rāmanātha opposed; but his son Viśvanātha was too weak to retain his independence. He was easily pushed aside and Ballāḷa became the master of the whole of the Hoysaḷa kingdom (1301 A.D.).

Ballāḷa ascended the throne at a time when the south faced the invasion of Allāuddīn. Unconcerned, he ventured to interfere with the affairs in the Pāṇḍya country where, after the death of Māravarma, his sons Sundarapāṇḍya and Virapāṇḍya contested each other for the throne and Sundarapāṇḍya sought the help of Ballāḷa (1310 A.D.). But he had to rush back to the capital when he heard that Malik Kafur had approached Dōrasamudra with his army. He faced the invader valiantly but in vain. The capital was looted and Ballāḷa was obliged to help the invading army to raid the Pāṇḍya country. This was also accomplished, and collecting a large booty Malik Kafur returned to Delhi taking captive the son of Ballāḷa, who however was sent back to Dōrasamudra (1312 A.D.). Strangely enough, no sooner did Malik Kafur return, than Ballāḷa again turned his attention to the Pāṇḍya country. The feud for the throne had still continued, even after the Muslim raid and Ballāḷa continued to support Sundarapāṇḍya. As a result of this, he could get some areas in that country including Aruṇasamudra i.e., the modern Tiruvannāmalai. This place became his southern headquarters in the later days.

Ballāḷa had once again to face the Muslim invasion, this time from Mohammad Tughluk, the new Sultan of Delhi (1327 A.D.). Ballāḷa was thoroughly defeated and he had to seek shelter at Tiruvannāmalai. The army proceeded to Madurai and occupied it. Yet Ballāḷa did not give up his attempts to be free. Right at this time, the Muslim army once again touched Dōrasamudra. Bahauddīn, the Muslim governor at Sagar, turned rebel and ran to Kampili for shelter, evading the arrest by the Delhi Sultan. The chiefs of Kampili, Kampiladēva and his son Rāmanātha preferred to die fighting rather than surrender to the rebel. The latter ran to Ballāḷa, but Ballāḷa, to save himself from further disaster, surrendered the rebel to the Sultan.

All these events broke up the southern kingdoms into fragments and the whole of the South came under the Muslim occupation. Vestiges of religion and culture became victims of the wrath of the invaders. At such a serious situation, it was only Ballāḷa who survived to continue the struggle for freedom. Even under such trying circumstances, and even in his old age he moved from place to place mustering support to revolt against the alien occupation. The Saṅgama brothers Harihara and Bukka who served under him now came forth to work for this end. All such efforts combined, the Vijayanagara kingdom came to be founded with the lofty purpose of freeing the country from Muslim occupation and preserving the religion and culture which were on the verge of annihilation.

Ballāḷa met a tragic end at the hands of Ghiyāsuddīn an officer of Madurai in a fight when the governor of that place Allāuddīn Udaugi led an invasion against

him. He killed this governor in the fight. But he had to succumb to the sword of Ghiyāsuddīn. (1342 A.D.). It was however to his credit that he kept up the fight for freedom and passed on the legacy to the worthy hands.

Ballāḷa's son Virūpāksha came to the throne in 1343 A.D. By that time the Vijayanagara empire was already on the rise and the Hoysaḷa kingdom was merged with it.

The Vijayanagara Empire

One of the most important events that took place in South India in the first half of the 14th century A.D. was the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. This event had great significance in the background of political conditions which prevailed during this period. We notice a marked difference between the foundation of this empire and the foundation of early kingdoms. Most of the early South Indian kingdoms were founded by strong individuals who were spurred by an ambition to become king. But the Vijayanagara empire was founded for a lofty ideal and by the combined efforts of many people.

As observed earlier, amidst the enormous destruction caused by the Khilji and Tughluk armies, only one capable figure remained unscathed and that was Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III. He was an eyewitness to the devastation caused by the invasions. But he could not check them. He felt that he would encourage the young men who could put an end to this chaos and establish peace and security in the region. Revolts took place here and there and Ballāḷa supported them. In Andhra, Prōlayanāyaka and Kāpayanāyaka rebelled and freed the Tēlaṅgāṇā region from the Muslims; the Sambhuvarāyas occupied the Toṇḍaimaṇḍala region. In Karnataka the five sons of Sangama, Hakka, Bukka and three others became partners of Ballāḷa. As a result of the valiant efforts of many devoted workers, the Vijayanagara empire rose at Hampi.

There have been some stories and theories regarding the antecedents of Harihara and Bukka and the foundation of the empire. According to one school of opinion, these two brothers were originally in the service of the Kākatīya king, Pratāparudra. After the fall of that kingdom, they left for Kampili and while ruling over that place, they were taken captive and taken to Delhi. They were converted to Islam there. When there was a rebellion in the south, these brothers were sent to that region to curb the disturbances. Here they were inspired by Śrī Vidyāraṇya, the pontiff of Śrīṅgeri, who came forth to found a new empire. This opinion appears to have been based more on legends than facts. A thorough study of the inscriptions as well as other sources indicates that the family of these brothers belonged to the Hampi region and that they were the officers under Ballāḷa III. It can be said that through his help and efforts they were able to lay the foundation of a mighty empire.

It is generally believed that Śrī Vidyāraṇya stood behind the Sangama brothers and encouraged them in the foundation of the empire. Śrī Vidyāraṇya figures in inscriptions nearly two decades after the foundation of the empire. At the time of the foundation, Śrī Vidyātīrtha was the pontiff of Śrīṅgeri. There are epigraphical

records which state that Hakka and Bukka went to Śringēri to offer their homage and gratitude to the Svāmī in 1346 A.D. It is not unlikely that Śrī Vidyāranya, the disciple of Śrī Vidyātīrtha, inspired the brothers in their task before going to Kāśī for education.

The Growth of the Empire

The Sangama brothers were fired with lofty ambition. It was now their task to free the whole of South India from Muslim occupation. Harihara discharged this duty ably. Not many details are available regarding this spectacular achievement. We can get only glimpses from epigraphs. Harihara first established his authority in the coastal region, built a fort at Bārakūru. By 1340 A.D. the region of Bādāmi came under him. By 1343 A.D. he bore the titles *mahārājādhirāja* indicative of his sovereignty. He went with his brother to Śringēri in 1346 A.D. to commemorate this victory.

Thus within four years of its foundation, the Vijayanagara empire extended over a vast area. Harihara appointed his brothers to govern the different regions of his area. Kampanṇa was placed at Udayayagiri in Andhra. Mārappa governed Male-rāja from Chandragutti. Muddappa governed the Muḷubāgilu region and *yuvārāja* Bukka governed the Dōrasamudra region. The only region in the south that had yet remained outside the empire was that of Madurai, which was also conquered in course of time by Kampanṇa, the son of Bukka. This achievement is the theme of *Madurāvijaya* or *Vīrakamparājacharita* composed by his queen Gangādēvi.

The Vijayanagara empire covered all the areas of the southern Deccan but the northern part of it covering northern Karnataka and Maharashtra regions remained outside its jurisdiction. The farthest point of this empire in the north can be fixed along the northern border of the present Gadag taluk in Dharwar District of Karnataka. The area beyond that place fell into the hands of another new dynasty that rose slightly later than the foundation of the Vijayanagara viz., the Bahamani kingdom (1347 A.D.). This area was under an officer of the Sultan of Delhi called Amir Hassan. He declared independence in this year and started his own rule under the name Alauddin Hassan Bahamani with his headquarters at Gulburga. This kingdom on the northern borders of Vijayanagara became a constant thorn on its side and an obstacle to its growth.

In Vijayanagara Harihara continued the earlier traditions in the matter of administration. Towards the end of his rule Alauddin Bahamani ventured to attack Vijayanagara though there was no tangible gain for him. The event inaugurated a series of battles which were fought until the extinction of both the powers.

Harihara was succeeded by his brother Bukka in 1356 A.D. It fell to his lot to consolidate his strength and establish his authority in the whole of the south. Just at this time a small chieftaincy under the rulership of Sambhuvarāyas was rising around Kānchi. They were not ready to accept the authority of Vijayanagara. Bukka sent his son Kampanṇa who invaded their territory and arrested its chief. The latter had to accept the sovereignty of Vijayanagara. Further south, a Muslim

pocket functioned in Madurai under Jalaluddin Hassan Shah who was originally subordinate of the Sultan of Delhi, but ruling then as an independent ruler. Kampana proceeded against him and the Muslim chief was forced to run away. The victor brought back to Śrīrangam the image of Śrīranganātha which was kept hidden in Tirupati and installed it there. By 1371 A.D., the Madurai region became a part of Vijayanagara empire.

The fertile land between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers became a bone of contention between Vijayanagara and the Adilshahis of Bijapur, an offshoot of the Bahamani kingdom. For nearly ten years from 1366 A.D. onwards, many battles were fought but finally Bukka became victorious.

Bukka was known for his secular attitude. He preached toleration and maintained religious harmony. This is best illustrated in an inscription at Śravaṇabelagoḷa which records a dispute between the Jainas and Śrīvaiṣṇavas. Bukka gave the judgement to the effect that people following different religions should work in close cooperation and safeguard the interests of each other.

Another contribution of Bukka is in the field of Vedic studies. The gigantic task of writing a commentary on the Vedas commenced during his reign under the readership of Sāyaṇāchārya and Mādhvāchārya. This project was completed after 20 years of strenuous work.

Among the next five rulers who followed Bukka I in order of succession i.e. Harihara II (1371-1404 A.D.), Bukka II (1404-1406 A.D.), Dēvarāya I (1406-1421 A.D.) Vijayarāya (1422-24 A.D.) and Dēvarāya II (1424-46 A.D.), the last rose to prominence and led the empire of Vijayanagara to further heights of glory. This king is described in inscriptions as Prauḍhadēvarāya, Pratāpadēvarāya and Abhinavadēvarāya.

Immaḍi Dēvarāya

Immaḍi Dēvarāya's political career is marked by two features: (i) fight with the Bahamani Sultans and (ii) clash with the Gajapati king of Orissa. As pointed out earlier, the Bahamanis were a constant source of menace to the Vijayanagara empire. Dēvarāya had to fight at least thrice with the latter forces. Sultan Ahamad Shah I had led an expedition earlier against Vijayanagara in 1422 A.D. But he was defeated. At this time he had shifted his capital to Bidar. After the accession of Dēvarāya he attacked Vijayanagara twice once in 1435 A.D. and again in 1443-44 A.D. But on both the occasions he had to suffer a defeat. On the latter occasion he tried to exploit the situation of confusion caused by an abortive plot to murder Dēvarāya. But he could not succeed.

In Orissa, the Gajapati king, Bhānudevā was busy extending his kingdom southwards. But the Vijayanagara king would not allow it. The latter had subdued the Redḍi chief of Rājamahēndri who also put up an opposition to the Gajapati king. Another significant achievement of this period is the defeat of the king of Simhala at the hands of Dēvarāya's general Lakkaṇṇaṇḍeśa. Earlier Harihara II had subdued this king and forced him to pay tribute. But now a rebellion arose

and Lakkanna proceeded to the island with the naval fleet and ended the rebellion. The general was honoured with the title *dakṣiṇasamudrādhiśvara*.

Dēvarāya was aware of the constant danger from this side. He therefore wisely thought of reorganising his army and make it more effective. He strengthened the cavalry and even employed the Muslim soldiers and generals to give training to his men.

Vijayanagara enjoyed an allround growth and prosperity during this period. Brisk trade activities and internal security created a conducive atmosphere for the people to follow their avocations unhindered. The catholic attitude of the king helped the growth of different religions. He contributed greatly to the growth of Viśāiśa religion and constructed Jaina *basadis* as well. He allowed the Muslims in his kingdom to follow their own religion and built mosques for them. He patronized poets and scholars and made liberal donations to the growth of literature and education. Nicolo Conti of Italy and Abdur Razak of Iran who visited Vijayanagara in 1420-21 A.D. and 1443 A.D. respectively have recorded in their memoirs, their impressions of this great city. The latter observes that he had never seen in any other part of the world a city so wonderful as Vijayanagara. He has high praise for the king and the people and for the merchants who sold pearls and jewels in the open market.

Successors of Dēvarāya and the Rise of the Sāḷuva dynasty

Dēvarāya's death in 1446 A.D. brought bad days for Vijayanagara mainly owing to the incompetence of the successors. The next kings Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha had neither vision nor ability. Virūpāksha gave himself upto a licentious life neglecting the administration of the country. This situation was best exploited by the Bahamani Sultan who was always waiting for an opportunity to bully Vijayanagara. He rushed to the west coast and occupied Goa, Belgaum and other strategic places. On the eastern side Gajapati Kapilendra and his son Hammīra seized the forts of Rājamahēndri and Udayagiri which were the strong-holds of Vijayanagara. Hammīra even went upto Kānchi with his army. This was a serious threat to Vijayanagara. Fortunately for the empire, the able general Narasimha of the Sāḷuva family protected its interests. He pushed back Hammīra and reoccupied the fort of Udayagiri. He also defeated the Bahamani Sultan and obtained the fort of Machhalipaṭṭanam and the fort of Koṇḍaviḍu. But the situation inside the country was deteriorating. Virūpāksha was killed by his son but the latter's brother who next came to the throne was also thoroughly incompetent. Narasimha took the lead and reached the capital with his forces. He subdued the king and himself took the reins of administration. This event took place in 1485 A.D. and with this ended the role of the members of the Sangama family in Vijayanagara.

Sāḷuva Narasimha

The action of Sāḷuva Narasimha can be described as usurpation by ordinary standards. But it saved the empire from catastrophe. He was an officer at Chandra-

giri during the rule of Mallikāṛjuna and later became the military officer at Vijayanagara. He was very well acquainted with the conditions in the empire and had good control over the situation. He acted promptly and faced the enemies from outside and curbed the unruly elements inside. His short rule of six years was beset with fights. The Ummattūr chiefs in southern Mysore were a source of menace and they were effectively put down. Kapilēndra's son once again raided the coastal region and occupied the fort of Udayagiri. In the midst of restless activities and fighting the enemies Narasimha died in 1491 A.D.

Rise of the Tuḷuvas

The death of Narasimha caused almost a vacuum in Vijayanagara. He had two sons who were infants at the time of his death. His minister *sarvādhikāri* Narasānāyaka of the Tuḷuva family acted as the regent of the princes and assumed complete control over the empire. The elder of the princes Timma was murdered and the younger, Narasimha II became the king. But the powerful Narasānāyaka put him in prison and himself conducted the administration.

Narasānāyaka was a strong administrator. He put down the Ummattūr chiefs and took possession of the fort of the Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa, occupied the Raichur-Mudgal region and defeated the Gajapati king Pratāparudra. He died in 1503 A.D. when his son Vīra Narasimha became the administrator. Soon, in 1505 A.D., Narasimha II died or perhaps fell a prey to the palace intrigues and Vīra Narasimha himself became the king. Thus the Tuḷuvas replaced the Sāḷuvas on the Vijayanagara throne.

Kṛishṇadēvarāya

Vīraa Narasimha's rule ended in 1509 A.D. and he was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇadēvarāya. This event ushered in a new era in the history of Vijayanagara. During his reign, Vijayanagara reached heights of glory in every respect. Territorial expansion, internal security, peace and prosperity, promotion of literature, art and architecture, brisk trade activities and contact with the external world characterised this period.

Conditions in the country were in a bad shape when Kṛishṇadēvarāya assumed power. The quick succession of rulers one after the other, the rule of the regent and the consequent fights for throne had affected the administration as well as the economic conditions in the kingdom. In the absence of an effective central authority, the feudatories and provincial officers had grown strong and were prone to exploit the subjects by excessive taxes. An able administrator, Kṛishṇadēvarāya came to the rescue of the people and earned their confidence by reducing the number of taxes levied on them. He abolished the marriage tax. He paid due attention to irrigation facilities for increased production. He established effective control over the feudatories and officers and forced them to supply soldiers regularly to the centre. Thus he strengthened the military organisation which went a long way in ensuring the safety of the country and the security of the people.

Two important developments had taken place by this time on the political scene of south India. One was the advent of the Europeans on the west coast and the other the division of Bahamani kingdom into four independent principalities. Both the developments seriously affected the position of Vijayanagara. The former were basically concerned with their trade interests but indulged in political activities and the latter though bearing ill-will against each other, jointly planned to placate Vijayanagara. The Vijayanagara rulers had to formulate their policies very carefully so as to safeguard their interests amidst these dangers.

Vasco-da-gama from Portugal had already set foot in the west coast and in 1498 A.D. he reached Calicut and started his trade activities. By 1503 A.D. he had even built his centre there. The Portuguese and the Muslims were vying with each other to have a hold on the port of Goa. It was originally in the possession of Vijayanagara but in the period of confusion following the end of the Sangama family, it was seized by the Muslims. The Portuguese had an eye on this port for furthering their trade activities while the Muslims wanted to keep it under them for facilitating the supply of horses which were greatly needed for their army. Kṛishṇadēvarāya also desired to occupy this port but he had to follow a tactful policy rather than use force. He was also in great need of horses from outside and the Portuguese offered to supply them on the condition that he would help them in snatching away the port from the Muslims. He did not antagonize the Adilshah of Bijapur by supporting the Portuguese. But when the latter seized the port from the Adilshah, he entered into a treaty with them and permitted them to build a warehouse at Bhaṭkal on the condition that they would supply horses exclusively to him. This event took place in 1514 A.D.

On the northern borders, Kṛishṇadēvarāya had a spectacular victory over the Adilshahis of Bijapur. The Raichur doab which was the prize possession of Vijayanagara had been lost to the Muslims and Kṛishṇadēvarāya was intent on regaining it. At this juncture he had to face a combined attack of the Muslim rulers headed by the Sultan of Bijapur. But he bravely fought the confederacy in the battle at Govaḷ-koṇḍa when the Bijapur Sultan lost his life. In 1520 A.D., he defeated the next Sultan of Bijapur and occupied the Raichur fort. In 1523 A.D., once again he defeated the Sultan of Bijapur near Sagar in Gulburga District. He further proceeded to Gulburga and released the three sons of Muhammad II from captivity and reinstated one on the throne and took two others to Vijayanagara where they were looked after with care and honour. This achievement earned for him the title *Yavana-rājya-sthāpanāchārya* i.e. the king who restored the Yavana kingdom.

The Kalinga expedition of Kṛishṇadēvarāya against the Gajapati king is indeed a spectacular achievement. If one reason for this expedition was to expand the kingdom, the other immediate reason was to stop that ruler from working hand in glove with the Muslim rulers to the disadvantage not only of Vijayanagara but also of the religion and culture of the whole country.

Planned and executed stage by stage this expedition was a prolonged one. It commenced in 1513 A.D. with Udayagiri as the target. The Gajapati put up a stiff

opposition and the fort fell after a long siege. The victorious king brought the image of Bālakṛishṇa from this place and installed it in a temple at Vijayanagara.

The next stage was marked by the expedition of Koṇḍaviḍu, under the leadership of Sālva Timmarasa. The army marched ahead conquering on the way forts like Kandakūr, Vinukoṇḍa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and the like. The king took a brief respite from the battles and came to the capital to scrutinize the administration and rejoined the army at Koṇḍaviḍu. The Gajapati had made elaborate arrangements for the guarding of the fort and had secured the help of Adilshah of Bijapur. But Kṛishṇadēvarāya overpowered Gajapati who fled from the battlefield. After a siege of two months Koṇḍaviḍu was captured. He proceeded further and occupied the forts of Vijayavāḍa, Koṇḍapalli, Nalgoṇḍa and others. Rājamahēndri and Simhāchalam also fell. Gajapati fled to Cuttuck. But the king pursued him and he had to submit. A treaty was effected whereby Kṛishṇadēvarāya married Jaganmōhini, the daughter of Gajapati Pratāparudra and he also returned the entire area he had occupied, north of the Krishna to the Gajapati king. Thus this episode which extended over five years ended in a friendly relationship between the two families (1518 A.D.) and the Vijayanagara kingdom extended as far as Vijayavāḍa on the east coast.

At this juncture, there was a revolt in Ceylon. Vijayabāhu was dethroned and his sons fought for power. The elder son Bhuvanaikabāhu sought the help of Kṛishṇadēvarāya who readily responded and sent an army which helped Vijayabāhu to regain the throne (1522-23 A.D.). In the next year the Goa region was once again conquered by Asadkhan from the chief of Bidar. Kṛishṇadēvarāya sent an army under Sālva Timmarasa who however had to return defeated.

Thus Kṛishṇadēvarāya's rule was full of glory. His spectacular military achievements made Vijayanagara one of the most formidable powers in contemporary India. He had a pleasing personality. Deeply religious by nature, he made large donations to various temples and furthered the cause of different religions. A devotee of god Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara of Tirupati, he visited that place a number of times and made numerous donations. He exhibited his secular outlook by providing facilities to the Muslims to pursue their own religion. He was as much a scholar as a fighter. His achievements in the literary field are well known. His benevolent patronage to literature and scholars was responsible for the growth of literature not only in Sanskrit but also in Kannada, Telugu and Tamil. The Vijaya Viṭhala temple at Hampi stands as a monument of his love of art and culture.

Prominent among his queens were Chinpādēvi, Tirumaladēvi and Jaganmōhini. He had two daughters and two sons. The daughters Tirumalāmbā and Veṅgaḷāmbā were married to Rāmarāya and Tirumaladēvarāya of the Āravīḍu family respectively. The last days of this versatile king, the hero of many battles and the author of many works, were very sad. He nominated his first son Tirumala as *yuvarāja* when the latter was six years old. In the course of an year after the nomination ceremony, the young prince fell a victim to poisoning. The king was stunned. The other son was not yet born. Grief and indignation overwhelmed him. He suspect-

ed Tirumalaḍaḍḍanāyaka, the son of his minister Timmarasa, as the instigator of this foul play and kept the minister and his two sons in prison. Timmarasa escaped and rose in rebellion. The king recaptured him and this time blinded all the three. He was deeply shocked at this treachery which affected his health. He got a son at this juncture but he could not recover from the grievous shock. Leaving behind the child of 18 months he passed away in 1529 A.D.

The Last Phase

The death of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya brought a doom to the Vijayanagara empire. Its huge edifice crumbled to pieces in the course of the next thirtyfive years. Following the death of the king, intrigues began in the palace, by the rival claimants to grab power. One group headed by Huchcha Tirumala supported the cause of the infant son of the deceased king. The latter's brother Achyutarāya also pushed forth his own claim. The ambitious Rāmarāya and Tirumalarāya who got the support of the queens Tirumalāmbā and Veṅgaḷāmbā formed yet another group.

Achyutarāya's designs were already known to Kṛṣṇadēvarāya himself and he had kept him in prison for some time but later released him and nominated him as the heir. Rāmarāya studied the situation and supported Achyutarāya. Huchcha Tirumala sought the help of the Adilshah of Bijapur and thereby Raichur and Mudgal forts were lost to him. Tirumala even planned to usurp the throne himself by killing the young prince. He was strongly opposed and finally he died by committing suicide. Achyutarāya became the king in 1530 A.D.

The rule of Achyutarāya can be said to be the beginning of the downfall of the Vijayanagara. He was a generous king with a religious outlook. He made a large number of donations. But he had no hold on administration. He gave himself up to easy life and the authority was entrusted to Salaka Tirumala. The latter was a competent man. He put down all the rebels in the country such as Challappanāyaka, the officer of Kānchi and Tiruvadi, the Chēra. The Ummattūr chiefs were subdued again. The Pāṇḍya chief was defeated and he gave his daughter Varadāmbikā in marriage to Achyutarāya. Tirumala defeated the Gajapati king and the Shah of Goḷkoṇḍa also who tried to make inroads into the Vijayanagara empire.

The territorial integrity of the empire was maintained in this period but the very foundation was being shaken by the groups inside who engaged themselves in all sorts of manoeuvres to get the throne to themselves. These plots and intrigues came to the fore with the death of Achyutarāya in 1542 A.D.

Salaka Tirumala placed on the throne Veṅkaṭa, son of Achyutarāya born to Varadāmbikā, and himself took the reins of the government and tried to usurp the throne ultimately for himself. Rāmarāya upheld the cause of Sadāsivarāya, the son of Rangarāya who was the brother of Achyutarāya. The conflict arose in the form of an open fight between Tirumala and Rāmarāya when the latter fled to Koṇḍaviḍu with Sadāsivarāya. He occupied Penugonḍa, Ādavāni and other forts, and collecting his own men, finally fell on Tirumala when the latter died. He had already killed Venkaṭāḍri. Thus the Vijayanagara throne came under the

control of Rāmarāya who placed Sadāśivarāya on it and himself became the *sarvādhikāri* (1543 A.D.).

Rāmarāya's rule gave a new turn to the politics of Vijayanagara. For nearly seven years he enjoyed unlimited power. But when Sadāśiva tried to assert himself as the king, this ruthless minister put him in prison and conducted the administration in his own name. He gave the office of prime minister and the chief of the army to his brothers Tirumala and Venkaṭādri respectively. He could thus have absolute control over the affairs of the empire.

This ambitious administrator wanted to expand the empire and increase his influence on the contemporary powers. He removed from service all those who had opposed him and appointed those who were loyal to him. He employed many Muslim officers in the army. In the longrun these steps proved to be detrimental to his own safety and that of the empire. He alienated the sympathies of the loyal servants of the State and allowed treachery to hatch inside the army. Seemingly however, everything went on well for quite some time. He curbed all the rebellions in the south, in Chandragiri and Kerala and even the Portuguese were dealt with strenly.

The End

Having thus consolidated his power, Rāmarāya now tried to interfere in the affairs of the Muslim rulers and turn the situation to his advantage. The Adilshah of Bijapur and Nizamshah of Ahamadnagar were fighting for a long time for their hold on the forts of Raichur, Mudgal, Kalyāṇa and other places. Rāmarāya tried to enter the fray. He first supported the Nizam of Ahamadnagar and then changed sides to lend his support to the Adilshah of Bijapur. For quite some time he kept the situation under his control and it looked as though both the warring rulers looked up to him for help. The other Muslim rulers sensed the game of Rāmarāya and feared that their existence itself was at stake. They also felt that the only way to save themselves was to join together and fall on Rāmarāya. They soon became active and started secret parleys between themselves and finally entered into a pact in the name of religion. Rāmarāya was at the height of his glory and was too busy to anticipate any move of this sort. But the Muslims made all preparations and fell on Rāmarāya (1565 A.D.). The latter was taken by complete surprise, but resourceful as he was, he put up a stiff opposition on the battlefield of Tālikōṭe. But as misfortune would have it, the Muslims officers in his army joined their brethren in the enemy camp deserting their master. This changed the fortunes of the war. Rāmarāya's bravery was of no avail. In one of the most fierce battles known to Indian history, on 30th January 1565 A.D., the Vijayanagara was routed and Rāmarāya fell into the hands of the enemies only to be killed. The victorious army marched to the capital of Vijayanagara and looted the rich city to their hearts' content. The splendid city with its lofty mansions and beautiful temples which had dazzled the eyes of the foreigners, was now turned into a burial ground. The city remains almost in the same condition today, to speak on the one hand of the glory it once enjoyed and on the other exhibiting the atrocities to which it was subjected.

Rāmarāya's brothers Venkaṭādri and Tirumala escaped from the battlefield and rushed to the capital. They collected as much wealth as they could carry on 1550 elephants and with Sadāśivarāya fled to Penugonda.

This marked the end of the Vijayanagara empire and the end of a glorious chapter in the history of India. Tirumala tried to revive the rule of Vijayanagara but it was too late. With the help of his sons he tried to have his hold on as large an area as possible. The strongholds in northern Karnataka like Torgal, Dharwar and Baṅkāpur were now under the Sultan of Bijapur. There were many sided conflicts between the rival claimants for the throne and the powerful feudatory chiefs. To add to it, the foreign traders like the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English tried to strengthen their position by interfering in local politics.

The achievements of Vijayanagara however are worthy of recounting. It is to the credit of this empire that it held the whole of south India as one unit and acted as a bulwork against invasions and aggressions. It stood for traditional values. The kings were deeply religious and maintained a strict secular policy and helped the growth of all religions indigenous and foreign. Endowed with a love of the fine arts, they patronised literature and art. Structures which rouse the admiration of the people even today in the midst of ruins, came to be constructed in large numbers in the capital and outside. A city, of unusual proportions from the standards of the contemporary days, was built which dazzled the foreign visitors. The Vijayanagara kings ruled in accordance with *Dharma* providing facilities which made the life of the common man, including the minority, worth living.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF KERALA

K. MAHESWARAN NAIR

THE ANCIENT as well as medieval history of Kerala is generally neither authentic nor continuous apparently owing to the dearth of source materials. The country of Kerala, including the coastal strip and hilly tracts, was under the sway of the Chēras who formed one of the Śāṅgam trinity. The extreme south of the land was under the control of the Vēls or the Āy Vēls who were vassals of the Chēras and matrimonially connected with them. After the disappearance of the Chēras there was a state of oblivion in the history of the country, and this continued as late as the emergence of the Perumāls. In spite of the fact that there are some lithic inscriptions and copper-plate grants relating to the history of the Perumāls, a clear and sufficiently detailed account of their rule cannot be made out.

Following the decline of the Perumāls, the smaller kingdoms asserted their independence and there was a steady multiplication of kingdoms to an enormous extent. The growing importance of the Nāyars gave rise to the emergence of a galaxy of Nāyar rulerships throughout the country. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498 A.D., Kerala abounded in princelets and potentates. There is only one kingdom of Vēnāḍ which has a fairly connected and continuous history. Even the history of the great Zamorins, relating to the period prior to the arrival of the Portuguese is defective in this respect because of paucity of information from native sources. Our knowledge of the Rājas of Perumpaḍappu is also meagre. Literary compositions such as the *Viḍanidrābhāna* and the *Śivavilāsa* mention some rulers of this ancient line of kings. Neither these references nor the grant of Vīra Rāghava Chakravartti help us in making out a connected account of their rule before they were brought under the unshakable domination of the Portuguese and the Dutch.

The Śāṅgam Period

The main sources of the beginnings of Kerala history are the scanty references found in the classical accounts of India by the Greeks and Romans, and the edicts of Asoka. The foreign accounts mainly consist of the chronicles of Megasthenes, Strabo's geography, Pliny's Natural History and the *Periplus Mari Erithraei*. But whatever we know from these sources are merely the glimpses of a bygone age.

The history of the Tamil people of the period ranging from the first to the third centuries of the Christian Era is furnished by the Śāṅgam literature which embodies a realistic representation of the social and political aspects of the life of the Tamil people. From the entire Śāṅgam songs numbering about 2279 we can gather the names of twenty-six Chēra kings. They are (1) Chēramāṇ Peruñchōṟṟudiyan Chēralāthan (2) Imayavarampan Neḍuñchēralāthan (3) Palyāṇai-Śēl-keḷu-Kuṭṭuvan (4) Kaḷaṅkāy-kaṇṇi Nārmuḍi Chēral (5) Kaḍalpiṇa kōṭṭiya Cheṇkuṭṭuvan (6) Āḍu-kōṭṭāṭṭu Chēralāthan (7) Chēramāṇ Karuvūrēṇiya Olvāḷ Kōpperuñchēral Irum-

poṟai (8) Māntharam Poṟaiyan Kaḍuñko (9) Chēramān Anthuvañchēral Irumpoṟai (10) Chelvakkaduñkō Vāḷāthan (11) Chēramān Thakaduṟeṇtha Peruñchēral Irumpoṟai (12) Iḷañchēral Irumpoṟai (13) Āthan Aviṇi (14) Yāṇaikkaṭcheymāntha-
rañchēral Irumpoṟai (15) Chēramān Vañchan (16) Chēramān Kuṭṭuvan Kothai (17) Chēramān Māri Vēñkō (18) Chēramān Kōkkōthaimārpan (19) Chēramān Enthai (20) Chēramān Nampi Kuṭṭuvan (21) Kuṭṭuvan Kaṇṇan (22) Chēramān Chāttan (23) Chēramān Iḷaṅkuṭṭuvan (24) Chēramān Keṇaikkāl Irumpoṟai (25) Chēramān Koṭṭampalatthñchiya Mākkōtai and (26) Chēramān Pālaipāḍiya Peruñkaḍuñko.

The extent of the Chēra kingdom was 80 *kātams* equivalent to about 320 miles whereas the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa kingdoms comprised only 56 and 34 *kātams* respectively. At the extreme south of Kerala there was the territory of the Nāñchil Vajjuvar who exercised political power in the fertile Nāñchināḍ. To the north of the land of the Nāñchil Vajjuvar was located the Āy Vēḷ country which was ruled by chieftains of the Vēḷ clans like Āy Anḍiran of Āykkuḍi and Eḷḷi Āthan of Vāṭṭāru. Around Vēḷiyam there flourished another chieftaincy of the Vēḷs. Further north were located the country of Kuṭṭanāḍ from where hailed the Kuṭṭuvans of the imperial Chēras and Kuṭṭanāḍ was bordered in the north by Kuḍanāḍ, the Chēra homeland proper. The northern extreme of the Chēra country was bound by Puḷināḍ which was ruled by Naṇṇan who has been celebrated by Paraṇar and Māmulanār in the *Akanānūṟu*. The earliest known Chēra king is Peruñchōṟruthiyan Chēralāthan celebrated by Murañchiyūr Muḍi Nāgarāyar in a *puram* song. He got the surname 'Peruñchōṟru' on account of the fact that he feasted the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas in the Mahābhārata war. That the feast was given to the participants of the great war of Mahābhārata is indicated by the expressions 'Aivar' and 'Iraimpatinmar' in the song of Muḍināgarāyar. The great poet Māmulanār, who hailed from Kerala, has specifically said in an *Akam* song that Uthiyañchēral gave the 'Peruñchōṟru' but he is silent on the point whether it was in the Mahābhārata war that he gave the feast. Māmulanār compares a group of hills in the *Pālai Thinaḷ* with the host of devils that had flocked for eating the feast provided by Uthiyañchēral. Another Saṅgam poet, Iḷankīraṇār in the *Narṇṇai* makes another comparison in which the laments of a separated heroine are compared to the noise of Amparkuḷai, played upon in the battlefield of Uthiyan, identified with Uthiyanchēral. Uthiyanchēralāthan had the title of *Vānavarampan*, meaning one whose territory extended upto all the oceans.

Peruñchōṟruthiyan Chēralāthan was succeeded by his son Neḍuñchēral Āthan by Nalliṇi, the daughter of Vēḷiyan Vēṇmān. He was popularly known as Imaya-varampan on account of his victorious expedition into the northern parts of India, upto the Himalayas, and the imprint of the Chēra emblem of the bow on the Himalayas. This was perhaps the greatest achievement of Neḍuñchēral Āthan. Māmulanār alludes to this achievement in an *Akam* in which the defeat of the Kaḍambas is also referred to. The verse of Māmulanār reveals that Neḍuñchēral Āthan cut off the Kaḍambu which was the guardian tree of the Kaḍambas and made a war drum out of it. It seems possible that the Kaḍambas were perhaps sea pirates if we

take into consideration the statement in the song that the cutting of the Kaḍambu tree was an exploit in the sea. Kunnattūr Kaṇṇanār in the second *pattu* of the *Paṭiṟrupattu* which is entirely devoted to praising this king, says that the entire territory lying between the Cape and Himalayas was under the sway of Chēralāthan. Imayavarampan Neḍuñchēral Āthan ruled for 58 years. Some scholars think that Imayavarampan married Narchōṇai, the daughter of the Chōḷa king, identified with Kariḱār Peruvalāthan, victor of the battle of Veṇṇi and praised by the poetess Veṇṇikkuyaththiyār. But this does not seem to be correct. What seems plausible is that the queen of Neḍuñchēral Āthan was Narchōṇai, the daughter of the Chōḷa king Maṇakkilī. His brother was Palyānai Śēl Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan and his son Chēran Chenkuṭṭuvan, the greatest of the Cheras of the Śaṅgam period.

The end of Chēralāthan was sudden and sad. He came into conflict with the Chōḷas in the battle of Pōṟpuṟam. Kaḷāttalaiyār in the *Puṟam* has given a vivid narration of the incident at Pōṟpuṟam in which both the Chēra and Chōḷa kings severely wounded each other and lost their lives in the battle field. Paraṇar also describes the lot of both the armies at Pōṟpuṟam in a song of his. On the death of Imayavarampan his brother Palyānai Śēl Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan came to the throne and reigned for 25 years. Gautamaṇār in the *Paṭiṟrupattu* calls him 'Cheruppir Pūḷiyarkō', 'Maḷavar Meymaṟai' and 'Ayirai poruṇan'. The first honorific suggests that he was the lord of Pūḷināḍu including the renowned Cherppu hill, whereas the second epithet characterises him as a 'shield of warriors'. We know that he kept under his sway the Ayiraimalai also. The annexation of Pūḷināḍu in northern Kerala and the subjugation of the Naṇṇans were an important exploit of his. But the magnificent exploit of Palyānai was the conquest of Koṅgu-nāḍu which was rich in cattle and livestock. Another achievement of his was the capture of the fort of Akappā and its thorough devastation. The author of the third decade of the *Paṭiṟrupattu* says that this ravaged the countries of his foes with the result that the usually festive countries became the resort of white jackals even during daytime. About the end of his reign this king lost all worldly desires and patronised religion and religious ceremonies. He helped his eulogist Gautamaṇār to conduct a Vedic sacrifice.

Kalañkāy Kaṇṇi Nārmuḍichēral was the son of Chēralāthan by his queen Paduman Dēvi, the daughter of a Vēḷ chieftain. It is believed that on the occasion of his coronation, his foes had stolen away the garland and crown kept ready for the coronation. But the king instead of postponing the celebrations replaced them with a garland of 'Kalañkāy' (*Rudrāksha*) and some fragrant roots. He therefore came to be known as Kalañkāy Kaṇṇi Nārmuḍichēral. But his real name is not known. He has been celebrated by the poet Kāppiyāṟṟu Kāppiyaṇār in the 'fourth ten' of the *Paṭiṟrupattu*. But the 'finitely known exploits of this accomplished king are the defeat of the Naṇṇan at Vākaipperunturai and the subjugation of the Atiyamān chief Neḍumān Añchi who was a benefactor of the great poetess Avvaiyār.

Chenkuṭṭuvan was the son of Neḍuñchēral Āthan by Narchōṇai, the daughter of Chōḷan Manakkilī. Perhaps Chenkuṭṭuvan was the greatest of the Chēra kings of all times. The date of Chenkuṭṭuvan has a pivotal role in fixing the dates of some

other kings of the Śaṅgam period. The Gajabāhu synchronism forms the nucleus of the chronology of the Śaṅgam period. When Cheṇkuṭṭuvan installed the deity of *Pattinikkaḍavuḷ* at Vañchi, a number of kings were present on the occasion. One of them was Gajabāhu, the king of Ceylon. Cheṇkuṭṭuvan was aged 50 that year. This Gajabāhu, according to the Ceylonese Buddhist works *Mahāvamsa* and *Dīpavamsa* was the 46th king, ruling from 171-193 A.D. Taking 171 A.D. as the date of the consecration of *Pattinikkaḍavuḷ*, we may fix 121 A.D. as the initial date of Cheṇkuṭṭuvan. Still some scholars think that this date of Cheṇkuṭṭuvan is not acceptable as the Gajabāhu synchronism is itself imperfect on account of the fact that it is not sure which of the two Gajabāhus mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* is identical with the 'Kayavāku' referred to in the *Varantarum Kātai* of the *Śilappadikāram*. The general view is that Chēran Cheṇkuṭṭuvan was a contemporary of 'Gajabāhu-kagāmaṇi' mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*.

Chēran Cheṇkuṭṭuvan was a fierce warrior and a matchless monarch. The whole of the Tamil country was under his sway. Paraṇar speaks of his exploits in glorious terms. One of the greatest exploits of his was the defeat of Paḷaiyan of Mōkūr who was the enemy of a certain Arukai who was on good terms with Chēran Cheṇkuṭṭuvan. Cheṇkuṭṭuvan defeated Paḷaiyan and ravaged Mōkūr, cut off his totem-tree "*vēmpu*" and made a drum out of its wood. Mention of this has been made in the two *Nīrppadaikkātai* of the *Vañchikāṇḍam* of the *Śilappadikāram*. The author of the *Arumpatavurai* says that this Paḷaiyan was a local chieftain (*Kuṟunilamannan*). According to the *Maduraikkāñchi*, Mōkūr belonged to Paḷaiyan. In *Akam* 251 Māmūlanār speaks of the strength of Mōkūr. Another notable achievement of Cheṇkuṭṭuvan was the conquest of the Koṅgu country. The *Kāṭchikkātai* of the *Śilappadikāram* relates that he met the Koṅgar at Cheṇkaḷam. But as to the identity of the Koṅgu king, Iḷaṅgo Adikaḷ is silent. In the same work, the poet puts into the mouth of Villavan Kōtai, the minister of Cheṇkuṭṭuvan, the words that when his master took the great queen to the Ganges for a bath in the holy river (*eṇkamakaḷai yāṭṭiya vannal*) the Ārya kings, a thousand in number, came to face him. Cheṇkuṭṭuvan defeated all of them in a terrific fight. That Cheṇkuṭṭuvan had undertaken an earlier expedition into the Gangetic regions for bringing the sacred stone for carving out the deity of *Pattinikkaḍavuḷ* is clear from this statement made in the *Śilappadikāram*. But whether he took along with him his mother or the motive of his expedition was his mother's having a bath in the holy river, is open to doubt. The *Śilappadikāram* says that in the north, Cheṇkuṭṭuvan successfully fought with 1000 Ārya countries including the Koṅkānar, Kaliṅgar, Karunāṭar, Vaṇṇaḷar and the Kāṭiyar. According to Adiyāṟkunallār, Kaṅgar and Kāṭiyar were semi-independent kings in the Tamil country. Kaṅgar refers to the "Gaṅgar" of the historical period. A still more important exploit of Cheṇkuṭṭuvan was the defeat of nine Chōḷa confederates in the battle of Nērivāyil. Finding it too difficult to withstand the forces of Cheṇkuṭṭuvan, seven of his foes formed a confederacy with the sole objective of checking the strength of the Chēra king. As to the identity of these seven kings, we have no idea whatsoever. It is believed that Mōkūr captured by the king was situated overseas and Cheṇkuṭṭuvan gained victory over it by a naval

exploit. Some scholars think that Cheṇkuṭṭuvan utterly destroyed all the pirates who were a menace to the navigators in the Arabian sea and thus saved the Chēra ports of Muziri and Thoṇḍi from being deserted by foreign merchandise ships.

Chēran Cheṇkuṭṭuvan was succeeded by Āḍukōṭṭāṭṭuchchēralāthan. The expression 'Āḍukōṭṭāṭṭu' is derived in two ways. One is that Chēralāthan used to dance with the sword held high in the battle field. There is another explanation by which a cattle-lift is the source of this prefix. The *Padikam* of the sixth decade of *Patirrupattu* gives us some glimpses of his history. He was the son of Imayavarampan Neḍuñchēralāthan born to the other queen Vēlavikkōmāl. Cheṇkuṭṭuvan's direct brother Ilaṅgo Adikaḷ abdicated the throne and embraced the Jaina religion and lived a secluded life. Chēran Cheṇkuṭṭuvan was succeeded by Āḍukōṭṭāṭṭuchchēralāthan to the throne of the imperial Chēras. Even though the poetess Narchcheḷḷaiyār elaborately praises the exploits of this king, she does not give specific details. We can know that Kerala enjoyed prosperity and plenty during his reign and that trade and commerce flourished.

Cheṇkuṭṭuvan had a son named Kuṭṭuvan Chēral. But it is not known whether he succeeded his father to the throne. The main line of the Chēras whose descent is traced from Peruñchōḷḷutiyan Chēralāthan ended with Āḍukōṭṭāṭṭu Chēralāthan. The Chēra kingdom soon became eclipsed by the mighty Pāṇḍyas and the mightier Chōḷas. On the extinction of the house of Uthiyan Chēralāthan, a new line came to prominence and held the Chēra crown. They were the Irumpoṇais or kings hailing from the Poṇai country. The earliest known king among the Irumpoṇais was Karuvurēḷiyan Peruñchēral Irumpoṇai, the particulars of whose reign are wanting. Next comes Antuvan Chēral Irumpoṇai who is referred to in the *Patirrupattu* and in *Puram* 13, sung by Uṇaiyūr Eṇichchēri Muḍa Mōṣiyar. In his time Karuvūr was the capital of the Chēras. He was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Muḍittalai Kopperuṇarkkiḷi who is said to have entered the Chēra province in the east. The next king was Śelvakkaduñko Vāḷiāthan, the son of Antuvan Chēral Irumpoṇai and the hero of the 'seventh ten' of the *Patirrupattu* sung by the great poet Kapilar. The greatest quality of his was munificence and patronage of poets. Kapilar was rewarded with one lakh of gold pieces and a very vast tract of land. He is said to have passed away at Sikkarppaḷḷi in his twentyfifth regnal year and was succeeded by his son Peruñchēral Irumpoṇai, the hero of the 'eighth decade' of the *Patirrupattu* sung by Ariśil Kiḷār. Unlike his father he was a brilliant warrior who won victories over all his enemies. He defeated a Iḍayar chief, Atiyamān Eḷiṇi of Tagaḍūr and two other unnamed kings and annexed their territories; kept under his sway a vast tract of land including Kolli and Pukār. He was succeeded by Ilañchēral Irumpoṇai, the hero of the 'ninth ten' of the *Patirrupattu*, composed by Kuṇṇūr Kiḷār. His greatest military achievement was the destruction of the five forts and the defeat of his Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya contemporaries. Pūḷināḍ, in the north Kuṭṭanāḍ, in the south and Koṅgunāḍ in the east constituted the limits of his kingdom. Thoṇḍi was the principal Chēra town in his time.

The remaining Irumpoṇais mentioned in the Śaṅgam works are Yāṇaikkaṭṭchey

Māntarañchērai Irumpōrai, Kōkkōtai Mārpan and Kanaikkāl Irumpōrai. Yāñai-kāṭchey was a great warrior who was constantly at war with many a foe. It was he who caused to be collected together the Śaṅgam anthology called *Aiñkurunūru*. Kūdalūr Kiḷār alludes to the ill-omens he saw before the death of Yāñai-kāṭchey. Kōtai Mārpan has been praised by Poygaiyār. The poet Nakkīrar also refers to him while relating the invasion of Madura by Kiḷli-vaḷavan and the subsequent murder of Paḷaiyañ Mārpan. It is said that Kōtai Mārpan was greatly rejoiced to hear that Paḷaiyañ Mārpan was killed. The most important event that took place in the time of Kanaikkāl Irumpōrai was the battle between Chōḷan Cheñkaṇan and himself at Pōṟpuḡam in which the Chēra king was defeated and taken prisoner. He was treated by his victor with the utmost cruelty. The proud Chēra being unable to bear the insult, committed suicide. The *Puram* 74 ascribed to him was composed by him shortly before he put an end to his disgraced life. Thus ended the life of the last of the Irumpōrais, and the rule of the whole clan of the Irumpōrais.

The theory that there flourished three distinct Śaṅgams is now set aside as a historical falsehood by eminent scholars. The Chēras whom we have dealt with therefore belonged to the first three centuries after Christ. Among those Chēras there were gallant fighters, distinguished bards and renowned philanthropists.

From the Śaṅgam Period to the Close of the Period of the Perumāls

The history of Kerala for over 300 years from the close of the Śaṅgam period down to the commencement of the age of the Perumāls in the early years of the ninth century A.D. is shrouded in obscurity. The *Kalittokai* and *Paripūḍal* which form part of the *Eṭṭuttokai* group represent this period. Some of the *Pattuppāṭṭus* like *Perumpāñṛuppaḍai*, *Sirupāñṛuppaḍai* and the *Kuṟiñchipattu* are also ascribed to this period. A special aspect of the period depicted by these literary works is that the three crowns of the South, glorified by the Śaṅgam anthologies, seem to be losing their ancient glory by the lapse of time. The historical data supplied by these literary works pertain only to a few Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas, but they are almost silent on the contemporary Chēra kings. As a whole, they are not of any significance to the student of Kerala history.

The real history of the Chēras in the historical period begins with Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār (800-825 A.D.) the author of the *Perumāḷ Tirumōḷi*. He was perhaps the greatest among the Perumāls who ruled from Cranganore. But the real greatness of this king lies not in his being a Kerala king but in his being one of the greatest Vaiṣṇava saints of South India who gave a fillip to the Hindu renaissance in the latter half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th centuries A.D. Dr. L. D. Swamikānnu Pillai, on the basis of astrological calculations has expressed the view that 767 A.D. was the initial year of Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār. Though some scholars do not accept this date, we may assume that Dr. Swamikānnu Pillai, who depends on the *Divya-sūricharita* of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita, the *Guruparamparā-prabhāva* of Pinṇalakiya Perumāḷ Jīyar and such other Vaiṣṇavite works is nearer the truth. For it is almost certain that Kulaśēkhara came earlier than Nammāḷvār alias Śaḍagōḇaṇ and later

than Thirumaṅgai Āḷvār who was a contemporary of Pallava Dantivarman whose initial year is admittedly 779 A.D. On this basis it is believed that Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār flourished in the 9th century A.D.

Vaishnavite tradition looks upon him as the incarnation of the *Kausthubha* jewel worn by Viṣṇu. The *Divyasūricharita* says that he was the lantern of the Chēran clan. Piṇṇaḷakiya Perumāḷ Jīyar calls him 'Chēran Kulaśēkhara'. In the *Perumāḷ Tirumoḷi* he appears as the ruler of the Kolli, Kūḍal, Kōḷi and Koṅgu. The most renowned work of this Perumāḷ, is the *Perumāḷ Tirumoḷi*. It possesses the unique virtue of being the earliest Tamil work in which the *Rāmāyaṇa* story is narrated.

Besides the *Perumāḷ Tirumoḷi*, the Sanskrit works *Mukundamālā*, *Tapatīsamvaraṇa*, *Subhadraḍhanaṅjaya*, *Vicchinnābhiśēka* and *Āścharya Mañjari* have also been ascribed to Kulaśēkhara. All these works give us a fair idea of the poetic genius and saintly attainments of Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār. The Vaishnavite tradition says that Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār passed away at Kurukūr, the birth place of the great Vaishnava saint Nammāḷvār. After his death he was deified by his successors who held him under supreme veneration. Kulaśēkhara became the proud honorific of all later Chēra kings whose descendants, viz. the Rulers of Travancore are even now styled as Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ.

Rājaśēkharadēva (825-844 A.D.) who has been mentioned in the Vāḷappaḷḷi plate seems to have succeeded Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār. The Vāḷappaḷḷi plate, which is the earliest known Chēra document dated the 12th regnal year of Rājaśēkhara, and assigned palaeographically to the 9th century A.D., records a Kachcham or deed executed by the *Patineṭṭu nāṭṭar* of Tiruvāḡḡuvāy and Urāḷar of Vāḷappaḷḷi, in the presence of the king Rājaśēkhara. Some scholars think that Rājaśēkhara was identical with Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār spoken of in the *Periyapurāṇam*. If this identity is upheld, Rājaśēkhara would be a contemporary of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār. Similarly Rājaśēkhara is believed to be a contemporary of the great monist Śaṅkarāchārya. Vidyāraṇya, the author of *Śrīmacchaṅkaradigvijaya* says that a Kerala king named Rājaśēkhara recited three dramas of his own composition to Śrī Śaṅkara, who after several years, repeated the whole text of the dramas as the written copies had by that time been lost.

After Rājaśēkhara comes Sthāṇu Ravi in the order of succession. He was a contemporary of the great Chōḷa king Rājakēśari Āditya I. This has been proved by the Tillaisthānan inscription of Āditya I (871-907 A.D.) which says that the Chēra king Sthāṇu Ravi and the Chōḷa king Āditya jointly conferred upon a certain Vikkiannan several privileges and the hereditary title of 'śembiyan Tamiḷavēḷ'. Some scholars have ventured to postulate a theory that the Chēra king had sent his troops to assist the Chōḷa king in his fight against the Pallavas and that military aid was the source of the peaceful and friendly relations between the two. Some have gone to the extent of saying that Vikkiannan was a Chēra general. It seems that the genesis of this contention is the supposition that two kingdoms cannot coexist in peace unless they are tied with military alliances or matrimonial relations. It has to be

noted that there is nothing positive in the Tillaisthānam record to show that Sthāṇu Ravi gave military assistance to Āditya I. Our knowledge of the life and times of Sthāṇu Ravi is also based on the Tarisappaḷḷi plates dated his 5th regnal year, the Tiruvaḷḷa and Irinjalakuḍa inscriptions and the Sanskrit work *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇīyam* written by Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa who was the court astronomer of Sthāṇu Ravi.

The next king was Gotha Ravi popularly known as Kotai Iravi. He has been represented by lithic inscriptions found at Nedumpuram Tali, Avittathūr, Tiruppunithura, Chokkūr and Triprangode. As the Tali record of his 17th regnal year gives the Kali year 4030 his initial year must have been Kali 4013 equal to 911-12 A.D. These inscriptions do not give any idea of the political conditions prevalent in Kerala. However, the geographical distribution of these inscriptions helps us to know the extent of the Chēra dominion under Kotai Iravi. At the southern extreme of the country was located Tiruppunithura. As an inscription of his is found at Triprangode we can assume that his sway extended upto south Malabar. Nedumpuraināḍ comprising modern Palaghat area, was under the sovereignty of Kotai Iravi if we place reliance on his Tiruppunithura inscription. He must have ruled for at least thirty years.

Next in order comes Indukkotaivarman who has been mentioned in inscriptions found at Tali, Tirikkakkara, Mulikkulam and Tiruvanvandur. But they are mere records of endowments to temples made in his time. They suggest that his sway extended upto the limits of Vēṇāḍ. No other details are available.

Bhaskara Ravi Varman is the next important name in the history of the Chēras. There are twentyone records referring to Bhaskara Ravi Varman from places like Perunna, Tirikkodithanam, Mattancherry (plates), Tirikkakkara, Tirummulikkalam, Eramam, Padavalam, Venmayur and Tirunelli (plates). The Mattancherry plates popularly known as the Jewish Copper plate grant, were issued by him to the white Jews conferring some privileges on Joseph Rabban who was a leader of the merchant class. Some scholars are of the opinion that all these inscriptions do not belong to one and the same king.

The king next to Bhāskara Ravi Varman was Vīra Kēraḷa referred to in the inscriptions of the Chōḷa king Rājendra Chōḷa who is said to have defeated and killed Vīra Kēraḷa. An inscription found at Tazhakkad in Cochin speaks of a king named Rājasimha who is believed to be a successor of this Vīra Kēraḷa. An inscription found at Kannarkoil in the Ambasamudram taluk refers to the Chēra king Rājasimha. This record dated the 13th regnal year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Chōḷa Pāṇḍya, who was viceroy under the Chōḷas and a son of Rājendra, says that Chēra Rājasimha built the shrine of Rājendrachōḷaviṇṇagar Paramaswamikal at Maṇṇār-kōyil. Rājasimha's queen Chēralan-māḍēviyār appears in another inscription at Maṇṇār-kōyil. The Chēra king named Iravi Irāman mentioned in an inscription from Trikkodithanam is assigned a period close to that of Rājasimha.

Vēṇāḍ

During the period when central and northern Kerala was under the rule of the Perumāls, the extreme south and extreme north were ruled by the Āy Vēḷa or Vēḷ

Āys and the Musakas respectively. The kingdom of the Āy Vēls had two divisions northern and southern with Kollam (Quilon) and Viḷiñḇam as the respective capitals.

The earliest ruler of the northern division known to history is Ayyanaḍikaḷ Tiruvaḍi, donor of the Kōṭṭayam grant which mentions the fifth regnal year of Sthāṇu Ravi. Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma, said to be the founder of the Kollam era, had been treated only as a legendary figure. But the discovery of the Thrippāpūr temple inscription which mentions Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma has once for all proved that Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma was a historical personage, and as such he has to be treated as the earliest known king of the northern division of Vēṇāḍ. There is a theory that the Kollam era was founded by him. The Thrippāpūr inscription, though fragmentary, places him in the first half of the 9th century A.D. We do not know the history of the kingdom in the period between the close of Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma's reign and the beginning of that of Ayyanaḍikaḷ Tiruvaḍi. The latter, a contemporary of Sthāṇu Ravi, showed religious tolerance. His Tarisāppaḷḷi grant was issued to the Christians. Ayyanaḍikaḷ was followed by his brother Rāmar Tiruvaḍi, who may be identified with the Rāma Varma of the Kūdalūr Mana copper plate grant. They were sons of Mukunda Varman. In the 11th century there was a Kovarattan Mārttāṇḍan (Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa of the earlier scholars) who was the king of Vēṇāḍ. Śrīvallabhan Kotai, mentioned in the Māmbaḷḷi plate of 197 M.E. 1022 A.D. is another king of that time.

The southern division of Vēṇāḍ was held by another branch of the Āy Vēl line whom the earlier writers called the Āys or the pure Āys. Actually the Vēls or Āy Vēls of the two divisions were kinsmen, both originating from a common Āy or Yādava race. Viḷiñḇan was the headquarters of the southern Āys. The interesting aspect of their history is that while the northern Āys had to accept the nominal suzerainty of the Perumāls of Mahodayapuram at least at a later stage, the southern Āys offered stubborn resistance of the expansionist attempts of all the aliens. In fact, the history of the southern Āys is the history of their heroic fights, defensive as well as offensive, with the Pāṇḍyas and the heroic end of their independent existence after a century of gallant resistance.

The earliest known king of the time was Karunandan. The only direct mention of Karunandan seems to have been made in the Kaḷugumalai inscription wherein Mārañcaḍaiyan is stated to have invaded the country of Karunandan and besieged the fort of Kārai. In this battle many of the *Oṟrai-Chēvakas* of Mārañcaḍaiyan were killed. According to the same inscription Mārañcaḍaiyan invaded the Kārai fort in his 23rd year. If the accession of Mārañcaḍaiyan took place in 765-66 A.D., his 23rd year would correspond to 788-89 A.D. in which year Karunandan ruled over the Āy country. His accession must have therefore taken place earlier than that year.

Karunandan seems to have been succeeded by his son Karunanda Aruman mentioned in the Huzur office grant of Karunandaḍakkar. According to this grant the reign of Karunanda Aḍakkan is known to have started on 22nd June 857 A.D. The Trippavappu fragmentary copper plate, praises him as Śrīvallabha. This has

led some scholars to believe that Karunanda Adakkan was the feudatory of the Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha who flourished about that period. This king popularised Sanskrit studies and culture in the extreme south of Kerala. A Vedic institute at Pārtivaśēkharapuram was established and 95 students of different *charaṇas* were admitted. He also founded a colony of learned Brahmins in Valluvanāḍ, the southernmost province of the kingdom, where twenty two persons from the different parts of the northern division were settled.

The Paliyam copper plates dated 30th December 868 A.D. states that Vikramāditya Varaguṇa belonged to the Vṛishṇi-kula and that he was the immediate successor of Karunandakar. Two 9th century Pallava inscriptions mention Kuṇumbār Ādityan, an unknown king of Kerala described as *Chēranāḍuḍaya*. It is likely that he is identified with Vikramāditya who ruled for a short period after the death of Karunandakar in 866 A.D. After the reign of Varaguṇa, the Āys of the southern division went into oblivion. In the succeeding periods the kingdoms of the southern as well as northern Āys were occupied by the imperial Chōḷas. Parāntaka I captured the southernmost parts of the possessions of the southern Āys. The mighty Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja I drove them to the north.

Chōḷa

The Chōḷa occupation of the Kerala coast was one of the major events in the early medieval period in Kerala history. The first attempt in this direction was made by the Chōḷa emperor Parāntaka who captured the Nāñchil country and some parts of the dominion of the southern Vēḷs. But his successors could not achieve anything remarkable in that direction. During the reign of Rājarāja I the ancient centre of Kāndaḷūrśālai was sacked, and the town of Quilon desecrated. Rājarāja's successor Rājendra I made more vigorous attempts to reduce the Kerala coast, and the entire country stretching northwards from Nāñchināḍ was occupied by the Chōḷa forces. The great city of Mahōdayapuram was razed to the ground, and Bhāskara Ravi Varman, the Perumāḷ, was slain. Rājendra's son Rājādhirāja and Vīra Rājendra are said to have gained thrilling military victories in the Kerala coast. This state of affairs continued upto the close of the reign of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I during which period the Perumāḷs of Mahōdayapuram and the major kingdoms of Kerala were held under Chōḷa supremacy.

The terror and panic which Nalāḍkavīra tried to strike in the hearts of the militia of the land were not of a lasting character, and at the opening of the 12th century Vēṇāḍ was again at pains to strike hard for asserting her independence.

Serious defections arose in the Gaṅgapāḍi regions. The Hoysaḷas had by that time emerged as a growing menace to Chōḷa power.¹ They were making extensive preparations for wresting the Gaṅga kingdom from the Chōḷa empire. The Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana claims to have conquered the Nilagiri regions.² Viṣṇuvardhana's general Puṇisarāja claims to have taken the Nilagiri and forced his way to the country of the Maleyāḷas and made himself the lord of Kerala. Baṭṭiga³ the minister of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Narasimha claims to have subdued the Nilāchala.⁴

The pillage of the Chōḷa empire in the north and northwest by the Hoysaḷas provided a rare opportunity for Vēṇāḍ to shake off the imperial yoke and assert her political suzerainty. Vēṇāḍ collected all the available forces and enlisted the support from countries like Ceylon. Authorities on contemporary history advert to a second expedition against Vēṇāḍ during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. Kulōttuṅga had established a military cantonment at Kottar. But the king of Vēṇāḍ, having collected behind him the flower of the native militia, launched the final attack on the forces of Kulōttuṅga. The reconquest of the land was systematic from the north to the south and the country was ultimately freed of the Chōḷa forces. Perhaps the cantonment at Kottar was surprised by the storming onslaught of the Vēṇāḍ king. The three battalions had no other way than to surrender. One of the astonishing aspects of the war is that contrary to the views held by scholars the Chōḷa forces were neither routed out nor punished by the victor. Instead the king of Vēṇāḍ won over the loyalty of the soliders and the officers of the mighty Chōḷa army and took them into his own service. The assertion of the political suzerainty of Vēṇāḍ is well marked by a beautiful Tamil record in verse which says that in the Kollam year 292 the king of Kupaka defeated the Pāṇḍya Rājasimha and took into custody the panoramic Nañjināḍ and Kottar. According to late Nagam Ayya, the author of the Travancore State Manual, this record had been engraved on a rock near the Pāṇḍyan Aṇai, put up across the Kōtayār. But the original is not traceable now.

The *Syānandūrapurāṇa Samuchchaya* makes one suppose that the Vēṇāḍ king who asserted the independence of Vēṇāḍ was named Kota Varman. According to this work, Kota Varman had four sons, the first and last among whom were Vīra Kēraḷa Varman and Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma. The *Samuchchaya* was written under the patronage of Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma in the Kali year 4629 corresponding to Kollam 343. The immediate predecessor of Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma was Vīra Kotai Ādichavarma. Before him, Kotai Ravi Varma was the king of Vēṇāḍ. The *Samuchchaya* says that the eldest son was Vīra Kēraḷa Varman. We know from the Choḷapuram record the earliest known date of this king was 301 M.E. The date furnished by the *Samuchchaya* is in perfect agreement with the details given by contemporary inscriptions. As the eldest son is known to have ruled in 302 M.E., we can be sure that the upper limit of the father's reign could be fixed for that year. We know from the Tamil verse inscription that the conquest of Nañjināḍ by the Kupaka king was in 292 M.E. It becomes clear therefore that it was Kota Varman who fought against the forces of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa and established the sovereignty of Vēṇāḍ.

Vīra Kēraḷa of the Choḷapuram record and Kotai Kēraḷa of the Suchindram inscription are identical with Kēraḷa Varman, son of Kota Varman mentioned in the *Samuchchaya*.

The Sṛīraṅgam inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja II proves that the name of the then Vēṇāḍ king was Kotai Iravi Varman who, according to the Puravasseri epigraphs, was the immediate successor of Kotai Kēraḷa Varman.

Similarly an inscription in the Ādināthapperumāl temple at Vijayanārāyaṇan, in Nanguneri Taluk, Tinneveli District, belonging to the tenth year of Jaṭṭavarman

Kulaśekhara proves that king Ādityavarma, the brother of this Kotai Iravi Varman was named Kotai Āditya Varman.

The *Syāndūrapūrāṇa-Samuchchaya* furnishes the names of only two sons of Kova Varman. We know from the Suchindram inscription of Kotai Kēraja Varma that his reign extended at least upto Kollam 326. The next known king was Vīra Iravi Varma of Puravasseri inscriptions. The Śrīraṅgam temple inscription of Chōḷa Rājarāja II speaks of a certain Kotai Iravi Varman as king of Vēṇāḍ. The Kilimanoor record of Kollam 343 tells us that one Āditya Varma ruled over Vēṇāḍ in that year. According to S. Velu Pillai another Kēraja Varma succeeded Vīra Iravi Varma and reigned between 339 and 342 M.E. After Āditya Varma, Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma came to the throne. He was identical with his namesake who figures in the records of Kollam 348, 353, 359 and 364. It is evident that he was also the same as the fourth son of Kotai Varman and the patron of the author of the *Samuchchaya*.

Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara ascended the Pāṇḍya throne in 1190 A.D. His Vijayanārāyaṇam inscription dated the 10th (3+7) year beginning with the historical introduction '*Pūvin Kilatti Viṭṭiruppa*' speaks of a certain individual named Pērāyiram *alias* Chērapāṇḍyamūvēndavēḷār, son of Kotai Ādichan, king of Kollam. He was identical with Kōtai Ādityavarma, spoken of in the *Syānandūrapurāṇa Samuchchaya*. He was also the brother of Vīra Kōtai Iravivarma. The Kilimanoor record tells us that in Kollam 343 Vīra Kōtai Ādityavarma was the ruling king. The fact that this Ādityavarma ruled the country from Quilon is proved beyond doubt by the recent discovery of an inscription of Kōtai Ādityavarma at Paṇḡāveḷi near Kallada. It is very significant that Pērāyiram, son of the Vēṇāḍ king used the royal honorific, *Chērapāṇḍyamūvēndavēḷūn*. This indicates that Pērāyiram had dynastic relations with the Chēras and Pāṇḍyas.

Vīra Kēraja Varma *alias* Kōtai Keraja Varma was succeeded by his brother Vīra Iravivarma *alias* Kōtai Iravivarma. He was the first Kōtai Iravi in the history of Vēṇāḍ. The Kilimanoor record shows that on the 12th day of Mēḍam, Kollam 343 Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma was the heir apparent of Vēṇāḍ, the ruling king being Vīra Āditya Varma of Kīḷppērūr. The earliest document in which he figures undoubtedly as the ruler of Vēṇāḍ is the Trivandrum Gōṣāla inscription of Kollam 359. The Kollur Matam plates dated Kollam 364 are perhaps the last epigraph executed by him. His reign must have come to an end before Kollam 371 in which year Vīra Rāma Varma *alias* Maṇikaṇṭha Rāmavarma became king.

The *Samuchchaya* expressly states that Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma defeated and routed out the forces of both the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas. Evidently this signal victory must have been gained before Kollam 343. It seems more probable that the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas were united against Vēṇāḍ and that Udaya Mārttāṇḍa Varma defeated them in different encounters.

In the beginning of the 13th century A.D., Maṇikaṇṭha Rājavarma was the king of Vēṇāḍ. He reigned till 384 M.E. (1207 A.D.) as evidenced by the Trivandrum inscription of Rāman Kēraja Varman who succeeded Maṇikaṇṭha Rāma Varma. The reign of Rāman Kraja Varman extended upto 390 M.E. (1215 A.D.) during

which the country enjoyed uninterrupted peace. Princess Rāman Umayamma, probably the sister of Rāman Kēraḷa Varman, constructed the Kaṭinamukulam temple. The next known king of the period was Vīra Ravi Kēraḷa Varman who is mentioned in the Manalikkara inscription of 411 M.E. His reign must have come to an end before 427 M.E. because the Varkala inscription of Padmanābha Mārttāṇḍa Varman is dated 427 M.E. However, the Kaṇḍiyūr inscription of the Ōḍanāḍ king Rāman Kōṭa Varman tells us that Vīra Ravi Kēraḷa Varma was the king of Vēṇāḍ in 394 M.E. The latest known year of his reign is 413.

Padmanābha Mārttāṇḍa Varma ruled over Vēṇāḍ in 427 M.E. (1252 A.D.) Probably he is identical with the Kōṭa Mārttāṇḍa mentioned in the *Līlātīlaka*.

The next known ruler of the period was Vīra Kōṭai Kēraḷan. The Shermaḍēvi inscription of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I, dated his 11th regnal year, speaks of one Rāma Varma who was the ruler of Vēṇāḍ. The next ruler was Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara *alias* Saṅgrāmadhīra who had been extolled by Kavibhūshaṇa in his Kañchīpuram, Śrīraṅgam and Lālguḍi eulogies. After him nineteen rulers ruled over Vēṇāḍ before Veṅṇumaṅkoṇḍa Bhūtalavīra Śrī Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma, the greatest Vēṇāḍ ruler became king in 1516 A.D. His reign marked a turning point in the political history of Vēṇāḍ.

The Perumpaḍappu Svarūpam or Cochin State

One of the most remarkable events in the history of central Kerala in the period from the disappearance of the Perumāls to the beginning of the sixteenth century was the rise of the *perumpaḍappu-svarūpam*, which in due course became famous as the Cochin Royal House.

It is said that some time after the decline of the Perumāls, a Kshatriya family moved into Kerala from outside and settled down at Paḷayaṇṇūr. In due course the family moved further westward and settled down at a place called Vannēri in the modern Ponnani taluk. The territory was then under the control of the Nambudiri of Perumpaḍappu with whom the chief of Vannēri established a matrimonial relation by giving a princess of his family in marriage to the Nambūdiri. Later on, the Perumpaḍappu Nambudiri died childless, and his possessions went to the Vannēri chiefs who came to be known as the Perumpaḍappu family. By the lapse of time the Rajahs of Perumpaḍappu found it expedient to make Mahōdayapuram their seat, and in the 15th century it was shifted to the island of Cochin. Thereafter they came to be known as the Rajahs of Cochin.

Nothing conclusive is known about the history of the rulers of Perumpaḍappu in the period prior to the advent of the Portuguese. The Portuguese Captain Cabral at the head of a large fleet, reached Cochin on 24 December 1500 A.D. This marks a turning point in the history of Cochin.

The most notable events that took place between the decline of the Perumāls and the arrival of Cabral in 1500 A.D. in relation to the history of Perumpaḍappu were the grant of Iravi Kōrttan by Vīra Rāghava Chakravarttikaḷ, the founding of the royal residence at Cochin and the founding of the Puduvaippu era. Vīra Rāghava

Chakravarttika] who gave away the said grant, is believed to be the then ruler of Perumpadappu. Scholars are generally divided on fixing the date of the grant. Still it could well be supposed to have been issued in the 13th century. About the origin of the Puduvaippu era also there is considerable difference of opinion among scholars. It originated in 1341 A.D.

The Rajahs of this line had the attribute *Gaṅgādhara thirukkōviladhikārikkal*. The Paḷayanṇūr Bhagavathi was their family divinity. The family is famous also as *Māḍathinkūr* and the kingdom is called *Madamahī* in Sanskrit. Their city is known as *Gōśrīpura* in Sanskrit.

The Zamorin of Calicut

The Zamorin of Calicut is famous as *Śailābdiśvara* in Sanskrit, and *Kunthalakkōṇ* in Malayālam. He is also known as *Pūnturakkōṇ* and *Ēṟaṭṭiri*. The royal family is known as the *Neḍiyiruppu Svarūpam*.

The original jurisdiction of the Zamorins was confined to the territory of Ēṟāl-nāḍu. He held a subordinate position under the Perumāls. In the famous Jewish copper plate grant issued by Bhāskara Ravi Varman, the Perumāḷ of Mahōdayapuram, dated his 38th regnal year Mānavēpala Mānavīya, the ruler of Ēṟāl-nāḍu figures as a witness. During the Chōḷa occupation of Kēraḷa under Rājendra, Rājā-dhirāja and Vīra Rājendra, the rulers of Ēṟāl-nāḍu fought for the Chēra sovereign against the Chōḷas. A connected history of the Zamorins does not emerge from the sources available in respect of the early centuries. One of the most important developments in the history of the country after the overthrow of the Chōḷas, was the foundation of the Ēṟālpāḍ's royalty at Calicut, and the development of the place as a major mercantile town. From that time onwards, the Zamorins of Calicut embarked on an ambitious programme of territorial and political expansion. Their first achievement was the capture of Polanāḍ after a prolonged military operation lasting for over 48 years.

In the 12th century the Zamorin waged war against the Kōlathiri who was his neighbour in the north. He despatched the Polanāḍ 10,000 and Neḍiyiruppu 30,000 to invade Kolathunāḍu. The Kōlathiri was unable to offer effective resistance and sued for peace. The territories lying between Pantalāyani and Kōrappuḷa were ceded to the Zamorin who was also made the Melkoyma of the Talipparamba temple. By that time the princelets at Chāliyam, Parappanāḍ, Kurumbranāḍ etc. accepted the Zamorin's suzerainty.

In the middle of the 14th century the Zamorin waged a series of battles against the Vaḷḷāṭṭiri or Vaḷḷuvakkōnatiri who presided over the ageold *māmāṅkam* festival at Tirunavaya. Though he met with some preliminary reverses, by strenuous efforts and intelligent moves, he was able to throw out the spirited soldiers of the Vaḷḷāṭṭiri from Tirunavaya. The gallant Vaḷḷāṭṭiri and his warlike Nāyars did not yield but continued their fight for recovering the status of *Rakshāpurusha* in the *māmāṅkam* for many more centuries in different ways. Still the Zamorin successfully captured much of the territories of the Vaḷḷāṭṭiri. Another astonishing feat of the Zamorin

was the defeat of the Perumpaḍappu ruler and the annexation of vast tracts of land of his possession.

The Zamorin extended patronage to scholars and poets. The court at Calicut was resplendent with eminent men, well versed in the different subjects of Hindu learning. Both Sanskrit and Malayalam received great encouragement. Payyur Bhattatiris, Damodara of Kāḷkaṣṣeri, Nārāyaṇa of Chennās (author of the *Taptra-samuchchaya*), Uddaṇḍa Sastrikal of Chōḷadēśa Punam Nembūdiri etc. were some who adorned the Zamorins court.

In 1498 A. D. Vasco-da-Gama landed at Kappad, located a few miles north of Calicut. The Zamorin gave him audience in a Durbar. After a short stay, Gama returned to Portugal. In 1500 A.D. another Portugese expedition under Cabral was launched in the Arabian sea. The rivalry between the Arab merchants of Calicut and the Portuguese assumed the dimensions of open conflict, and eventually led to the bombardment of Calicut by Cabral. The bombardment lasted a few days.

In 1507 the combined forces of the Zamorin and the Kolattiri made an unsuccessful attempt to drive out the Portuguese from Cannanore. In 1509 A.D. Alfonzo De Albuquerque attacked the Zamorin's palace at Calicut but he was defeated, and had to retreat with heavy loss of men. It was followed by a period of violent crisis with the aliens for securing trade interests and political status.

The Smaller Kingdoms

In the post-Perumāḷ period Kerala was divided into a large number of kingdoms, smaller and larger, not only in territorial extent but also in the degree of political importance. In the extreme south the powerful kingdom of Vēṇāḍ, with quite a large number of collateral branches, flourished in pomp and strength. The central part comprised the kingdom of *Perumpaḍappu* which claimed lineal succession from the ancient Chēras. The kingdom of the Zamorins of Calicut and the country of the Mushakas which in later times gave rise to the Kolathiris, flourished in great splendour. Save for these major kingdoms, the entire territory called by the name 'Malai-nāḍu' was divided into a multitude of minor principalities like Ōḍanāḍ, Devanā-rāyaṇa kingdom, Pandalam and Veṇṇolināḍ.

Notes and References

1. Mysore Manual,; Salem Manual,; The Nilgiris Gazetteer
2. *A.R.S.I.E.* for 1907, p. 67.
3. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IV, Intro. pp. 19-21.
4. Perumāḷadēva-Jaṇṇāyaka had assumed the title '*Nīlagiri sādḥaka*'.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF TAMILNADU

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

FROM THE DAWN OF HISTORY the Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya monarchies were the chief political powers in South India, and these are mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśōka as independent neighbours of the Mauryan empire along with the Satiyaputas who have been identified recently with the Adigaimāns of ancient Tamil literature. Earlier still, the Pāṇḍya kingdom is mentioned by Megasthenes who recounts how the Indian Herakles established his daughter Pandaia as the queen of the southern kingdom, particularly the land where pearls were obtained from the neighbouring sea. Megasthenes would identify the Indian Herakles with Kṛishṇa worshipped in Mathurā in the Śūrasēna country, but the Pāṇḍyan capital was also a Mathurā (Madurai) of the south and Tamil sources contain legends which bring Megasthenes' story into close relation with Śiva's (Herakles) sports at Madurai. Tradition confers the name Chōḷa country on the area bounded on the north and south by two small streams of the same name Veḷḷār (white river), the northern Veḷḷār entering the sea near Porto Novo and the southern passing through the erstwhile Pudukkōṭṭai State (now part of the Tiruchchirapalli District), to the west it extended up to Kōṭṭaikarai (the fortified bank), the traces of the strong embankment of which can still be seen in the Kulittalai Taluk of the Tiruchchirapalli District. The territory to the south of the Chōḷa kingdom upto Kanyākumāri (Cape Comorin) was the Pāṇḍya country, while the areas to the west and north of Chōḷa-maṇḍalam (which gains the form Coromandel later) were known as Koṅgu and Toṇḍaināḍu respectively. On the west coast, Kollam (Quilon) and all land south of it formed part of the Pāṇḍya country, the original Chēra country comprising North Travancore, Cochin and South Malabar. Chēra rule was extended by early conquests into the interior upto the Kollimalai in Salem District on the traditional borders of the Chōḷa kingdom so that a very large part of Koṅgu fell under its sway.

Uṇaiyūr, now a suburb of Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi town on the south bank of the Kaveri was the Chōḷa capital, and Kāvēripattāṇam (also called Puhār) at the mouth of that river, its chief port. The tiger was the Chōḷa emblem, and the Ār, their garland. The Pāṇḍyas had their capital at Madurai on the Vaigai river, and their emblem was a double carp and their garland Margosa; Koṟkai and Śāliyūr were their chief ports on the east, while Nelcunda (Niraṇam) and Balita (Viliṇam) served them on the west. The site of Vañji, the Chēra capital, has been much debated by modern scholars, some locating it near Muṣiri (Cranganore, the Muziris of the Greek sources) near the mouth of the Periyār, higher up the stream, while others identify it with the inland city Karūr on the Amarāvati river in Tiruchchirapalli District; the inland location gains support from Ptolemy and an early Brāhmi inscription of the third century A.D. mentioning Karu-ūr, and a much later Tamil inscription which speaks of Karuvūr alias Vañji-mānagaram. The Chēras had the *aṅkuṣa* (elephant-goat) and bow and arrow for their emblem and palm-leaves for their garland. Muṣiri was

their chief port, but there were many others like *Toṇḍi* (Kadalundi), *Marandai* (unidentified), *Naravu* (Naura and Nitrias of the Greek writers) farther north, and *Porkad* (Bakara) in the south. It is doubtful if the Pallavas who ruled from *Kāñchī* from about the fourth century A.D. or a little earlier were the descendants of the *Toṇḍaimāns* who were ruling from the same capital earlier as contemporaries of the *Chōlas*, *Karikāla* for instance. *Toṇḍai* is the name of a creeper, and *Pallava* means 'sprout', and there are legends of different dates and provenance accounting for the names *Toṇḍaimān* and *Pallava*. The earliest seaports of *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam* we hear of are *Śōpaṭṭiṇam* (Sopatma of the Greeks, identified with *Maṛkāṇam*) and *Poduke* (Greek for *Puduchchēri*, Pondicherry).

Śaṅgam Age

The first tangible account of these kingdoms, their rulers, polity and culture, and their trade is found in the earliest stratum of Tamil literature accessible to us, the Śaṅgam literature as it is called, and in the writings of European writers of the first and second centuries of the Christian era, particularly *Pliny the Elder*, the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, both of the late first century A.D. and *Ptolemy*, the second century Geographer of Alexandria. An academy (Śaṅgam) of scholars and poets said to have been maintained at *Madurai* by the *Pāṇḍya* kings standardized literary usage, and for this reason the Tamil literature of this epoch has been designated Śaṅgam literature. All that has survived of this literature comprises about 30,000 lines of poetry included in eight schematic anthologies (*Eṭṭuttogai*, eight collections) and another called 'Ten Idyls' (*Pattuppāṭṭu*). The twin epics, *Silappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* used to be included among Śaṅgam works; but now they are seen to differ very much from Śaṅgam literature in vocabulary, structure and the society they reflect, and are regarded therefore as belonging to a much later age. On the other hand the *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest and most comprehensive Tamil grammar accessible to us, is much nearer the Śaṅgam period.

Legend, first recorded about the ninth century A.D. in the commentary to the *Iraiyanār Ahapporuḷ*, a short grammatical treatise ascribed (by its very name) to the authorship of god Śiva, mentions three Tamil Śaṅgams which lasted, at long intervals, all together for nearly ten thousand years and counted among their members 8,598 poets including some divinities, monarchs and sages; some modern writers accept this legend wholesale and allow patriotism to cloud criticism. We may accept the reality of one Śaṅgam, the so-called third Śaṅgam of the legend, for its existence is attested by epigraphy (*Śinnamanūr* plates of the tenth century A.D.) and the existence of a body of literature bearing clear traces of its early origin. A *Drāviḍa* Śaṅgam of the *Jains* is known to have been founded at *Madurai* by *Vaijāṇḍi* about 470 A.D. but we do not know if the *Jains* furnished a model to the Tamil poets or imitated their example.

To determine the duration of the period of this Śaṅgam, we must study the synchronisms traceable in the poems. They mention a number of kings and chieftains,

and in most cases the poems carry colophons giving the names of the poets who composed them and the occasions when they were composed. These colophons must have been added by the editors of the schematic anthologies in which we find them grouped, and may be taken to embody on the whole a correct and authentic tradition. A careful study of these data suggests something like five or six continuous generations, say a period of a century and a half or two at the most. We have genealogies only for the Chēras; in other instances, we have only unrelated names, and this renders a regular political history of the period impossible. There were, besides the three 'crowned kings', seven liberal patrons of the poets *Vaṭṭal-s* called Pāri, Āy, Elini, Naḷḷi, Malaian, Pēhan and Ōri.

The *Śilappadikāram* bases its story on a synchronism between the reigns of the Chēra king Śeṅguṭṭuvan and Gajabāhu I of Ceylon in the latter half of the second century A.D. Though the epic is obviously a much later work, there seems to be no reason to doubt the correctness of the synchronism suggested by it. At any rate, it fits in with striking coincidence between the data on maritime trade gathered from the Śaṅgam poems and the numerous finds of Roman coins in gold and silver of the early Roman empire in different sites in South India. There is also the discovery in recent years of a Roman 'factory' at Arikamēḍu near Pondicherry; the date of the 'factory' is precisely determined by Roman pottery from a well known manufacturer of the first century A.D. It may be noted in passing that the name Arikamēḍu is a corruption of Aruhanmēḍu, the mound of the Arhat (Jina) as may be seen from a large image of Mahāvīra enshrined there.

The monarchs of the three kingdoms were believed, at least in later ages, to be of immemorial antiquity, and the Śaṅgam poems bear clear witness to the eagerness with which all of them sought to connect themselves with the occurrences in the Great War (Mahābhārata) between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. The first Chēra monarch we hear of, Udiyañjēral, is said to have fed sumptuously both the armies at Kurukshētra; this means perhaps that an ancestor of his did so rather than that he was a contemporary of the Great War—a common poetic convention sanctions the practice of attributing to any king all the achievements of his ancestors. Udiyañjēral's real date seems to have been in the early second century A.D. (c. 130). His son Neḍuñjēral Ādan won a naval victory and took captive several Yavana (Greco-Roman) traders whom he released after collecting a heavy ransom. Generally the Yavana traders were welcomed on the coast, and the particular reasons for this conflict are not clear. Ādan won other victories and attained the rank of an *adhirāja* (super-king); he had also the title *Imayavaramban*, one who had the Himalaya for boundary, and was said to have carved his emblem of the bow on the brow of the snow-clad mountain, an obvious poetic exaggeration like some others in these poems. He fought his last war with his Chōḷa contemporary in which both the monarchs perished and their queens performed *Sati*, burning themselves on the pyres of their husbands.

Ādan had two sons, both being valiant soldiers. The more celebrated of the two was Śeṅguṭṭuvan, the righteous Kuṭṭuva, celebrated by Paraṇar, one of the most

famous and longest lived poets of the Śaṅgam period. Paraṇar mentions only a victorious campaign against the chieftain of Mohur besides some naval victory which perhaps earned him the title *kaḍalpirakkōṭṭiya*, one who drove back the sea. But the epilogue to Paraṇar's decade in the Ten Tens (*Paḍiṟrupattu*) gives other data, some of a semi-legendary nature; the king is said to have intervened here in a Chōḷa war of succession and secured the throne to one prince at the cost of the lives of nine others; he is also said to have led an expedition to North India and defeated its kings in battle in an attempt to obtain a stone boulder suited to carve the image of *pattini* (Kaṇṇagi), the divine chaste wife who was enshrined subsequently in the Chēra country. Whether this epilogue was elaborated in the epic *Śilappadikāram* or condensed from it cannot be determined. Hints of the Kaṇṇagi-Kōvalan saga occur in some early poems and Śēṅguṭṭuvan might have taken the lead in organizing the Pattini cult or at any rate he was believed to have done so.

All together five monarchs of the Chēra line belonging to three generations are mentioned, besides a collateral line of three kings starting with Anduvan who ruled a part of the kingdom contemporaneously with the other branch. The Chēra kingdom was perhaps looked upon as a family estate, the Kula-saṅgha of Kauṭilya who considered it an efficient form of state-organization. A similar clan rule may have prevailed among the contemporary Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas as well. The best known among the kings of the collateral line was Peruñjēral Irumpoṟai (c. 190 A.D.) whose victory over the Adigaimān of Tagaḍūr, generally identified with modern Dharmapuri in Dharmapuri District, formed the subject of a later war poem *Tagaḍūr Yāttirai* which has survived only in citations in other works. One of the latest Chēra princes of this age was 'Śēy of the Elephant eye' (Yānaikkaṭṭhēy) (c. 210 A.D.) who was taken prisoner in battle by his Pāṇḍyan contemporary, a Neḍuñjeliyan who was distinguished as the victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam (battle), but Śey regained his freedom in time to forestall his deposition at home by his enemies.

Among the Chōḷas Karikāla (c. 200 A.D.) stands out pre-eminent. His father was Iḷaṅjēṭ-chenni 'of many beautiful chariots' (of war), a brave king and hard fighter. Karikāla means 'the man with the charred leg', a reference to a fire accident which befell the prince early in life. In later times the name was taken to be a Sanskrit expression meaning 'death to Kali' or 'death to (enemy) elephants'. As a boy Karikāla was deposed and imprisoned by his enemies, and his plucky escape and recapture of the throne are vividly described by the contemporary author of *Paṭṭinappālai*, a long poem on the Chōḷa emporium Kāvēripaṭṭinam in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* (Ten Idyls). One of Karikāla's early achievements was the victory in a great battle at Veṇṇi, modern Koil Veṇṇi—15 miles to the east of Taṅjāvūr. In this battle, eleven rulers, *Vēḷir* and kings lost their war drums in the field; the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra lost their glory, and the latter suffered the worst disgrace that could befall a warrior—a wound on his back—and from a consequent sense of shame, sat facing north, sword in hand and starved himself to death. Veṇṇi was thus a turning point in Karikāla's career and gained him the hegemony of the Tamil land. In another victory at Vāhaippaṇḍalai, 'the field of Vahai trees', Karikāla deprived nine enemy

chieftains of their state umbrellas. He is said to have stopped the migration of people from his country by offering them inducements to stay, promoted the reclamation and settlement of forest land and improved agriculture by multiplying irrigation tanks. The king was a follower of the Vedic religion, performed sacrifices, and lived well, enjoying life to the full. In later times many colourful legends gathered round him and he was claimed as the ancestor of many ruling families in the Telugu country. After Karikāla, the Chōḷa kingdom fell into the hands of lesser princes and civil wars became more or less chronic and invited foreign interventions.

Among the Pāṇḍyas the most celebrated was Neḍuṇḷjeliyan (c. 210 A.D.), the victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam as already noted. Among his ancestors mentioned in the *Maduraikkāṇḱi*, a long poem by Māṅguḍi Marudan, two deserve notice here. One was Mudukuḍumi Peruvaludi also mentioned in the Vēḷvikuḍi copper-plate grant of the ninth century A.D.; a stern conqueror who treated the conquered people with much harshness, he performed many Vedic sacrifices and became known as 'paḷṣālai', of many sacrificial halls. The other was Neḍuṇḷjeliyan, distinguished as victor against the Aryan forces (*Āriyappaḍai-kaḍanda*), the tragedy of Kovalan's death at Madurai and the king's sudden death of a broken heart when his terrible error was brought home to him by Kaṇṇagi from the theme of the *Śilappadikāram*. A short poem ascribed to this king puts learning above birth and caste.

Neḍuṇḷjeliyan of Talaiyālaṅgānam was a boy at his accession and proved himself more than equal to a hostile combination of his two neighbouring monarchs and five minor chieftains. There has come down to us a simple poem of great force and beauty in which the youthful monarch swears an oath of heroism and victory in the ensuing fight. His enemies hoped for easy victory against the tender youth and advanced to the heart of his kingdom in search of a large booty but the prince pursued the invaders across the frontier into the Chōḷa country and inflicted a crushing defeat on them at Talaiyālaṅgānam, some eight miles north-east of Tiruvālūr in the Tanjavur District, and as we have already seen, took captive the Chēra king Śēy of the Elephant-eye. The poet Marudan of Māṅguḍi refers to the battle, and also calls his patron lord of Koṟkai and the war lord of the Southern Paradavar, thereby hinting that the people of the pearl-fishery coast formed an important section of his army.

Famous among the Vēḷir chieftains of the time were—Āy and Pāri, both celebrated by several poets in a number of poems. The *Vēḷs* claimed to have issued from the sacrificial fire-pit of a northern sage and cherished other legends of their connection with Viṣṇu and Agastya. One of their ancestors is said to have shot down a tiger which was about to attack a sage in the midst of his penance—a legend also adopted by the Hoysaḷas of Mysore in later times. Āy's country lay round about the Podiya hill, the southernmost section of the Western Ghats, and Ptolemy mentions him as 'Aioi', and includes mount Bēttigo and Cape Comorin in the territory under his rule. Āy was a dynastic name borne by all the kings of the line as a prefix to their personal names. Āy Anḍiran—Andiran seems to be a Sanskrit word meaning hero—is said to have presented elephants to the poets he patronized and seems

to have been a man of peace as the poems contain only one reference to his success in war when he pursued the Koṅgar to the western sea. Pāri, the lifelong friend of the Brahmin poet Kapilan, ruled the part of the Pāṇḍya country round the hillock called Koḍuṅgunram or Pirānmalai, which is said to have included three hundred villages round the fortified hill in the centre. Kapilan who has left many charming poems on the country and its ruler, stood by him when he was besieged by the 'three crowned kings' banded together, and the poet's advice enabled Pāri to offer prolonged resistance to his foes. And when the inevitable end came and Pāri was killed, apparently by a stratagem, Kapilan took charge of his two unmarried daughters and tried without success to get them suitably married. Tradition avers that Kapilan starved himself to death in the end, and a late inscription records that he married off Pāri's daughter, only one not two, to the Malayamān of Muḷḷūr before he entered the fire to attain heaven. But the veracity of either account may be doubted in view of the existence of a decade in the "Ten Tens" from this poet in praise of the Chēra king Śelvakkaduṅgo Vāli Ādan, whose patronage Kapilan may have sought after Pāri's. The Adigaimān (dynastic name) known as Neḍumān Aṅgi was the chieftain of Tagaḍūr, the patron of the celebrated poetess Auvaiyār, and the opponent of the Chēra Peruñjēral Irumpoṇai as already noted. According to Auvaiyār, Adigaimān was born of a family which honoured the gods by *pūjā* and sacrifices, introduced the sweet sugarcane from heaven into the world, and ruled with ability for a long time. Adigaimān lost his fight against Chēra despite the aid he got from the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa; he acknowledged Chēra suzerainty, and lost his life in war fighting for his suzerain. Auvaiyār laments his death but does not mention the occasion for it, or the vassalage to the Chēra. She also bewails the days that remained to her after Adigaimān had earned his title to a hero-stone i.e. by dying in battle.

Evidently more important than the Vēḷḷir chieftains was the line of the Tiraiyans, 'the gift of the waves of the sea to the earth', who claimed descent from Viṣṇu. They were also known as Toṇḍaimāns and their country Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, and legend mentions a liaison between a Chōḷa prince and a Nāga maiden leading to the birth of a boy who was floated on the waves of the sea with a *toṇḍai* twig tied to his neck as a mark of identity. Tiraiyar Toṇḍaimāns seem to have ruled an extensive territory which included Vēṅgaḍam (Tirupati hill) in the west and extended to the sea on the east. Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan was a contemporary of Karikāla Chōḷa, both being celebrated by poet Ruttiraṅgaṇṇarār (Rudrāksha) in poems included in the 'Ten Idyls'. There is no hint anywhere of his being related to Karikāla or of his political subordination to the Chōḷa power. Iḷandiraiyan was himself a poet and in one of his songs he stresses the importance of the personal character of the monarch in the promotion of good rule. How the Pallavas of later history were related to the Tiraiyar is a moot question.

A certain Nalliyakkōḍan, a chieftain who ruled over the territory including Giḍaṅgil (near Tindivanam), Eyirpaṭṭinam (Maṅkāṇam), and Amūr and Vēḷūr, seems to mark the close of the Śāṅgam epoch about 300 A.D. or a little later, as in his day charity had dried up in the three Tamil capitals and all ancient patrons of

learning and the arts were no more—obviously an exaggerated statement made by the poet Nattattanār in the poem on Nalliyakkōḍan, bearing the name *Śirupāṇār-ruppadai*.

Interlude after the Śaṅgam

After the close of the Śaṅgam age, there follows a blank in the political history of the Tamil kingdom. Only the Pallavas are known, after the fall of the Śātavāhanas of the Deccan, to have built up a fairly extensive empire south of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers extending from sea to sea with Kāñchīpuram as their capital. And we see clearly that the 'Sanskritization' of Tamil civilization had proceeded much farther than before. The earliest inscriptions of the Pallavas on stone and copper come from outside the Tamil country and are in the Prakrit language and belong to the late third and early fourth centuries A.D. Pallava is a Sanskrit word meaning 'sprout', and a new legend comes up that the founder of the line, the son of a Mahābhārata hero and a celestial nymph, was cradled at his birth in a litter of sprouts. The Pallavas had the bull for their crest.

In the middle of the fourth century Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñchī met the Gupta emperor Samudragupta in battle, and was probably assisted by his feudatory Ugrasēna of Palakka. After Samudragupta's invasion, the Pallavas lost their western territories to the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas whose history does not come within the scope of the present account. A number of Sanskrit copper-plates give the names and mutual relations of rulers who ruled the diminished kingdom for about two centuries after 350 A.D.; these charters, mostly votive in character, show the monarchs to have been Hindu in their faith and give some details of their administrative system, but make no reference to any events of political history.

Further south in the Tamil country proper, we have historically speaking a barren period after the Śaṅgam, the curtain rising again only towards the latter part of the sixth century A.D. Then we hear that a rather mysterious and ubiquitous enemy of civilization, the evil rulers called Kaḷabhras, had upset the established political order which was restored only by the more or less simultaneous emergence of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas of the Simhavishṇu line in the Tamil land, and of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi across the Tungabhadra in western Deccan. Of the Kaḷabhras we have little definite knowledge. The Vēlṭikuḍi grant of the Pāṇḍyas (ninth century) denounces them as evil kings, *kali-araṣar*, whose invincible arms uprooted many *adhirājas* and upset the social order confiscating all charitable *devadānas* and *brahmadāyas*—gifts to gods and Brahmins. Buddhadatta, a Buddhist writer of this period in the Kaveri region, states that he enjoyed the patronage of Accuta Vikkanta of the Kalabba kula; late literary tradition in Tamil states that this ruler kept in confinement the three 'crowned kings' of the Tamil country, and some songs about him which make him lord of the Nandi hills are quoted by Amitasigara, a Jain Tamil grammarian of the tenth century. Probably Accuta was himself a Buddhist ruling over an extensive kingdom, and the political revolution attributed to the Kaḷabhras was due to religious antagonism. The Śaiva hagiologist of the late twelfth

century, Śēkkiḷār, mentions Kūṟṟuvan, a Kaḷabhra ruler of Kaḷandai in Toṇḍaināḍ—one of the *nāyanārs* (Śaiva saints). There are also references to the Kaḷavar and their chief Pulli whose territory included the Tirupati hill. We may perhaps surmise that the Kaḷavar-Kaḷabhras were a widespread tribe whose large scale defection to the heretical faiths resulted in a political and social upset lasting over some generations. Whatever it was, the Chōḷas disappear completely in this debacle and do not make a significant reappearance till the ninth century; but a branch of them can be traced in the Telugu Chōḷas of the Rāyalasīma, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century. The age of Śeṅgaṇān, famous in legend and counted among the mythical ancestors of the imperial Chōḷas, is a moot question.

The dark period marked by the ascendancy of Buddhism, and perhaps also of Jainism, witnessed apparently much literary activity in Tamil. Most of the works grouped under the head 'The eighteen minor works' (*padinen-kilkkaṇakku*) were written during this period if not also the *Tolkāppiyam*, and other works; the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* may be later still and fall in the next period. Many of the authors were votaries of the heretical sects, quite a contrast to the precious little we hear of these sects in the Śaṅgam literature. This was the background to the Hindu religious revival of the succeeding epoch.

Pāṇḍya-Pallava Period

The overthrow of Kaḷabhra rule in the latter half of the sixth century was the first step in the revival of Pāṇḍya and Pallava power, and for the succeeding two centuries and a half, these two dynasties divided the entire country between them and ruled from their respective capitals of Madurai and Kāñchīpuram. They engaged in more or less constant wars, and the boundary between their kingdoms shifted north and south of the Kaveri according to the exigencies of war. The Pallavas had to fight on two fronts, for besides the Pāṇḍyas in the south, they had enemies on the other side of the Tungabhadra to contend with at first the Chālukyas of Bādāmi (550-750) and later the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa (Maḷkhēḍ). The enemies of the Pallavas were the natural allies of the Pāṇḍyas while the rulers of Ceylon as the neighbours of the Pāṇḍyas were more inclined to be on the side of the Pallavas.

Of the first three kings of the Pāṇḍya revival we know little besides their names and titles viz. Pāṇḍyādhirāja Kaḍuṅgōn (590-620), Māṇavarman Avaniśūlāmaṇi (620-645), and Śēliyan Vānavan Śēndan or Jayantavarman (645-670). The *adhirāja* title of the first king shows that some subordinate rulers acknowledged him as overlord, and Śēndan must have gained success against the Chēras before he assumed their title *Vānavan*.

We are, however, better informed about the contemporary Pallava rulers. Simhaviśṇu (560-580), the real founder of the line, ruled over the entire country between the Krishna and the Kaveri and assumed the title *Avanisimha* (lion of the earth). He was worshipper of Viśṇu. His son Mahēndravarmān I (580-630) was a versatile genius who must be counted among the most interesting figures of history. He was soldier, poet, musician, architect and religious reformer. He saved

his capital from the invasion of the Chālukya Pulakēśin II of Bādāmi by his victory at Puḷḷatūr though he could not recover the northern provinces occupied by the invading enemy. He is believed to have been a Jaina at first who changed over to Śaivism under the influence of the Śaiva saint Appar alias Tirunāvukkaraśu, himself a convert from Jainism, and a very persuasive propagandist of the new *bhakti* cult. Mahēndravarman deprecated extreme and corrupt religious practices, and turned the laugh against the Kāpālikas and Buddhist *bhikṣhus* in his pleasant farce *Mattavilāsa* which is remarkably free from the intensity of sectarian feeling that was growing around him. He gloried in many curious titles, *Vichitrachitta* and *Guṇabhara* being among them. His achievements in architecture and music have immortalised him. In his time the Pallava country must have had close cultural and trade relations with the Hindu colonies in the East and the title *Mahēndravarman* was assumed by the contemporary king of Kambuja, Chitrasēna, who too installed a temple of Śiva on a mountain fort as the Pallava monarch did in Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi.

Under his son Narasiṃhavarman I Mahāmalla (630-68 A.D.) the Chālukya renewed his attack on the Pallavas and their capital was threatened a second time. In a series of hard fought engagements including one at Maṇimaṅgala, 20 miles west of Kāñchī, Pulakēśin's attempt was foiled, and Narasiṃhavarman invaded in turn the Chālukya country and occupied its capital Bādāmi after a siege of its strong fortress in the defence of which Pulakēśin lost his life (642 A.D.). In this war Narasiṃhavarman was assisted by the refugee Sinhalese prince Mānavarma on whose behalf he led two naval expeditions against Ceylon. Though Mānavarma gained the throne of Ceylon on the second occasion, he was once more driven into exile and sought refuge in the Pallava court perhaps after the death of Narasiṃhavarman.

The Chinese Buddhist monk Huen Tsang travelled in South India in 641-42 A.D. and found Jainism still flourishing. Narasiṃhavarman developed the port called Māmallapuram (vulgo Mahābalipuram) after his title and embellished it with sculptures, monoliths, and scooped-in temples. This great monarch was followed on the throne by his son Mahēndravarman II who had a short reign of two years and was succeeded by his son Paramēśvaravarman I (670-700). Meanwhile, the Chālukyas recovered their unity and strength under Vikramāditya I, the ablest of the sons of Pulakēśin II, and renewed the Pallava war. They contracted an alliance with the Pāṇḍya ruler of the south, Arikēśari Parāṅkuśa Māgarvarman I (670-710), son and successor of Śēndan, and a great fighter who strove for the extension of the Pāṇḍya kingdom at the cost of the Pallava. The Gaṅgas of Mysore were the subordinate allies of Vikramāditya I who inflicted defeat and death on Mahēndravarman II and advanced against Kāñchī early in the reign of Paramēśvaravarman. An attempt to stop the inroad failed, and in the battle of Viḷande, Bhūvikrama, the Gaṅga ally of Vikramāditya, took from the Pallava king a valued necklace containing the gem *Ugrōdaya*. At the same time the Pāṇḍya advanced from the south, and Paramēśvara, who wanted to dispose of the Pāṇḍya first, met with defeat in the battles of Nelvēli and Saṅkaramaṅgai in the southern marches of his kingdom. Vikramāditya pursued

him there and encamped on the banks of the Kaveri at Uṛaiyūr. Undaunted by defeats, Paramēśvara effected a diversion by sending an army into the heart of the Chālukya kingdom to threaten the safety of Bādāmi itself, and ended the war by gaining a resounding victory against Vikramāditya in the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr in the Tiruchchirapalli District.

Pāṇḍya Arikēsari who won successes against the Paravas of the pearl fishery coast and the people of South Travancore, was most probably the Kūn (hump-back) Pāṇḍya of Śaiva tradition who was reclaimed for Śaivism from Jainism by saint Tiruḷṇānasambandar. Arikēsari's son was Kochchaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra (c. 710-730) who justified his title (Heroic in war) by carrying his arms as far as Mangalore and extending the Pāṇḍya power into the Koṅgu country besides subjugating the Āys of the Podiya hill nearer home. Raṇadhīra's son Māravarman Rājasirṇha I (730-65) was a worthy successor of his father and continued his policy of expansion by wars in Koṅgu and against the Pallavas.

In the Pallava country Paramēśvaravarman I was succeeded by his peaceful son Narasimhavarman II Rājasirṇha (700-28) and there was a comparative lull in the conflict with the Chālukyas. The reign was prosperous and as the king was an ardent Śaivite, he spent his energy and resources in the erection of many fine temples. Literature flourished and the poet Daṇḍin is said to have spent many years in Rājasirṇha's court. Maritime trade grew and embassies were sent to China. Rājasirṇha was followed by his surviving son Paramēśvaravarman II (728-31), the other son Mahēndravarman III having predeceased him. After Paramēśvaravarman II there was no one in the direct line to succeed him, and there were apparently disputes among rivals. The officials of the capital acting along with the *ghaṭikā* (college) of learned Brahmins and the people chose as king a prince from a collateral line, another Paramēśvaravarman better known as Nandivarman Pallavamalla who apparently had to fight his way into the capital. There was also another pretender to the throne Chitramāya who had the support of a party in the city and also of the Pāṇḍyan king. In the war that ensued Nandivarman suffered several defeats from Pāṇḍya Rājasirṇha and shut himself in the fortress of Nandipura, near Kumbakōṇam. The able Pallava general Udayachandra raised the siege of Nandipura after inflicting defeats on the enemy and putting Chitramāya to the sword. He also punished the Nishāda chief Pṛithivivāghra who ventured to capture the horse let loose by Nandivarman for his *aśvamēdha* (horse-sacrifice) and suffered for it by losing the territory he held of the Eastern Chālukya ruler Viśṇuvardhana III.

About 740 the Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya II renewed the war against the Pallavas with the help of his Gaṇa feudatory Śrīpurusha. Nandivarman was defeated and his capital occupied by the Chālukya ruler who, however, conducted himself with great restraint, his sole aim being to wipe out the disgrace that had fallen on his family by the occupation of Bādāmi by Narasimhavarman I. Like him Vikramāditya had an inscription attesting his occupation of the enemy capital engraved on a pillar in the Kailāsanātha temple and then withdrew into his own

country. Some time later, there was another raid on Pallava territory by Kīrtivarman II, son of Vikramāditya II, and the Chālukya prince gained much booty in elephants, gold and jewellery.

The Pāṇḍya Rājasiṃha I extended his power into the Koṅgu country across the Kaveri; this brought him into conflict with Śrīpurusha and Kīrtivarman II; both sustained a defeat in the battle of Veṇbai and made peace with the Pāṇḍya, offering the hand of a Gaṅga princess to the son of Rājasiṃha.

The weak Chālukya ruler had a mighty vassal in the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga who as a part of his preparation for a final stroke against his suzerain, invaded the Pallava territory and after a demonstration of force in front of Kāñchī, made an alliance with Nandivarman II giving him his daughter Rēvā in marriage (c. 750).

Some years later (c. 770) Nandivarman defeated Śrīpurusha in a second battle at Viḷande and recovered the royal necklace of the Pallavas containing the gem *Ugrōdaya*, besides taking away some of the Gaṅga territory and handing it over to the Bāṇa feudatory of the Pallavas. There was conflict also between Nandivarman II and Jaṭila Parāntaka alias Varaguṇa I (765-815), son and successor of Pāṇḍya Rājasiṃha I. Varaguṇa was a great soldier and got the best of the war against the Pallava and his allies from Koṅgu, Kerala and Tagaḍūr. He also stormed the fortified post of Viliṇan (10 miles south of Trivandrum) and subjugated south Travancore and Āy's mountain country. The Pāṇḍyan expansion continued under Varaguṇa's son and successor Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha (815-62) who invaded Ceylon in the reign of Sēna I (831-51) and sacked his capital after ravaging the northern part of the island.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla continued to rule till about 795. He had a notable contemporary in the Vaishṇava saint Tīrumanṅai Ālvār, and being himself a staunch Vaishṇava, he erected the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple which carries sculptured scenes of Pallava history from its legendary beginnings to the reign of Nandivarman himself; several panels bear inscriptions explaining the story. Nandi was succeeded by his son Dantivarman (795-846). Pāṇḍya aggression under the intrepid Varaguṇa I and his son deprived the Pallavas of much territory in Tanjavur and Tiruchchirappalli Districts in the south, and their dynastic connection with the Rāshṭrakūṭas did not mitigate political hostility; and Dantivarman had to submit to Gōvinda III in Kāñchī itself. Dantivarman had great contemporaries in Sundaramūrtti, Chēramān Perumāḷ and Śaṅkara Āchārya. He was succeeded by his able son Nandivarman III (846-69). He formed alliances with the Gaṅgas, Chōḷas, and even the Rāshṭrakūṭas and Sinhalese and created a confederacy to curtail the overgrown Pāṇḍya power; early in his reign he defeated Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha in the decisive battle of Teḷḷāru in Wandiwash Taluk of the North Arcot District. The scene of the battle shows the extent of the Pāṇḍya expansion and explains the success of Nandi III in securing allies in his task. He followed up the victory at Teḷḷāru by rolling back the Pāṇḍya forces and himself invading the Pāṇḍya country upto the Vaigai river. But Śrī Māra recovered his position sufficiently to defeat Nandivarman III near Kumbhakōṇam about 859. Nevertheless Nandi was an able ruler and liberal patron

of art and literature. He maintained a fleet and an inscription of his at Takua-pa on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula attests his rule over some territory there. His son by the Rāshtrakūṭa princess Śaṅkhā, Nṛipatuṅga by name (859-99), avenged the last defeat of his father on the banks of the Arisil river (a branch of the Kaveri), in which Śrī Māra was defeated. About the same time Sēna II (851-85) of Ceylon, the nephew and successor of Sēna I, led an expedition against the Pāṇḍya ruler ostensibly in support of the claims of a Pāṇḍya prince to the throne. Madura was sacked and Śrī Māra died of the wounds he received while fighting. His son Varaguṇavarman II, perhaps the same as the prince who invoked Sēna's aid, was enthroned by the Sinhalese commander in 862 with the approval of Nṛipatuṅga who thus became suzerain of the Pāṇḍyas for a time.

Rise of Chōḷa Power

The Chōḷas emerged from their long obscurity about this time. Vijayālaya (abode of victory) acting as a Pallava feudatory took the city of Tañjāvūr from the Muttaraya chiefs, allies of the Pāṇḍya, and made it his headquarters in the middle of the ninth century. In turn, Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II marched north to curb the Pallava power, but was met by a formidable opposition led by Nṛipatuṅga's son, the *yuvarāja* Aparājita, who had for support the Chōḷa Āditya I, the son and successor of Vijayālaya and the Gaṅga Prithivīpati I. The decisive battle was fought at Śrī Purambiyan near Kumbhakōṇam (885 A.D.). The invader suffered a crushing defeat though Prithivīpati lost his life. The grateful Pallava added some new territory to Āditya's heritage. Āditya, however, was no longer content to be subordinate and realized the weakness of his overlord; he invaded Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and annexed the entire Pallava country after killing Aparājita in battle (908). The Chōḷa territory thenceforth bordered on that of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Āditya then took the Koṅgu country from the Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Vīraṇārāyaṇa (880-900) the younger brother and successor of Varaguṇa II, and extended his suzerainty over the Gaṅga country now ruled by Prithivīpati II, the grandson of Prithivīpati I. One of Āditya's queens was a Rāshtrakūṭa princess and his son Parāntaka married the daughter of the Kerala ruler. He is credited with constructing Śiva temples all along the Kaveri. He died at Toṇḍaimānāḍ near Kālahasti and a temple was erected there over his remains by his son Parāntaka who succeeded him in 907.

The reign of Parāntaka I (907-55) was marked by success and prosperity for the best part of it, but ended in disaster which led to confusion for the next thirty years till the accession of Rājarāja I, the real founder of the Chōḷa empire. Early in his reign Parāntaka invaded the Pāṇḍya country; its king Rājasimha II (900-20 A.D.) was aided by Kassapa V of Ceylon, but the combined forces were defeated at Veḷḷūr, and Rājasimha fled to Ceylon, and thence to Kerala. Soon after Parāntaka had to face a Rāshtrakūṭa invasion led by Kṛishṇa II who espoused the cause of Kannara-dēva (a son of Āditya by the Rāshtrakūṭa princess) who had been excluded from the throne by Parāntaka's accession; the invader was aided by the Bāṇas and Vaidumbas, but the loyal Gaṅga Prithivīpati II stood by Parāntaka and enabled him

to gain a decisive victory against the invaders at Vallāla. There followed a period of over twentyfive years of peaceful development during which rural autonomy developed and literature was patronized; Veṅkaṭa Mādhava wrote his commentary on the *Rigvēda* on the banks of the Kaveri. Trouble arose again in the northwest frontier after the death of Pṛithivīpati II some time about 940; the Bāṇa and Vaid-dumba refugees at his court induced Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III and his brother-in-law (sister's husband) Gaṇiga Būtuga II to invade the Chōḷa country; Parāntaka sustained a crushing defeat at Takkōlam near Arkōṇam in 949 and his eldest son Rājāditya was killed in battle by a well-aimed arrow from Butuga. Kṛishṇa III occupied a good part of the Chōḷa kingdom for some years and styled himself captor of Kachchi and Tañjai; the Pāṇdyas revolted.

Effective recovery from the disaster began under Rājarāja I (985-1014), the great-grandson of Parāntaka. Rājarāja was the real founder of the Chōḷa empire, a great soldier and statesman who welded the entire Tamil country into a single lasting political unit and organized an efficient bureaucratic administrative system. He revived the naval tradition of the Pallava Nandivarman III and conquered the northern part of Ceylon and the Maldives after destroying the Chēra navy and making himself master of Viliṇam on the west coast. He established his sway over the bulk of the modern Mysore country and made the Chōḷa empire the neighbour and rival of the newly established power of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa under Taila II (973-997). Taila's son and successor Satyāśraya became Rājarāja's chief enemy especially after the latter had established his proteges, the brothers Śaktivarman and Vimalāditya, as rulers in succession of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom of Vēṅgi in the eastern half of the Deccan (1000 A.D.). Satyāśraya invaded Vēṅgi and Rājarāja retaliated by sending his son Rājendra on a devastating raid into the Chālukya country in the west and threw back the Chālukya forces from Vēṅgi also. Rājarāja gained vast booty from his wars which he used in building and endowing the celebrated temple Rājarājēśvara in his capital Tañjāvūr. Rājendra was installed as *yuvarāja* 1012, and friendly relations were cultivated with the maritime empire of Śrī Vijaya whose Śailendra ruler was permitted to build at Negapatam, the first port of call on the mainland for ships from Śrī Vijaya, a *vihāra* called Chūḍamaṇi-vihāra after the father of the monarch of Śrī Vijaya.

Rājendra succeeded his father in 1014 and made his son Rājādhirāja I *yuvarāja* four years later. Rājendra completed the conquest of Ceylon begun by his father; but the Ceylonese never reconciled themselves to this foreign rule and Vikramabāhu I set up rule in South Ceylon from 1029. Pāṇdyas and Keraḷa became a separate viceroyalty under a prince royal who bore the title Chōḷa-Pāṇdyas and had his headquarters at Madurai. There was a succession of disputes in Vēṅgi after Vimalāditya (1018), and Rājendra had to intervene against the Western Chālukyas and their partisans; he took advantage of the occasion to proclaim his power over the North by a successful raid up to the Ganges in north-eastern India, thus winning for himself the title *Gaṅgaikonda* which he perpetuated by founding the new capital Gaṅgaikondachōḷapuram in the wild regions of the Tiruchchirapalli District adjoining

South Arcot. Then followed a big naval war against Śrī Vijaya; the relations with that state were no longer friendly, possibly because the ambitious Rājendra pursued a too aggressive policy in the Bay of Bengal wanting to make it a Chōḷa lake, or because Śrī Vijaya sought to obstruct the free intercourse between the Chōḷa power and China. The Chōḷas gained a resounding success and Śrī Vijaya which had to acknowledge Chōḷa suzerainty, never recovered from the blow (1025). Towards the end of Rājendra's reign there was a renewed war against the Chālukya on the Vēṅgi front which continued even into the reign of Rājādhirāja which began in 1044. The war was waged with ferocity on both sides, and Kalyāṇapura, the Chālukya capital, was sacked by Rājādhirāja who assumed the title Vijayarājendra during the *Vīrābhishēka* (anointment of heroes) he celebrated there. Undaunted by defeat, the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I pursued the war through several campaigns until in the fierce battle at Koppam (1053) in the Raichur doab Rājādhirāja was mortally wounded; his brother Rājendra II took up the command at once and saved the day for the Chōḷas. He set up a pillar of victory at Kollāpura (Kolhapur) before returning to his capital Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram. But Sōmēśvara renewed the war in Vēṅgi and Gaṅgāvādi; and he was again defeated at Kūḍal-saṅgamam (1062). Rājendra II died soon after (1063) and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Vīrarājendra. The Chālukya war continued with much fighting, all outside the Tamil country. Sōmēśvara I contracted an incurable disease and died by ceremonially drowning himself in the Tungabhadra. The war still went on, but differences between the two sons of Sōmēśvara complicated its course. The end of the strife came by the diplomacy of the younger Chālukya prince Vikramāditya; Vīrarājendra made peace with him and gave him one of his daughters in marriage and another to prince Rājārāja of Kaluṅga, a State which had fought on Vikramāditya's side. In this settlement the Eastern Chālukya prince Rājendra, son of Rājārāja of Vēṅgi and grandson of the Chōḷa Rājendra I, suffered as the kingdom of Vēṅgi, which was his by right, was made over to Vijayāditya VII, a half-brother of his father. But Rājendra got his opportunity when Vīrarājendra died in 1076 and his young son Adhirājendra became Chōḷa king. The young king faced a popular revolt which cost him his life. Meanwhile Rājendra had seized Vēṅgi from Vijayāditya and then came south to occupy the Chōḷa throne which had fallen vacant and crowned himself as Kulōttuṅga I. His natural ally was Sōmēśvara II, the elder brother of Vikramāditya. But in the war that followed, though Kulōttuṅga won successes against Vikramāditya and drove him back from Kōlār to beyond the Tungabhadra, Sōmēśvara got the worst of it and was dethroned and imprisoned by Vikramāditya who became the Chālukya emperor in 1076.

Later Chōḷas

Kulōttuṅga I and Vikramāditya ruled as contemporaries for nearly half a century. They were both able statesmen who clearly recognized the limits of their power and avoided open war as far as possible. Ceylon declared its independence (1072) under Vijayabāhu I and Kulōttuṅga acquiesced, though he put down the revolts in Pāṇḍya and Kerala and tightened his control over them by establishing

military colonies and making new roads. He sent a quasi-diplomatic mission to China in 1077, and received an embassy from Śrī Vijaya. Vēṅgi was ruled by Kulōttuṅga's sons taking turn as viceroys, and one of them Vikrama Chōḷa had to fight wars with the chieftains of Kolanu and Anantavarman Chōḍa Gaṅga of Kaliṅga in 1097 and 1110. Chōḷa rule in Gaṅgāvāḍi (Mysore) was terminated by the rising power of the Hoysaḷas under Viṣṇuvardhana (1101-42). When Vikramāditya re-established his power in Vēṅgi after the departure of Vikrama Chōḷa from Vēṅgi in 1118, the Chōḷa kingdom became virtually coterminous with the Tamil country, a more compact and closely knit kingdom than the sprawling empire of his predecessors. Kulōttuṅga is often called *śuṅgandavirtta* in literary works; he must have effected some fiscal reform simplifying or abolishing tolls and transit duties of which details have not come down to us.

The death of Vikramāditya in 1127 and the accession of his weak son Sōmēśvara III at Kalyāṇa gave Vikrama Chōḷa (1120-33) the chance of restoring Chōḷa suzerainty in Vēṅgi after a hard battle on the banks of the Godavari and recover parts of the Kōḷār area in Mysore. The reigns of the son and grandson of Vikrama Chōḷa—Kulōttuṅga II (1133-50) and Rājārāja II (1146-73), were marked by the growth of feudal conditions and the emergence of powerful vassals in different parts of the kingdom who often felt free to do much as they liked and disregard the weakening control of the central government. Rājārāja II chose Rājādhirāja II, perhaps a cousin of his, as *yuvarāja* in 1166. A succession dispute among the Pāṇḍyas who had been enjoying a quasi-independent status since the time of Kulōttuṅga I led to the intercession of the Chōḷas and the Sinhalese ruler Parākramabāhu I (1153-86) on opposite sides. We may pass over the tiresome details of warfare and intrigue (1169-77); in the end Vīra Pāṇḍya was installed in Madurai with Chōḷa support, and his rival Kulaśēkhara was driven into exile. Rājādhirāja II was succeeded by Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1216) whose exact relationship to his predecessor is not known. He found Vīra Pāṇḍya turning disloyal and forming a hostile alliance with Parākramabāhu of Ceylon and the ruler of Vēṇāḍ; Kulōttuṅga invaded his country and after driving Vīra Pāṇḍya into exile, installed in his place Vikrama Pāṇḍya, son of the exiled Kulaśēkhara who had died meanwhile. In another campaign he fought the Chēras and Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II (1173-1220), recovered Koṅgu and Tagaḍūr and performed a *viḷayābhishēka* at Karuvūr in 1193. Peace was made with Ballāḷa who married a Chōḷa princess. A new Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara rebelled and was punished severely when Madurai was sacked and the coronation hall of the Pāṇḍyas was demolished (1205); though Kulaśēkhara was allowed to retain the throne, the seed had been sown for a war of revenge.

Decline of the Chōḷas

There is no evidence of the rule of Rājādhirāja in Nellore or the Northern Circars, though somewhat later the Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore fitfully acknowledge the suzerainty of Kulōttuṅga III who seems to have come into conflict also with the Kākatiya Gaṇapati further north. At the end of his reign Kulōttuṅga had to face

the full fury of the Pāṇḍyan war of revenge started by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. 1216 A.D.). The Pāṇḍya drove Kulōttuṅga and his son into exile, sacked Uṟaiyūr and Tañjāvūr, and performed a *vīrābhishēka* in the Chōḷa coronation hall at Āyirattalī near Kumbhakōṇam. He worshipped Naṭarāja at Chidambaram, and on his return he fixed his camp at Ponnamarāvati (in Pudukkottai region) and sent for Kulōttuṅga and his son who had appealed to Ballāḷa II for aid; Kulōttuṅga and his son made their formal submission to Sundara and got back the Chōḷa kingdom from him as his vassals. Sundara assumed the title *śōṇāḍuvalaṅgiyaruḷiya* i.e. who was pleased to give away the Chōḷa country. Kulōttuṅga died in 1218, and his reckless son Rājarāja III (1216-56) provoked Sundara Pāṇḍya by withholding tribute. Another Pāṇḍya invasion and *vijayābhishēka* at Āyirattalī followed. Rājarāja's attempt to join his Hoysaḷa allies under Narasiṁha II (1220-35) in the Kāñchī region was frustrated by the Pallava chieftain Kopperuñjiṅga, an ally of the Pāṇḍya, who defeated Rājarāja in battle at Tellāru and confined him in Śēndamaṅgalam, the fortified capital of Kopperuñjiṅga. The Hoysaḷa again came to the rescue and his generals secured the release of Rājarāja after a well planned campaign, and in 1231 dynastic alliances sealed the peace among the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Hoysaḷa monarchs.

Rājarāja's nominal rule of the Chōḷa kingdom continued and even Kopperuñjiṅga acknowledged his suzerainty till 1243. The installation of Rājendra III as *yuvarāja* in 1246 brought about a change. He won victories against two Pāṇḍya kings, but his further progress was barred by the Hoysaḷa Śōmēśvara (1235-62) taking the Pāṇḍyan side to prevent the Chōḷa becoming too powerful. But very soon when the powerful warrior Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya ascended the Pāṇḍyan throne in 1251, the Hoysaḷa and Chōḷa were thrown together again.

Pāṇḍya Ascendancy and Later

Under Jaṭavarman Sundara and his successor Māravarman Kulaśēkhara (1268-1310), the Pāṇḍyas occupied for about a century the place of supremacy in the Tamil country vacated by the Chōḷas, their sway extending as far as Nellore in the north where Sundara Pāṇḍya performed a *vīrābhishēka*, and included Ceylon in the south, and the Hoysaḷas were once more confined to the plateau country. Kulaśēkhara assumed the title 'conqueror of all countries'. Towards the end of his reign Kulaśēkhara's partiality for Vīra Pāṇḍya, his son by a favourite mistress, led to a war of succession in which Sundara Pāṇḍya the legitimate elder son got worsted and appealed for help to Malik Kafur, the Muslim invader from the North. Malik Kafur had no interest in the local quarrels but only in plundering indiscriminately. All big cities were sacked and rife, and the invader returned to Delhi with a vast booty which according to Barani consisted of over six hundred elephants, 96 *mans* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls and 20,000 horses.

There followed a period of strife and confusion and a more serious Muslim invasion under the Tughlaks, and for a time the bulk of the Madura kingdom (Ma'bar as the Persian historian called it) became a province of the Sultanate of Delhi.

But the power of the Sultanate was not firmly established in these outlying parts and about 1329 the provincial governor Jalaluddin Ahasen Shah set up independent rule as the Sultan of Madura and issued coins of his own. The Sultans of Madura were a shortlived dynasty of rulers totally out of sympathy with their subjects and their rule was terminated about 1370 by Kumāra Kampana, a prince of the newly established Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagara.

HISTORY OF KARNATAKA FROM 1600 A.D.

B. SHEIK ALI

WITH THE BATTLE OF RAKKASA TAṆGADI the whole of Karnataka was thrown into confusion, the political balance was disturbed, and several new principalities came into prominence. The western part of Karnataka passed into the hands of Keḷadi rulers, and the central parts came under the control of the Woḍeyars who were in power until recently. The confusion that prevailed after 1565 helped the Woḍeyars to consolidate their power, extend their territory and build an efficient administrative machinery. Mysore became the political successor of Vijayanagara in a preserving the ancient traditions of the country.

Woḍeyars

The origin of the Woḍeyars is also a subject of controversy. Tradition associates them with the Lunar race. They traced their ancestry to the Yādavas of Dwārakā, the capital of the epic hero, Lord Kṛishṇa. The legend says that two brothers, Vijaya and Kṛishṇa came to Karnataka which attracted them so much that they decided to stay on, and that they finally became the progenitors of the royal family. They interfered in the local politics, espoused the cause of the daughter of a petty chieftain of Hadi-nāḍu in Nanjangud Taluk, and saved her from a forced marriage with Māra-nāyaka of Kārugahaḷḷi who belonged to a low caste. They killed the chieftain and won the hand of the princess who was rescued from the tyrant. The elder of these two, Vijaya, became the ruler of Hadi-nāḍu and Kārugahaḷḷi, assuming the title of *Woḍeyar*.

This is only the legendary account of the origin quite in consonance with the tradition of the area. What is quite likely is that from among the numerous palegars and chieftains, some one who was more daring might have overpowered the rest and laid the foundation of his power. This successful chieftain must have been no other than a local chieftain, a son of the soil. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain how anyone without an army and finance and actual conquest could establish his powers. What really must have happened was that a rival of Māra-nāyaka must have overpowered him either politically or militarily. The story of a Jamsel in distress must have been a concoction of later days.

The date assigned to the first ruler, Vijaya, is 1399 to 1423 A.D. His successors were Hire Beṭṭada Chāmarāja (1423-58 A.D.), Timmarāja I (1458-78 A.D.) and Hire Chāmarāja II (*Ārberaḷ* or one with six fingers) (1478-1513 A.D.). His successor, Beṭṭada Chāmarāja III (1513-52 A.D.) divided his kingdom among his three sons, Timmarāja II, Bōḷa Chāmarāja IV and Kṛishṇarāja. Bōḷa Chāmarāja shifted his capital to Mysore where he built a fort in 1524 A.D. and called it Mahishāpura or the city of the buffalo-headed monster. Mysore was at this time a tiny principality under Vijayanagara, whose *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* resided at Śrīraṅapaṭṭaṇa. Bōḷa

Chāmarāja confronted Tirumala, the viceroy at Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa. But it was Rāja-woḍeyar (1578-1617 A.D.) who brought Mysore into greater prominence. He reduced a number of places such as Hoḷenarsīpūr, Akkihebbāl, Raṅgasamudra, Nāgēnahalli, Arakere, Sōsale, Kaṇṇambādi, Yeḷandūr, Bannūr and Sālīkal. But his greatest achievement was the removal of Tirumala, the Vijayanagara viceroy from Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa which became from that time to 1799 the capital of Mysore. A bold, farsighted and able ruler as he was, he persuaded the Vijayanagara emperor Veṅkaṭa II to grant him the title of the Rāja of Mysore in 1612 A.D. It was he who created the office of the *daḷavoy*, instituted the Dasara festival, improved the administrative machinery and proved to be the first great ruler of the Woḍeyar dynasty.

Chāmarāja V (1617-37 A.D.) was the grandson of Rāja Woḍeyar. He came to the throne at the age of 15 and hence power fell into the hands of the *daḷavoy*, Beṭṭada-arasu. When Chāmarāja came of age, he extended the territory towards Maddūr, Maḷavalli, Sindaghaṭṭa, Nāgamaṅgala and Channapaṭṭaṇa. He acquired Kaṭṭēmaḷalavādi from the chief of Periyāpaṭṭa, defeated Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka of Bēlur and annexed Chennarāyapaṭṭa. He was a patron of arts and literature and himself a gifted Kannada scholar, and the author *Chāmarājōktivilasa*, a Kannada prose version of Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. The internal administration was entrusted to the *daḷavoy*. Chāmarāja repaired a channel of the Kaveri near Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa and constructed a bridge across the river.

The next ruler of importance was Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja I (1638-59 A.D.) who distinguished himself by his valour, wisdom and energy. He came to power at a time when the Mughals had taken Daulatabad in 1632 A.D. and Aurangzeb had been appointed the viceroy of the Deccan. The Bijapur rulers were yet another source of trouble. In 1638 A.D. Raṇadullā Khan, the Bijapur general, along with Shahji, fell on the capital, but the invading army was repulsed. The Nayaks of Madura, Ikkēri and Nāgamaṅgala, who attempted to create trouble were put down. Kaṇṭhīrava took the offensive himself and reduced Kāvēripuram in Coimbatore District, Haṁpāpura, Kuṇigal, Ratnagiri, Daṇāyakanakōṭe, Saṭimaṅgala, Hosur and Yelahaṅka. His conquests extended to the frontiers of Ikkēri, Chitradurga and Sīrā. In his administrative reforms, Kaṇṭhīrava removed the *daḷavoy* Vikrama-rāja, established a mint at Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa and opened the Baṅgāradoḍḍi canal.

His successor was Dodḍadēvarāja (1659-73 A.D.) who was the contemporary of Shivaji and Aurangzeb. He extended the territory, constructed the one thousand steps up the Chāmuṇḍi hills, opened choultries, shelters, ponds and planted shade trees. His reign witnessed the European contact with Mysore, when a French agent Falcon came to Mysore from Tellicherry in June 1671 A.D. to conclude a treaty with the Rāja.

Chikkadēvarāja's (1673-1704 A.D.) reign witnessed momentous changes. He made Mysore a dominant power in the South. The Mughal-Maratha rivalry offered Chikkadēvarāja the golden opportunity to stabilize and extend his own power. He aligned himself with the Mughals to check the Marathas who already came as close as Bangalore which had become Shahji's *jāgir*, and also the Bijapuris who carried on

frequent incursions into Mysore. He first put down smaller powers like those of Basappa-nāyaka of Ikkēri and Chokkanātha of Madura. In 1675 A.D. Shivaji attempted to besiege Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa, but Chikkadēvarāja defended the fort so well that the Marathas were repulsed. This was certainly a big victory, for Chikkadēvarāja was crossing swords with the military genius of his times. This victory prompted him to assume the title *apratimavīra*. Likewise, when the Bijapuris attempted to seize parts of Tumkur and Bangalore, he defeated them. In 1687 A.D. he purchased Bangalore from Ēkōji. He knew that accepting Mughal suzerainty meant acknowledging their authority only in theory which was far better than subjecting his territory to frequent incursions from the Marathas and the Bijapuris. He contacted therefore the Mughal governor at Sirā and in 1699 A.D. took the important decision of sending an embassy to Aurangzeb who was immensely pleased with the Mysore King and conferred on him the title *Jagadēva*. This title was inscribed on the royal seal of Mysore and was affixed on official papers for a long time. Aurangzeb gave him an ivory crown in recognition of his authority over Karnataka.

Chikkadēva overhauled the entire administrative machinery and set up eighteen departments which came to be known as the *Aṭhārā kachēri*. One of them was *Behin chauvadi* or the postal department. He husbanded the resources so carefully that his treasure was always full to the extent of gaining him the title *Navakōṭi Nārāyaṇa*. He put down corruption in the state, promoted trade and commerce, regulated customs and duties and prepared a list of inscriptions relating to endowment grants for religious and charitable purposes. Thus as a shrewd politician, a consummate warrior and a man of varied attainments, he ranks high among the rulers of Mysore.

The period from 1714 to 1760 A.D. could be termed as the regime of *daḷavoy*s who exploited the weakness of the Rāja reduced to the position of a mere figurehead and his minister usurped all the powers. In 1714 A.D. *daḷavoy* Devarāja went to the extent of confining Chāmarāja Woḍeya at Kabaldrug and placing a young boy of five years, Chikkadēvarāja, on the throne. The power usurped by the *daḷavoy* was enjoyed until 1760 A.D., when Haidar substituted himself for Nañjarāja.

The middle of the 18th century saw the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Nawabs of Arcot creating kingdoms of their own. Mysore could not lag behind in this struggle for aggrandisement. The *daḷavoy*s involved themselves more deeply in the national politics of the time. With Balaji Baji Rao as the Peshwa in Poona, the Marathas pushed themselves more towards the south and came in clash with Mysore, Nañjarāja who was the powerful *daḷavoy* at the time, decided to take advantage of the confusion and engaged himself in the Carnatic wars from 1751 to 1755 A.D. The Mysore army defeated the French, killed Chanda Saheb, and released Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot. But the latter refused to fulfil the promise of surrendering Trichinopoly. Nañjarāja therefore reversed his policy, opened up negotiations with Dupleix and joined the other camp. The politics of the time were so confusing that consistency was unheard of. In 1753 A.D., Nañjarāja declared

war on the Nawab of Carnatic and a series of campaigns were fought from 1753 to 1755 A.D. All this emptied his treasury and brought about his ruin. This situation helped Haidar, a Nayak in the Mysore army, who had gained valuable experience in the Carnatic wars. He found Trichinopoly a fine training ground militarily and an excellent opportunity politically, for soon after this war it was he who became the *dalavoy* of Mysore. The next forty years from 1760 A.D. witnessed a different type of regime in Mysore.

Haidar Ali

Haidar Ali elevated the small kingdom of Mysore to the rank of an important power, bringing it in contact with the bigger world. He was born in 1721 A.D. at Būdikōṭe in Kolar District. His father Fateh Muhammad's death brought many hardships to the family until Haidar secured employment under Nañjarāja. In 1746 A.D. Haidar distinguished himself as a soldier and gained the confidence of Nañjarāja. When the Carnatic wars broke out, he gained valuable experience in the art of western warfare. He raised a small army of his own, about 500 sepoys in number and had amassed much wealth in these campaigns. As *faujdar* of Dīṇḍigul, he further consolidated his position. He drove out the Marathas who invaded Mysore. For this and for the money he was advancing to Nañjarāja, Haidar received certain taluqs to collect their revenue and adjust it towards his payment. With the resignation of Nañjarāja Haidar became the *dalavoy*.

Now Haidar turned his attention to the extension of frontiers. When Basalat Jang, the younger brother of the Nizam, invaded Sirā in 1761 A.D., Haidar defeated him and obtained in return a *sanad* for the Nawabship of Sirā. In this campaign Haidar reduced to submission Hoskōṭe, Doḍḍabaļāpūr, Chikkabaļāpur, Penukoṇḍa, Nandidurga, Raidurga and Harpanahaļļi and Chitradurga. But the most important acquisition was Bidnūr, which was rich in resources besides having a long coast-line. His territory extended from Honavar in the north to Mangalore in the south. In 1764 A.D. when Madhava Rao Peshwa attacked Mysore, Haidar had to pay him 28 lakhs of rupees and surrender a few border posts like Gutti and Savaṇur. Haidar then turned towards the conquest of Malabar in March 1766 A.D. and acquired the entire territory from Mangalore to Cochin.

In 1766 Haidar was involved in a war against the three major powers of the south viz., the English, the Marathas and the Nizam. Known in history as the first Mysore war, this ended with the defeat of the English. The English had taken advantage of the prolonged negotiations that were going on between Haidar and the Nizam in an effort by the latter to regain the northern sircars from the British, and through their own swift and skilful diplomacy won the Nizam to their own side, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, and promised to conquer the kingdom of Mysore for him in return for the northern sircars. The Marathas also became a party to this plan. Haidar was taken by surprise. The events moved so fast that the enemies were at his door by the time he realized what had happened. The Marathas struck his northern frontiers. But Haidar disengaged them by paying them a few lakhs and

ceding a few more unimportant border posts. When the Nizam came to Mysore, Haidar successfully disengaged him from the alliance and formed a counter offensive against the English.

Thus the first Mysore war was declared under strange circumstances. The allies (Haidar and Nizam) did not fare well. The English defeated them in a few pitched battles such as Chengam, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Vāṇiyambāḍi, and desirous of conquering the whole of Mysore, they concluded a separate pact with the Nizam who returned to Hyderabad. The English attempted in vain to strike at Haidar from two fronts, from the east and the south. The war continued nearly for two years. At last Haidar surprised them by appearing with a large force at the gates of Madras. This frightened the English so much that they were compelled to sue for peace. This was the first major victory of the Indians over the English who had built up the myth of invincibility ever since the battle of Plassey in 1757 A.D. The first Mysore war was a stunning blow to the growing prestige of the English. The treaty of Madras was a landmark which had serious repercussions both in India and in England. In India Haidar's prestige was so much enhanced that it excited the jealousy of other powers, and in particular of the Marathas, who wished to establish their own supremacy by reducing his power. In England the Parliament intervened in the affairs of the Company and passed the Regulating Act for the better management of Indian affairs. The first Mysore war gave the Regulating Act and the Second Mysore war was to give later the Pitt's India Act.

Soon after the Marathas declared war on Haidar and attacked Mysore, Haidar sought the English help which was one of the conditions of the treaty. The English paid no heed to his urgent and repeated calls. When war was declared between England and France in 1778 A.D., it spread to India also. The English quickly reduced all the French settlements, one of which was Mahe which was under Haidar's protection. It was his main supply depot through which he was getting all his military hardware from the west. Its capture was a serious blow to him as he was cut off from those supplies without which his army trained on western lines, would be rendered useless. Secondly he was offended by the march of the English army to Guntur through his territory without seeking his permission. Incidentally the Nizam was also offended as this *jāgir* belonged to his brother, Basalat Jang. Thirdly the English were creating trouble for Haidar by exciting the Nairs of Malabar to rise against him. Finally the policy of the Bombay Government to support Raghoba for the Peshwa offended both Haidar and the Nizam besides the Marathas as it was too much of an interference in the internal affairs of another country. Consequently a powerful confederacy of all the Indian powers such as had never been seen before was formed to subdue the English. The parties to the confederacy were Haidar who was to attack Madras, the Nizam who was to seize the Northern Circars, Nana Phadnis who was to seize Bombay, Madōji Bhōsle who was to capture Bengal and Mahadaji Sindhia who was to assume the general command of the Maratha forces. The Dutch and the French also joined it at a later date. The English were already at war in Europe and in America. Thus this war happened to be very crucial

for the English and was next only to the events of 1857 in importance. According to his scheme of attack Haidar fell on the English possessions in the Madras presidency with his full might and ferocity. The veteran of the Carnatic wars, Sir Eyre Coote, was hastily despatched to Madras by Warren Hastings from Bengal with men and money to retrieve the English honour. Meanwhile Haidar conquered a number of forts in the Carnatic including Arcot and declared himself the Nawab of the Carnatic. While Haidar was gaining victory after victory in the south, the other confederates tried to undermine him by concluding peace treaties with the English. But Haidar stood firm and the decisive advantage remained with him. Haidar was not dislodged from the Carnatic. He died in the midst of war on 16 December 1782 A.D. He had displayed remarkable energy, courage and bold strategy in the war and had withstood well the fatigue of war at his advanced age of sixty two.

Haidar was one of the most fascinating personalities of the 18th century. Bold and enterprising, he had proficiency in both political and military fields. His clear perception, foresight, resolution and energy would translate his designs into action. His presence of mind and sagacity never failed him even at times of his worst difficulties. His military ability had made him a terror to the English. Alexander Dow wrote in his history, "We were alarmed as if his horses had wings to fly over our walls." His greatest contribution was that he successfully resisted the British expansion in the South and that he unified under one State all areas of Karnataka. He retained the semblance of the rule of the Wodeyar, and he administered the State only on their behalf. The administration of Mysore under Haidar had a "vigour hitherto unexampled in India". Haidar was a remarkable person who gave Mysore an efficient and farsighted government.

Tipu Sultan

Fateh Ali Tipu Sultan was the son of Haidar Ali. Tipu was born on 10 November 1750 at Dēvanahallī in Kolar District, and was named after the Saint Tipu Mastan Aulia. Unlike his father he was well-versed in the different branches of the learning of his time. Right from his early age he had participated in the battles fought by his father. Tipu first came to limelight when he inflicted a blow on Colonel Baillie in the battle of Polihūr in September 1780 and on Colonel Braithwaite in the battle of Annagudi in February 1782.

The short but stormy rule of Tipu Sultan was eventful in many respects. He was the most formidable enemy of the English whose removal from India was his ambition. It was his maxim that the life of a lion even for a day was far better than the life of a fox for a hundred years. Another important feature of his policy was the promotion of the welfare of his people. He never ignored the task of promoting trade, commerce, industry and agriculture. His establishment of a separate commerce department, his opening of factories in distant parts of the country and abroad, his securing of artisans from foreign countries to manufacture guns, muskets, paper and a host of other commodities, his building up of a navy, his novel system of administering justice, his reforms of coinage and calendar and his promotion of agriculture made Karnataka a progressive state in the 18th century.

He inherited a kingdom which extended from the Krishna in the north to Dindigal in the south and from Malabar in the west to the sloping ghats in the east, a territory which was more than a lakh square miles in area. He prosecuted the war against the English so vigorously that they were compelled to sue for peace. Lord Macartney opened up negotiations with Tipu, and sent two Commissioners, Sadler and Staunton, to Mangalore where a treaty was signed on 11 March 1784. This treaty is an important document of Indo-British history which disappointed the English so much that Hastings called it "a humiliating pacification." It struck a blow at the British prestige by compelling them to seek peace on any terms.

Tipu had to fight next against the Marathas and the Nizam in a war which lasted from 1785 to 1787. The treaty of Mangalore excited the jealousy of these two neighbours. The Marathas had not even reconciled themselves to the loss of their territories in the Krishna region. The immediate cause of the Mysore-Maratha war was the question of annual tribute from the Desai of Nargund, Tipu's feudatory in northern Karnataka, who had not paid the tribute from 1780. When Tipu demanded the amount, the Desai sought the Maratha help, and a controversy arose which resulted in war in May 1786. No party gained any advantage in this war, and despite Tipu's advantageous position in the campaign, he treated his adversaries with great consideration hoping that he would secure their support in his struggle against the English. But he was sadly disappointed in this expectation and the English were successful in forming a counter-offensive alliance against him with those very powers whom he wanted to keep on his side.

The inherent weakness and disunity of the Indian powers prompted Tipu to seek external help. For this purpose he contacted France, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. His objectives were two to win their political and military support, and to secure artisans and promote trade and commerce. Mysore held a monopoly over certain valuable commercial commodities such as pepper, cardamom, sandalwood, ivory, silk, coconut, tobacco and elephants which were in great demand outside. He developed therefore commercial relations with a number of foreign countries such as the Ottoman Empire, China, Muscat, Pegu, Armenia, Jiddah, Ormuz and Kutch. In 1784 and 1785 Tipu sent an embassy to Constantinople. In his letter to Sultan Abdul Hameed, Tipu proposed a treaty for military co-operation between Mysore and Turkey. But the Turkish Sultan was too busy in his wars against the Russians and hence he politely refused to enter into military alliance. This made him turn towards the French. He sent an embassy to Louis XVI for securing military aid. He asked for 10,000 French troops who had to co-operate with him in subduing Madras, Bombay and Bengal. This embassy left India in 1787, met Louis XVI on 3 August 1788 and returned to India in 1789 emptyhanded. France was on the eve of a revolution and it was too much to expect that she would come to the help of Tipu. Although his political efforts failed, he was able to build up commercial contacts with a number of foreign countries.

Another war with the English became inevitable. The Nizam and the Marathas seized an opportunity when Tipu gave an excuse to the English over the Travancore

question, to form a triple alliance against him. The Travancore Raja had constructed certain defensive lines with a thick bamboo ditch in the territory of the Cochin Raja, a feudatory of Tipu, who demanded the demolition of these lines but the Raja refused. Thereupon hostilities commenced. A dispute also arose over the sale of two Dutch forts, Cranganore and Ayicottah, to the Travancore Raja although Tipu had indicated his own desire to purchase them. This enraged Tipu who attacked the Travancore lines. The Raja sought the English support and they readily formed a grand confederacy of three powers against Tipu. Thus the Third Mysore war was declared which lasted for more than two years from 1790 to 1792. In the beginning, the allies despite their superior number and resources, could not defeat him, and Lord Cornwallis who had himself come down to assume the command struggled for more than a year to beat Tipu at last on 6 February 1792 A.D. in a surprise night attack. Cornwallis suddenly crossed over to the island of Śrīraṅgaṇa and compelled Tipu to sue for peace. According to the Treaty of Śrīraṅgaṇa, Tipu lost half of his kingdom, paid three crores as indemnity and surrendered two of his sons as hostages. This was a very serious blow to Tipu.

After the war Tipu rapidly repaired the ravages of war, paid the indemnity and got his sons released from Madras. But he never forgot the humiliation he had suffered. He reorganised his entire administration. With the Nizam-Maratha War of 1795 and with the arrival of a mild Governor-General like Sir John Shore, Tipu gained a respite to prepare himself for the next bout of fight. Believing Ripaud, Tipu sent an embassy to the Isle of France to secure the French assistance. But all that happened was the issue of a declaration calling for volunteers to join Tipu's army. Tipu was in touch with Napoleon who had written to him from Egypt expressing his willingness to co-operate with Tipu in removing the British menace from India. But Napoleon himself was defeated in Syria and forced back to France. Tipu's plan to induce Zaman Shah of Afghanistan to invade India also failed as Wellesley cleverly managed to bring about a rear action on Afghanistan through Iran. Tipu induced the Nizam to raise an army of 14,000 troops under a French commander Raymond. But by making the Nizam accept the subsidiary system, Wellesley saw to it that the French troops were disbanded and replaced by English troops.

Wellesley lost no time in declaring war on Tipu. The Nizam joined the English. But the Marathas could not be drawn into the war this time. The English raised a very large army and moved it from two sides, from Bombay under Arthur Wellesely, later the Duke of Wellington, and from Madras under General Harris. The island of Śrīraṅgaṇa was besieged. The English stormed the fort on 4 May 1799. Tipu was informed of it at 10 O'clock. A fierce battle was fought and the superior army of the English won the day. Tipu was killed in the battle.

The most important trait of his character was his hostility towards the English. He was their inveterate foe "whom no clemency or moderation could conciliate and no faith could bind". Even in his dreams, which were recorded by him, he was engaged in a life-and-death struggle against them. He never allied himself with

any foreign element against an Indian power. He never compromised his ideals and he preferred death to dishonour. He succumbed at last, like Caesar, to the force and treachery of a relentless foe, but he did not fail to warn his countrymen of the danger to Indian independence from the British.

Mummaḍi Kṛishṇarāja Woḍeyar

After the fall of Tipu, the British restored the old Woḍeyar dynasty to power, and the young Kṛishṇarāja Woḍeyar, a boy of five, was installed on the throne with Colonel Barry Close as the Resident and Purnaiya as the Dewan. Purnaiya, a Brahmin from Coimbatore, had served both Haidar and Tipu as a minister and had a full knowledge of the previous administration. He increased the revenue by the sale of sandalwood which Tipu had collected. The disturbances caused by the rebellion of the Aigūr chief in Mañjarābād and more so by Dhundia Waugh in the northwest were suppressed with great difficulty. Purnaiya's system of government was absolute and by 1811 he had amassed more than two crores of rupees. But when the young Rāja asserted his prerogatives, Purnaiya was offered a *jāgir* for his services near Yeḷandūr.

The twenty years of the Rāja's direct rule were not eventful in the political or administrative sector, but they were momentous in the cultural field. In the political sphere, three factors namely the wrong advice of the self-seekers, the anxiety of the English to retain their firm hold over the state and the adventurist spirit of the Zamindars or feudal lords to fish in troubled waters, brought about a situation in 1831 when the Mahārāja had to surrender his political authority to the English.

Bidnūr was a rich tract of land where the people were still independent in spirit. Having enjoyed prosperity under the Nayaks of Ikkēri and Haidar, they were reluctant to submit themselves either to misrule or to oppression. The corrupt officials of the Rāja had failed to collect the revenue annually, and over a time it accumulated to a large figure. By 1828 it had mounted to 13 lakhs of rupees which in those days was a great deal of money. In 1830 it was discovered that much fraud had taken place in the management of revenues. When the Rāja insisted on the collection of arrears, rebellion broke out; a pretender by name Būdi Basappa was placed on the throne of the Nagar who received support from the palegar of Tarikere, Sarja Hanumappa, who was a very turbulent person. The *faujdar* of Bengal also reported discontentment among his troops. The Rāja sent his strong contingents to Shimoga, Bangalore and Chitradurga where the discontented palegars were very restive. The Rāja himself set out to quell the trouble. Severe punishments were imposed, some were flogged, others were hanged. Yet wild rumours spread that the Rāja's rule had become unbearable. The Rāja had no alternative but to invoke the help of the British to quell the insurgents. The insurrection was put down with much difficulty by the British troops. Hanumappa Nayak of Tarikere offered stiff resistance until 1834 when he was seized and hanged.

Lord William Bentinck attributed these disturbances to misgovernment by the Rāja. A special committee was appointed to enquire into the affairs. This committee

was of the view that the Rāja was unable to pay even the subsidiary amount. The Rāja was therefore deposed and the entire administration was transferred to the hands of the British officers. Two Commissioners were nominated to take charge of the administration. The Rāja was given a sum of one lakh of star *pagodas* per annum for his private expenses. The Rāja handed over power on 19 October 1831 to the two Commissioners, the senior of whom was appointed by the Government of India and the junior by the Government of Madras.

Despite the fact that there were a few lapses in the Rāja's administration, his deposition was highhanded. The Resident who was supposed to advise him on all matters had remained silent all along until the affairs went out of hand. It only indicates the expansionist policy of the Company which would not hesitate to take the extreme step of deposing the Rāja however loyal he might be. Even if a rebellion had occurred, it was no excuse to annex the state. The role of Madras Government which sent alarming reports to Bentinck was more sinister, and was dictated by a "selfish, grasping and hollow" policy.

During the twenty years of the Rāja's administration, the State had been divided into six *faujdaris* or divisions and 125 taluks. The *faujdāris* were Bangalore, Madhugiri, Chitradurga, Ashtaṅgrāma, Manjarābād and Nagar. The Dewan was the head of the administration which was organized into 18 departments. At the State level there was one *Subēdār*, one *Pēshkar*, two *Serishtedārs*, one *Munshi*, one *Khilledār*, one *Thānedār* and one postal peon. The form of government was personal autocracy. The Dewan was the chief adviser to the Rāja. He was vested with the power to appoint important officers of the State although the Rāja's consent was necessary for the formal issue of orders. The *faujdār* was in charge of maintaining peace in the State, collected the revenues and was something like our modern Divisional Commissioner. He had under him a number of *Amildārs*, and under each *Amildār* there were a number of *Shaikdārs* or Revenue-Inspectors. The finances of the State were classified under two heads, the *Āyhe* and *Sivāyi*. The *Āyhe* sources were land revenue, excise, forest, and miscellaneous. The *Sivāyi* head consisted of items as unclaimed property, fines, sale of cattle, *nazrāna*, recovery of embezzled money and so on. In the capital the police was aided by the infantry. The judiciary included a *Sadar* court at Mysore with two *bakshis* as its head with inferior courts each of them under two *Hakims*. The *Sadar* court heard and decided civil cases above Rs. 500/-. It received reports of the division of lower courts. The criminal cases were decided in the court of the Magistrate. The penalty inflicted for serious offences was corporal punishment. The *Huzūr adālat* tried those accused of serious offences. Mutilation of hands and feet, noses and ears were inflicted even in cases of ordinary theft, while thumb screws and ear pincers were resorted to for minor offences.

His rule was very noteworthy in the cultural field. He evinced personal interest in the promotion of art and letters. He was himself a man of high cultural refinement with a pleasant and dignified appearance. His court was adorned by poets, scholars, musicians and astrologers. He was the author of such works as *Dasara-*

thanandanacharita, *Grahaṇadarpaṇa*, *Saṅkhyāratnakōśa* and *Chaturāṅgasārasarvasva*. Other important works composed at this time in literary, scientific and astronomical fields were *Svarṇachūdāmaṇi*, *Saugandhikā-pariṇaya*, *Laghunighaṇṭu* and *Sūryachandra-varṇśāvali*. Poets and scholars such as Ramakrishna Sastri, Basavappa Sastri, Venkatarama Sastri and Śrīnivāsa Kavi, Tirumalarāya, Shantharāja Paṇḍita, Kempunārāyaṇa, Thammaiah, Naṇjuṇḍa, Aḷiya Liṅgarāju and Dēvi-chandra adorned his court. Kannada drama was enriched by rendering the classic works of both the east and the west into the regional language. Kempunārāyaṇa wrote his *Mudrūmanjūsha* based on the old work, *Mudrārākshasa* of Viśākhadatta. Basavappa Sastri rendered into Kannada not only the Sanskrit dramas of dramatists such as Kālidāsa, Śrī Harsha, Bhavabhūti but also Shakespeare's *Othello*. Fiction, novels, stories and poetry received great encouragement at the hands of the Rāja. His own son-in-law, Liṅgarāju, was a great name in the literary world of Kannada. In short the Rāja's reign witnessed a renaissance in Kannada language and literature, and the Rāja has been rightly called *Kannaḍa-Bhōjarāja* or the Prince of Kannada language.

The Rāja bestowed liberal grants on religious and educational institutions such as the Saraswati Bhaṇḍāram which collected and preserved oriental manuscripts of rare value. He established a school in 1833 to provide English education and later on opened in 1866 another school known as Maharaja High school. He founded a hospital in Mysore city based on the western system of medicine, made liberal grants to temples such as at Śivagaṅga, Mēlukōṭe and Naṇjanagūḍ, presented jewellery to gods and goddesses, built *gōpurams* to temples and set up *agrahūras*. A number of musicians also adorned his court.

Commissioner's Rule: Sir Mark Cubbon

After the deposition of the Rāja, power was shifted to the Commissioners who were at first two in number but it was soon realized that this arrangement would not work. Only one Commissioner, Colonel Morison was therefore appointed in 1834 for the whole of the State. Two months later in June 1834, Mark Cubbon took charge of the administration and remained in office until he resigned in 1861. He was the son of a clergyman from the Isle of Man in England which was the place of Major Wilks, the author of the *History of Mysore* and the uncle of Cubbon. His administrative skill made his regime memorable in Mysore. He put an end to the abuses that had crept into the Rāja's administration, promoted trade and commerce by removing the impediments in their way, relieved the cultivators from the oppressive extortions of corrupt officials, improved the revenue system by encouraging ryotwari land tenure, developed the resources of the State and set up an efficient judicial system. The thirty years of his administration which is known as the Non-Regulation System (1831-1855) witnessed great changes almost in every Department of State.

Transition Period (1856-1862)

The second phase of the Commissioner's rule is known as the Transition Period.

Lord Dalhousie who visited Mysore in 1855 initiated some changes. A Judicial Commissioner was to relieve the Commissioner of some of his duties. Public Works and Education Departments were set up. Taxes were revised and modified. During this transitional period the native system was thoroughly overhauled as a prelude to more drastic changes known as the Regulated System. The State was divided into three Divisions, Nandidurga, Ashtaṅgrāma and Nagar. Nandidurga included Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur. Ashtaṅgrāma included Mysore and Hassan Districts and Nagar had Shimoga, Kadur and Chitradurga. A simple but complete code of rules was issued for the guidance of the *Amildārs*. The penal code and the code of criminal procedure defined offences, prescribed punishments and regulated procedures. Europeans tried cases as magistrates and judges. Jail discipline was also toned up. The budget system of accounts was introduced. English forms and figures were made use of. Currency notes were brought into use and miscellaneous coins were withdrawn. In 1861 Cubbon took ill and resigned. He died at Suez on his way home in April 1861.

Regulation System (1863–1881)

In 1862 L.B. Bowring took charge as the New Commissioner and remained in office until 1870. During this period many radical changes were introduced. In 1863 the land revenue survey and settlement was undertaken for fixing a fair land tax for 30 years so that the ryots could have a fairly permanent assessment. An Inam Commission was formed to enquire into the validity of titles. The construction of irrigation channels received attention. Education was greatly extended. Municipalities were established.

Meanwhile the events of 1857 made the English realise that they should pay heed to the aspirations of the people. The Rāja took advantage of this situation and petitioned the British government for a change of policy. In June 1865 he adopted a scion of his family, Chāmarājendra, a lad of two years, to succeed him. In 1866 a deputation headed by Sir H. Rawlinson met the Secretary of State for India to urge upon him the reconsideration of the Mysore question. Another petition signed by several old Indian officers was submitted by John Mill praying for the establishment of a native government. In April 1867 Lord Cranborne, the Secretary of State (later Marquis of Salisbury) announced in the House of Commons the decision of the Disraeli government to hand over power to the adopted son when he came of age. During the period of the minority of this prince, the Commissioner was to continue to rule. Although this decision gave a fatal blow to the Rāja's own fond expectations, it was a source of great joy to him to know that at least his adopted son would enjoy power, and that the Rāja could die in peace with the thought that the throne was not lost for ever. On 27 March 1868 he died having reached the ripe age of 74. The subsidy he received was almost one-fifth of the State revenue and this gave him much scope for his cultural activity. After his death the Government of India acknowledged Chāmarājendra as his successor, and they promised to instal him on the throne in his 18th year.

Mysore after Rendition (1861–1940): Chāmarāja Wodeyar (1881–94)

When Chāmarājendra Wodeyar attained the majority, the British made over the State under an Instrument of Transfer on 25 March 1881. The Instrument of Rendition made it obligatory that all laws in force at the time were to be maintained and administered effectively. The Rāja was to obtain the Viceroy's permission for any material change in the system of Government. Lord Rippon could not attend the rendition ceremony, but the Governor of Madras, W.P. Adams, was present. The Chief Commissioner retired from service and the Rāja appointed C. Rangacharlu as his Dewan with a council of two members to assist him. He issued a proclamation confirming the appointment of all existing officers. The subsidy to be paid to the British was fixed as 35 lakhs of rupees, and the island of Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa was handed over to the Rāja.

With the assumption of power by the Rāja, the era of Dewanship begins in Mysore. The prosperity or advancement of the State depended on the policy adopted by the successive Dewans, the first of whom C. Rangacharlu, a śrīvaiṣṇava brahmin from Tanjore. The most significant event of Rangacharlu's Dewanship was the establishment of a Representative Assembly which was proclaimed on 25 August 1881. The principle of government with the consent of the people was accepted when this Assembly, being the first of its kind among the native states of India met on 7 October 1881. It became the permanent feature of the Mysore administration. It consisted of the representatives of the landlords and merchants from all parts of the State. The Dewan was to place before the Assembly a Report of the administration during the previous year along with a programme of action for the following year. The purpose was to collect the views of the people and to redress their grievances. In the first year almost 144 members, who were landlords and merchants, were invited. In the initial stages there was no election and no discussion. In the Session held in 1882 Rangacharlu spoke on the importance of self-government. This Assembly is the earliest in the history of India as even the Indian Legislative Council did not gain the right of election until 1902. From 1885 the members were selected by the local and Municipal Boards, from 1887 a property qualification was introduced, in 1890 the principle of election was conceded, and the number of members increased steadily from 144 in 1881 to 154 in 1883, to 183 in 1884, to 198 in 1885 and to 279 in 1886. As the scope of the Assembly increased, the administration began to look upon it with suspicion. But the purpose of both the Assembly and the Government was just the same namely to advance the interests of the people.

Sir K. Seshadri Iyer

On the death of Rangacharlu in 1883, Seshadri Iyer, a smārtha brahmin from Palghat became the Dewan from 1883 to 1901. His Land Revenue Code improved the finances and his Elementary and Secondary Education Policy introduced the study of both the regional and European languages. Women's education was started, higher education fostered and engineering and medical faculties were established. Railways and irrigation works received great attention. By 1884 the first 140 miles

of the railway was completed. The extension of the railway upto Harihar was entrusted to Madras and Southern Maratha Company. The important industry of gold mining took firm roots. In 1894 a geological survey was undertaken to explore the mineral deposits in the State. A sum of Rs. 67 lakhs was spent on the building of roads. The number of municipalities rose from 83 to 107. Special attention was paid to sanitation, watersupply and drainage schemes. A system of insurance was introduced. Chāmarāja Woḍeyar died on 28 December 1894. Mysore under his benevolent rule enjoyed good government, peace and prosperity, progress in education, expansion in trade, commerce and education and Mysore was placed in the front rank of Indian States.

Kṛishṇarāja Woḍeyar IV (1894–1940)

Kṛishṇarāja Woḍeyar was only 10 years old at the time of his accession, and hence during the period he was a minor, his mother Vāṇivilāsa-sannidhāna, conducted the affairs as Regent with the assistance of the Dewan and three councillors. In 1902 the Rāja assumed full control of the administration. His regime has gained glorious reputation as the golden age of the Woḍeyar rule. With a happy blending of the qualities of head and heart, a high sense of duty, regularity, hard work and perseverance and love for Indian traditions and customs, his deep interest in the welfare of the people, diligent and conscientious devotion to duty, careful selection of the Dewans made Mysore a model State.

Sir P. N. Krishna Murthy and V. P. Madhavarao succeeded Seshadri Iyer as Dewans in 1901 and 1906 respectively. The latter established a Legislative Council where the debates were conducted in Kannada, revived the system of competitive examination for civil services and revised the civil service rules. The most memorable is the dewanship of Sir M. Visveswarayya (1912–18). The Chief Engineer of Mysore, Sri M. Visveswarayya became the Dewan in 1912 and proved to be the main architect of the State. He was born in 1861 at Mokshagundam, a village near Chikkaballāpur, took his B.A. from Central College, a Science Degree from Poona and an Engineering Degree from Guindy, Madras. He entered Bombay service as an Engineer in 1884 and carried out the water works at Sakkar in Sind in 1895. He proceeded to Aden in 1906 to advise on the sanitary arrangements there. He visited Egypt, Russia, Canada, U.S.A., China and Japan and retired from Bombay service in 1909 to be appointed as the Chief Engineer of Mysore. He undertook a scheme of railways which linked Mysore with Arasikere, Bowringpet with Chikkaballāpur and Tarikere with Narasimharājapura. In 1913 he concluded an agreement with the Kolar Gold Mining Company to supply them electric power, but the most important achievement was the construction of a dam across the Kaveri known as the K. R. Sagar. It was begun in 1911 and the work was pushed despite the objection of the Madras Government. In 1917 he introduced the jury system in Mysore. He established the Bank of Mysore in October 1913. Sandalwood oil factories both at Mysore and Bangalore and a sandal soap factory at Mysore were set up. A Chamber of Commerce was inaugurated in May 1916 in Bangalore and its branches were set up at Tumkur, Davanagere, Chikmagalur and Tiptūr.

A factory was set up at Bhadrāvati to cast pig iron. The Tata Iron and Steel Company managed the technical details of the concern. In 1913 an Agricultural School was established. A research farm was opened at Nāgēnahalli for sugarcane and paddy. Schemes for improving roads, providing water, sanitation and health facilities and for clearing rank vegetation of weeds and rank growth, were taken up. In 1916 the University of Mysore was set up for a new type of instruction in science, arts, medicine, agriculture and engineering. This was the first of its kind in any native State. The first convocation took place on 9 October 1918 when Ashutosh Mukherjee, the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, delivered the convocation address. In 1917 a sum of one lakh of rupees was sanctioned for scholarships to backward classes. In short, there was allround development and Visveswarayya resigned in 1918.

The period of dewanship of Sir Mirza Ismail (1926-40) is also very eventful as it was a period of political reforms and Round Table Conferences. His policy was to give priority to economic progress of the State. Improvement in agriculture, expansion of trade and industrialization of the State were his aims. In 1926 he appointed N. S. Subba Rao to work out an equitable system of taxation. By 1927 the State emerged from a state of financial stringency to one of fair prosperity. The total assets increased from 11-1/4 crores to 14-1/2 crores. He worked for the reduction of the subsidy to the British from 35 lakhs to 10-1/2 lakhs. A Trade Commissioner for Mysore was appointed in London in 1927. He concluded a new agreement with the Kolar Gold Mining Company by which royalty was increased to 9.80 lakhs besides an income-tax of Rs. 1.63 lakhs. The steel plant at Bhadrāvati was expanded. The Irwin canal was constructed. A new silk factory was opened. The town electrification programme was launched. A great deal of enthusiasm was evoked in hand-spinning, in railways, irrigation, sugar factory, record of rights, livestock, veterinary and employment schemes, sanitation, public health, rural improvement, parks, buildings and beautification of towns and villages. In 1927 a Health Survey was undertaken under International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation of America. Mirza resigned in 1941 as the British would not permit him to open an automobile factory. The death of Kṛishnarāja Wodeyar IV and the resignation of Mirza ended an era of a very happy co-operation between an enlightened ruler and a wise statesman.

Freedom Movement in Karnataka

Along with the other parts of India Karnataka also actively participated in the struggle for independence. Karnataka was the first State to resist successfully for a time the British expansion in India under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. No other State fought so many wars against the English so successfully. No one else had exploded the myth of British invincibility. After them the whole of Karnataka was dismembered. The State of Karnataka which had played such a vital part in the national politics of the eighteenth century was fragmented and administered by different agencies. Subsequently there was no organized body to launch a concerted struggle against the English.

The period from 1799 to 1857 was one of sporadic revolts by the oppressed peasantry to secure economic redress or by ambitious chieftains to fish in troubled waters. When Thomas Munro was put in charge of the South Kanara in 1799 the villagers offered determined resistance to the English. In the same year Dhundia Waugh, who was a soldier in Tipu's army, rose in revolt. He took possession of some taluks in Shimoga and Chitradurga Districts. Colonel Arthur Wellesley struggled hard for over six months to crush him. He was defeated in an engagement at Kona-gāla in September 1800. Likewise another palegar, Venkatadari Nāyaka of Aigūr in Manjarābād, rose in revolt and Wellesley himself had to proceed against him. In northern Karnataka Munro had to suppress another revolt near Belgaum in 1817 and he had to fight a battle at Kirkee. In 1824 the farmers in Shindagi rose in revolt and refused to pay taxes to the British who sent Stevenson, the Collector of Dharwar, to put down the revolt. But the most important resistance came from Kittur in Belgaum District. Its chief Mallasarja Desai, had two wives, Rudramma and Channamma. The latter was a very bold lady who knew even horse-riding and archery. When the Desai adopted a son as he had no legitimate heir to succeed, the British occupied Kittūr under the Doctrine of Lapse. Channamma rose in revolt, sought the help of the Kolhapur chief and decided to fight the English. Thackeray, the Collector of Dharwar, was shot dead by Rani's troops who captured alive the British Resident and other senior officers. The British mustered all their resources, sent a strong contingent which defeated Channamma, chased her and took her captive.

Another chieftain who resisted the English was Sangoḷḷi Rāyaṇṇa who opposed the British occupation and consolidation of their power in Kittūr. Sangoḷḷi is a small village on the banks of the river Malaprabha. Rāyaṇṇa harassed the English for quite sometime before he was captured. The Rāja of Coorg rose in revolt and imprisoned the emissary that was sent to remonstrate against him. War was declared on 15 March 1834 and by 7 May, the whole of Coorg was annexed. Earlier the Rāja of Mysore had been deposed and the Commissioner's rule had been imposed on the State. These events led to revolts in North and South Kanara. Two rebels by name Kalyāṇaswāmy and Puṭṭa Basava rose in revolt demanding the restoration of Coorg Rāja to power. Certain regions of South Kanara such as Sulja, Puttūr, Bellare and North Coorg supported the rebels. The British however put down the rebellion in 1837.

Revolts took place in North Karnataka as well. The Desais of Jambotee, Bādāmi, Koppaḷ, Nargund, Muṇḍargi and Halgali also revolted. When the Great Revolt of 1857 broke out, Karnataka played some part in it. Surapura, a small State in Gulbarga came to limelight, where Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka, recruited the Rohillas and the Arabs under his army and entered into correspondence with Nana Saheb. Just at this time in 1857 Dharwar, Belgaum and Kolhāpūr rose in revolt. The Rāja of Jamkhaṇḍi joined Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka who fell on the English and killed some of their soldiers. Next day the English captured Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka, who however committed suicide to escape dishonour at their hands. Another conspiracy

against the English was at Nargund in Dharwar District whose chief joined certain other rebels such as Muṇḍargi Bhīmayya, Hemmige Keñchaṇṇa and Ānegundi Śrīraṅgarāya. They mustered a force to fight the English. A battle took place and with difficulty the English captured the fort of Nargund. The Bēḍas of Hālagalli near Bijapur caused considerable trouble to the English. Thus the resistance carried on in several villages of Northern Karnataka embarrassed the English greatly.

The third phase from 1860 to 1920 was constitutional in agitation as it did not profess open revolt. On the other hand public opinion was formulated through effective news media to demand people's legitimate rights. Such Kannada newspapers as *Karnataka Prakashika*, *Hita Bodhini*, *Dhanurdhari*, *Deshabhimani* and *Vrittanta Patrika* were brought out. The ideas of the Indian National Congress percolated down to the masses through these papers. However, the agitation was at a higher level and the Congress itself was in the hands of the moderates who still believed in the constitutional methods of appeals and petitions when the extremists like Balagangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal launched the Home Rule Movement. The people of North Karnataka responded to their call with great enthusiasm. In 1915 a Karnataka Sangha was formed and the struggle became more widespread in the region.

The fourth phase from 1920 to 1947 is the Gandhi era. A Congress Committee began to function in Bangalore from 1920, and similar committees were constituted in Mysore, Shimoga, Tumkur, Dharwar, Bijapur, Mangalore, Bellary and North Kanara. North Karnataka and Bombay Karnataka took active interest in the Satyagraha movement which became very popular in Belgaum, Dharwar and Bijapur. Provincial Congress circles were carved out on a linguistic basis in 1920. In 1921 the police resorted to firing in Dharwar. The Congress Session was held at Belgaum in 1924 and it was a memorable session as it was presided over by Gandhiji. The Chairman of the Reception Committee was Gangadhar Rao Deshpande who was popularly known as *Karnataka-kēśuri*. He was for many years a member of the Congress Working Committee. It was only after this session that national consciousness was roused in Karnataka.

In the princely State of Mysore, Praja Mitra Mandali worked for the Congress. Later another party called *Praja Paksha* was also formed. In 1927 there was again firing in Dharwar. Leaders like Sri R. R. Diwakar, Kabbur and Sadashiva Rao were arrested. In the Salt Satyagraha of 1930-37 the agitation of North Karnataka took a serious turn. Sirsi, Siddāpura and Ankōla played a vital role. The forest Satyagraha, the Swadeshi movement, the no-tax campaign, the picketing of the toddy shops were all vigorously carried out all over Karnataka including Hyderabad-Karnataka. Three lakhs of palm trees were cut, most of the village officials resigned their jobs and even women courted arrest. The police took firm action, ejected many farmers from their homes, seized their cattle and property and the role of Karnataka in this movement was so impressive that Sardar Patel and Gandhiji were all praise for the discipline, courage and the spirit of sacrifice displayed by its people. In 1933 Gandhiji toured most of the Karnataka area which inspired the people. In the

general elections as per the Government of India Act of 1935, the Congress gained a thumping majority. The role of Sadashiva Rao in the movement was so significant that when he died in 1937 Gandhiji said, "His life was precious as gold. Blessed is the mother and blessed the country that bore such a noble son." After independence the Congress honoured him by naming the venue of its 1960 session in Bangalore as Sadashivanagar.

In the old Mysore area the *Praja Samyukta Paksha* which was working as a political body, merged in 1935 with the Indian National Congress and in 1937 the Mysore State Congress came into existence. In 1939 serious agitations started. An action Committee was constituted by the State Congress to take suitable measures against the repressive policy of the State Government. The State Congress met at Shivapura near Maddur, and the State Government was compelled to concede a number of demands. First, the Dewan recognised the State Congress as a political organisation. Secondly, he would take seven Congressmen in the constitutional committee to draw up a new measure of reforms. Thirdly this committee would have the power to advise in respect of setting up responsible government. Lastly the State government would have no objection to the flying of the Congress flag provided the state flag was also hoisted side by side. The second session of the State Congress was held in April 1939 at Vidurāśvattha where the situation went out of hands over the question of hoisting the flag and the police resorted to firing. Gandhiji sent Mahadev Desai to study the situation and he held the State government responsible for the incident. Gandhiji asked the Dewan to hold an enquiry and the Government appointed a High court judge for the purpose. However, many of the Satyagrahis were not released from the jail. The State Congress had mainly two objectives in view; one was to agitate for responsible government in the State and the other was to cooperate with the Congress in its struggle at the national level.

With the Quit India Movement of 1942 the State agitation became more serious. All the important leaders were arrested. The police resorted to firing at Īsur, Dāvanagere, Śravaṇabelagoḷa, Belgaum, Dharwar and Bijapur. Serious agitation persisted in all major towns and cities of Karnataka such as Mysore, Bangalore, Mangalore, Hubli, Karwar, Belgaum, Raichur, Bijapur and Bidar. More than a lakh and a half people were arrested including women and children. All schools and colleges were closed. Flogging, lathicharge and even firing were resorted to. The people defied prohibitory orders, travelled without tickets in trains, pulled the telegraph wires and damaged State property. Īsur, a small village in Shimoga declared itself independent of State control, burnt the village records, removed the Patel and Shanbog and hoisted the national flag. When the Government sent a police force to put down the trouble, the *Amildār* and the sub-inspector of police were killed. The police thereupon took severe measures, set fire to the villages and sentenced nine persons to death, five of whom were actually hanged in 1943.

With the end of the Second World War, a change was brought about in the intensity of the agitation. In the elections of 1946 the Congress gained a massive majority and pressed the demand for responsible government. Meanwhile events

moved fast at the national level as the British were planning to quit India. The Cabinet Mission arrived in India to discuss the ways and means to end the constitutional crisis. The State Congress started a campaign and in January 1947 the Mahārāja issued a message that he would view the Congress demand for reforms sympathetically. In April 1947 political talks were held but the outcome was not satisfactory. With the transfer of power in August 1947, the State Congress resolved to stage what is known in history as the Palace Satyagraha for a Constituent Assembly and responsible government. Strikes and agitations became widespread. The *Mysore Chalo* campaign gained great momentum. Men, women and children participated in it. This spontaneous outburst alarmed the government. On 7 September the Mahārāja agreed to accede to the centre and in October 1947 the first popular ministry was formed in the State under Sri K. C. Reddy. The Representative Assembly started in 1881 became the Responsible Legislature in 1947 and the Mahārāja became the Rājapramukh. Thus the salt satyagraha, the forest satyagraha, the flag satyagraha and finally the palace satyagraha witnessed an unique drama of united effort, selfless struggle, sustained activity and supreme sacrifice. It was a rare revolution which kindled the people's imagination, stirred their hearts and turned their minds from traditional politics to high idealism. The only issue that remained was to unify all regions of Karnataka under one single State.

Unification of Karnataka

With the policy of the Congress to organize the country on a linguistic basis, the hopes of those who aspired after unified Karnataka were greatly raised. When the National Government constituted the State Reorganization Commission, its dream became a reality in 1956. However, indefatigable struggle and sacrifice nearly for half a century had preceded the fulfilment of this dream.

The Congress had been lending its support to the linguistic principle ever since 1905 when it vehemently opposed the Bengal partition. It was at the Nagpur Session of 1920, however, that the principle of linguistic provinces became a part of the Congress programme. In 1927 they further confirmed the idea by a resolution and for the first time the idea of the Karnataka province figured in the Congress programme. Further, the Motilal Nehru Report of 1928 acknowledged the fact that the progress, education and advancement of any province were directly linked with the identity of each unit with its language. The Statutory Commission of 1930 voiced the same opinion that the use of a common speech was a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality.

With such ideas in the air it was but natural that the people of Karnataka spread over nineteen different districts aspired to come under a single administrative unit. The movement first originated among the people of Bombay Karnataka where along with the national awakening, a regional consciousness took deep roots. In a competitive world it was obvious that a linguistic minority in any province was often denied its legitimate rights in the economic, administrative, educational, political and financial sectors of life. Such works as *Karnataka Gatavaibhava* instil-

led in people the desire to strive for unification. In 1929 the idea was first mooted but it had a background of its own. Before the politicians took up the cry, the literary bodies had prepared the ground. In 1915 writers in Kannada had formed themselves into an organization to educate the people. In 1920 Dharwar became the venue of all Karnataka Political Conference. In 1921 the Congress resolved to create a separate State for Karnataka. In 1924 a Karnataka Unification Sangha was started. In 1925 the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee made the issue of unification one of its main objectives. In 1937 the Congress accepted the principle of Andhra and Karnataka as distinct provinces. Besides even the Government of India Act of 1935 had accepted this principle in theory.

The movement was kept alive by the public through their different organizations such as Karnataka Sangha, Karnataka Vidyavardhaka Sangha, Karnataka Chamber of Commerce, the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committees and numerous other associations, which were more than one hundred in number. Journalists, lawyers, literary persons in addition to politicians never forgot the issue. The medium of newspapers and periodicals roused the consciousness among the masses. On an appeal from the All Karnataka Unification League, 10 October 1937 was observed throughout Karnataka as the "Unification Day". Meetings were held all over the Kannada areas and signatures were collected for a petition urging the immediate formation of Karnataka. Gandhiji also blessed the idea. N. C. Kelkar urged the starting of a separate University. In 1938 both Bombay and Madras legislatures passed a resolution for the creation of a new province amalgamating all Kannada speaking areas of these presidencies with the Central State of Mysore.

The death of Potti Srramulu of Andhra in December 1952 was a crucial factor in compelling the Congress to concede the demand of linguistic provinces and Andhra State came into existence. With this it was merely a question of time before other States came into being. Justice Wanchoo was appointed to enquire and report on the formation of other States. But the Government hesitated to take any hasty decision relating to Karnataka. This was because of the fact that a section of the Kannadigas was not so enthusiastic. The princely State of Mysore and the Coorg area did not favour the formation of a composite State. The Wanchoo Report suggested that Bellary should be handed over to Mysore and it was accordingly done. Meanwhile Justice Misra was appointed to report on the same issue. However, the most decisive Commission on the States Reorganization was the Fazl Ali Commission.

In December 1953 Pandit Nehru announced in Parliament the appointment of a High Power Commission consisting of Syed Fazl Ali as the Chairman, Sardar K. M. Panikkar and Pandit H. N. Kunzru as members to examine the whole issue in a thorough manner and submit a report. The Report was submitted in October 1955. This Commission recommended the division of the whole country into 14 major States, and a few small strategic States. Having sponsored the linguistic principle nearly for half a century, it was difficult for them to reverse the direction after winning independence. This Commission brought into reality the dream of

the Kannadigas. It comprised into one State the areas of Bidar, Raichur and Gulbarga from the Hyderabad State, Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and North Kanara from the Bombay State, the South Kanara and the taluk of Kollegal from the Madras State the whole of the "C" State of Coorg and also of the "B" State of Mysore. This does not mean that all areas where Kannada is spoken were brought under one unit. Many portions on the border were still left out such as Kāsaragōḍu, Hosūr, Kolhāpūr, Shōlāpūr, South Satara, Maḍakaśira, Jath, Ummarga, Naladurga, Rāyadurga, Adavāni, Ālūr, Akkalakōṭ, Tālavāḍi and the Nilgiris which are prominently Kannada pockets. The Commission insisted that it was humanly impossible to devise any foolproof scheme. If Karnataka did not get all that it wanted, it got certain other parts which were seriously contested by others such as Belgaum which is exciting passion on either side even today. The S. R. C. rightly argued that the Maharashtrians had conceded Belgaum to be a Karnataka District ever since 1924 when the first All India Congress Committee Session in Karnataka was held. Even earlier from the days of the Karnataka Movement in 1906 this area was acknowledged by Maharastrians as a part of Karnataka. They had given in writing in 1924 that it belonged to Karnataka. Likewise Kolar District has a Telugu majority of 54 per cent and the Kannadigas barely 21 per cent but in view of its long association with Karnataka, it was merged with this State.

Thus came into existence the State of Karnataka on 1 November 1956. It was the result of a long struggle through different media—the Kannada Sahitrya Parishad, literary conferences, political agitation, Congress policy, administrative necessity, constant propanganda through press and the individual efforts of Kannada writers as Alur Venkata Rao, Kadapa Raghavendra Rao, B. M. Srikantaiah, D. R. Bendre, K. V. Puttappa and Huyilgola Narayana Rao. Prominent political figures like R. R. Diwakar, B. N. Datar, U. Rama Rao, K. R. Karanth, R. Nagan Gowda and leaders of the princely State of Mysore such as S. Nijalingappa, H. C. Dasappa and K. Hanumanthaiah helped the movement. The fast unto death of Annadanappa Doddameti of Dharwar was the decisive factor for Nehru's announcement in Parliament of the appointment of the Fazl Ali Commission.

The unification of Karnataka was a great victory to the people of this region. What was a small State became two and a half times bigger overnight consisting of 19 districts. The Rājapramukh became the Governor, and in 1973 the name was also changed from Mysore into Karnataka. The concept of a poet that Karnataka is the land between Godavari and Kaveri came to be almost realized although some border disputes still remain to be solved. It is hoped that these issues will be amicably settled before long and that Karnataka would march ahead on the path of progress in all spheres of life.

HISTORY OF SOUTH INDIA FROM 1600 A.D.

CHIRANJIVI J. NIRMAL

AFTER THE ADVENT OF THE EUROPEANS, no history of modern South India has been adequately written. Thirty years of research in this field has provided the scholar with inputs in the reconstruction of its history. Some of them were generalisations of a region in the process of change and crystallisation. Apart from professional contributions on small areas or regions, little was done to document the shaping of modern South Indian history. It is this historic phenomenon that needs investigation—a need which still remains to-day to shape South India as a field of historical study. Foreign travellers from Marco Polo in the thirteenth century to Bishop Heber in the nineteenth century have contributed to the development of historical consciousness in and about this area. The East India Company's emergence to power was documented by its own historian Robert Orme and James Welsh. The documentation of this process of change and the politicisation of a region and people are very well evidenced in the records that were maintained in a Central Office even as early as 1805.

The Tamilnadu Archives constitute one of the primary sources for the history of modern South India. The earliest documents available in the Tamilnadu Archives date back to 1670. Apart from the records of the East India Company between 1690 and 1857, the Tamilnadu Archives contained records of the Dutch in India between 1657 and 1845, Persian records between 1684 and 1826, Danish records between 1777 and 1845, records of the Government of Madras from 1858 to the present, and also records in Marathi, Tamil and Urdu languages. These records have been classified under different categories such as Government Consultations, Country Correspondence, Special Consultations, Public, Judicial and Military Consultations, Negotiation with foreign powers and Treaties, Reports, Journals and Narratives, Records connected with various establishment and departments and committees and Proceedings, Memoranda and Petitions, and District Manuals and Gazetteers. Newspapers are being increasingly used as contemporary sources apart from epigraphy. These records furnish a wide range of information; there is a great need to publish and make them accessible to the research scholars. This collective memory of the process of modernisation and its recognition and communication will to a great extent determine the new approaches in the making of a historical profile of South India to which sub-parts, parts, sub-regions, regions as a unit are interrelated. In any emerging construct of South Indian studies on the basis of evidence and sources, practitioners of history must allow for the predominance of the political factor.

Vijayanagara empire received a devastating blow at the hands of the confederate Sultanate of Deccan at Rakkasa Thangadi in 1565. The political conditions in the South, after this battle, were in a state of transition. The empire continued to exist till the early part of the 17th century before it got weakened and collapsed. The

empire was ruined materially and morally, and the battle of Topur in 1616 may be regarded as its grand finale.¹ It revealed the weakness of the Vijayanagara empire and the lack of support of the feudatories to the imperial cause.² The loyalty and obedience of the Nayaks in the Tamil country towards the Rayas were put to a series of tests and they showed little inclination to accept even Raya suzerainty. "The Nayak kings in general, were able and benevolent, the greatest among them were Raghunath Nayak of Tanjore (1600-1634) and Tirumala Nayak of Madurai (1629-1659)"³. Nayaks defied the authority of the Emperor and made a bid for independence. The disloyalty of Nayaks, mutual dissensions and the bitter rivalry between the Tanjore and Madura Nayaks exposed the Tamil country to frequent attacks by the Marathas and the Mughals.

Ekoji, the son of Shahji Bhonsle, carved out a kingdom at Tanjore and the Marathas continued to rule (1675-1855) this principality till its extinction in 1855. "Tanjore Rajas were all of them great patrons of learning: some of them were poets and scholars themselves of no mean repute, and charities were on a scale which arrests attention."⁴ The rise of the Maratha rule in the Carnatic is closely linked with the triumphant expedition led by Shivaji in 1676-1677. Marathas established themselves in Gingee. Successive Mughal commanders attempted in vain for several years to reduce them to submission. Towards the close of 17th century the Mughals appeared in the vicinity of Tamilnadu and entered the contest in a bid to gain control of the region. In 1698 the Mughals reduced the Marathas of Gingee and Vellore to submission. Aurangzeb created the province of Carnatic with Arcot as its headquarters. "In 1736 the Mughals established their rule at Madurai superseding that of the Nayaks. The Mughal rule ultimately changed into that of the Nawabs of Carnatic, *de facto* as well as *de jure*. The Nawab's regime over Madurai lasted up to the settlement of the Treaty of the Carnatic with the British in 1801."⁵

Complications were created by factions among the dying Nayaks and the subordinate chiefs. The decline of Nayaks' power paved the way for the rise of 'auxiliary powers'. "The Setupatis, growing powerful in the service of the later Nayaks and ultimately becoming formidable, drifted away from their allegiance to their sovereign as years advanced."⁶ This marked the emergence of local Rajas. "Besides these states, there existed numerous pallams or district held by military chiefs known as Poligars. With the decline of Nayaks, the Poligars asserted their independence."⁷ "In fact the period from the 17th century to the 18th century was the Age of the Poligars in South India."⁸ However the villages enjoyed local autonomy.⁹

In the twilight of the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, several independent states emerged. Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Viceroy of Deccan, declared his independence at Hyderabad and made himself master of all the Mughal territories. He appointed a chief as the Nawab of Carnatic and entrusted to him the Government of the Tamil country. The death of Nizam and the Nawab at Arcot was followed by a period of civil war and struggle for supremacy which kept the country in a state of turmoil. This was the situation when the English and French entered into a struggle for supremacy and by 1763 the former emerged triumphant.

phant. "It is not an exaggeration to conjecture that with support from the Government in Paris and a little more power on the seas and a little more luck, the French might have ruled India for two centuries rather than the British. Ultimately the French effort failed, and a series of enclaves at Chandernagore, Yanam, Karikal and Mahe with their capital at Pondicherry were all that remained in French hands following the final struggle with the English."¹⁰ The succession to the thrones of Hyderabad and Arcot was disputed. The French and the English espoused the cause of rival candidates and confronted each other in opposite camps. Towards the close of the 18th century valiant efforts were made by the native powers to check the rise of the English. Mysore under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan made a vigorous attempt to subdue the English but this too proved futile. Soon after 'princely order' was brought to submission, the Poligars rebelled against the British. They resisted the British intrusion with a planned concerted action. "The suppression of the Poligar rebellion of 1799 and the South Indian rebellion of 1801 resulted in the liquidation of the influence of the chieftams. The auxiliary powers were prevented from offering any further serious resistance in defence of their order."¹¹ The active leaders were Marudu Pandiyan of the Ramnad League, Veera Pandiya Kattaboman of Panjalamcourichy, and Gopal Nayak of the Dindigul League. "The patriots involved in the South Indian Rebellion made a valiant but final endeavour when they recouped their eclipsed energies in the organisation of a mutiny in 1806."¹² During the governorship of Lord William Bentinck the "problem" of the press was "recognised". It was during his time that the Vellore Mutiny broke out, and the press and other manuscript newspapers were suspected.¹³ Till 1818 vigorous government supervision was exercised.

The British ruled over Tamilnadu for nearly two hundred and fifty years. British rule brought to Tamilnadu political unity of a kind the country had not known for centuries. The British restored peace and order and established settled government and their rule was treated therefore as a blessing in disguise. The signs of nationalist political ferment were visible during the 1830s although it was not until two decades later the political activity began on an organised scale with the establishment of the Madras Native Association in 1852. "The introduction of English education coupled with the impact of Christianity and of Western ideas, aroused a new spirit of eager and restless questioning about the foundations of religious, social and political life in India."¹⁴ "By the end of 1830s the Indians had come to recognise the value of the press as an instrument to influence the public and government and were increasingly making use of it for that purpose."¹⁵ Between 1818 and 1855, many Tamil and Telugu papers were started in Madras where the first attempts at journalism in the vernaculars were due to the efforts of missionaries. The first attempt was made by the Religious Tract Society in 1831 with the publication of the Tamil Magazine. In 1855, *Rajavrlthi Bodhini* edited by Rev. P. Percival was published. It was a journal of domestic and foreign Intelligence. In 1711 the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge sent out a press with Roman types to Tranquebar accompanied by a German printer who died on the way. The press and type together with a stock of paper landed at Tranquebar in August 1712. In

the meantime Ziegenbalg had sent specimens of Tamil characters to Halle in Germany where a fount was cut and cast. The Apostle's Creed was the first book entirely printed in Tamil. There were more printers. One of them Adler proved to be an inventor as a letter-founder and a mechanic. He also set up the first paper mill in India at a place called Porciar in the South. From small beginnings the press had survived and had become an established institution, and literally by the labour of their hands they had forged an instrument whose potentialities in a changing and developing society were yet to be realised. No "national" papers existed though. The *Crescent* of Gajulu Lakshminarasu Chetty, of 2nd October 1844 was a precursor. He was the first publicist of and agitator of Madras. The *Crescent* was issued for the first time in October 1844. Gajulu Lakshminarasu Chetty who was the main pillar of the Madras Native Association was nurtured in the prolonged conflict between the Hindus and the missionaries. Official involvement was resented by the Hindus.¹⁶

In the midst of this growing conflict, the Hindus held a protest meeting in the city of Madras. In a petition to the Court of Directors, they attacked the missionaries and officials. The early stages of political activities were dominated by protest meetings and petitions. An opportune moment arose for the public to present their grievances to the British Parliament. Prior to the renewal of the Charter in 1853, an inquiry was made into the affairs of the company. By then, the British Indian Association was formed at Calcutta on 29 October 1851, and the declared object of the Association was "to promote the improvement and efficiency of the British Indian Government by every legitimate means in its power, and thereby to advance the common interest of Great Britain and India, and ameliorate the condition of the native inhabitants of the subject country."¹⁷ A branch of this British Indian Association was formed at Madras on 26 February 1852, and this gave a filip to the organisation of political associations. The treatment meted out to this organisation as a subordinate one by the parent association compelled them to sever its connections with Calcutta. Consequently Lakshmana Chetty and other prominent leaders joined together to form an independent organisation called the Madras Native Association in July 1852 and sent a petition to the British Parliament in 1852. Madras Native Association and the Madras Hindu Debating Society evinced an ardent desire for administrative and political reforms and gradually won the sympathy and support of the people.¹⁸ This petition and the subsequent developments brought the Madras Native Association into direct conflict with the Madras Government officials. The Madras Government officials made an allout attempt to frustrate the Madras Native Associations' efforts to form branch organisations in the districts. After a decade of political activities the Madras Native Associations shrank into obscurity. A splinter group sprang out of this in November 1852 which took up the cause of social reform.

The outbreak of 1837 did not disturb Tamilnadu. The explanation for this is to be found in the evidence that the people of this region showed no inclination to gain their political ends through radical violence. However, they sought to secure

political reforms through peaceful and constitutional methods. A few signs of localised tense situations were noticed but these were not of the nature of an uprising. As a measure of precaution, restrictions were imposed on the entry of foreigners into Madras and a few members of certain royal families had been arrested. All those who were in possession of seditious leaflets were arrested and prosecuted. Some copies of a proclamation and letters urging the Nizam and his minister to begin a holy war against the English were seized from "Mussalmans" in Madras City. Military posts were established in Madras City and a volunteer Corps was enrolled since the British were afraid of the muslim population of Madras City because of the abolition of the Nawabship of the Carnatic. On the other hand, addresses were sent by the public to the Government expressing their loyalty. A relief fund was raised by the public to help the European Government officials, merchants and traders affected by the outbreak. As regards the Madras Army, with one solitary exception, the conduct of the entire native Army of Madras furnished a gratifying instance of loyalty and fidelity during the year of mutiny and treachery. However, the Government, in Act XIV of 1857 armed officials with powers to try offences against the State.

Loyalty to established authority blinded a few to their political advancement. The abolition of East India Company's rule was welcomed in the direct assumption of the Government of India by Queen Victoria. The fight for independence was lost but the war for responsible Government continued. Signs of the changing times were evidenced in the local level in the attempts to foster self-government institutions, by the introduction of the Towns Improvement Acts of 1865 and 1871, the District Municipalities Act of 1884 and the Local Boards Acts of 1871 and 1844.... These Acts created Municipalities and Local Boards which contained, besides official members, at first a few nominated and subsequently some of the elected members, and entrusted to these institutions the management of local affairs, roads and schools.¹⁹ Consequently the political kingdom was the only untapped frontier. Whatever might have been the defects of the system, it served as an instrument of political education.

The changed conditions prevailing in India after the Great Rebellion of 1857 made the Government uneasy if not nervous about the Indian Press. Yet many both in England and India were against any control of the Press. Sir George Birdwood reading a paper on The Native Press of India before the Society of Arts in 1877 observed that, considering the political and social background, it was commendably loyal. Mr. Arthur Hobhouse, in a minute expressed strongly against any Press laws, whether directed against the entire press or the Indian language press. As a legislative Member of the Viceroy's Council, his opinion could not be easily brushed aside. Lord Lytton who was determined inspite of the opposition, canvassed the opinion of provincial Governors who, with the exception of one, supported restrictions on the Indian language press. The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Governor of Madras (1875-1880) "drily remarked that the offences complained of were statements of unpalatable truths in strong language."²⁰ Sir W. Robinson who

had served in the Presidency since 1842, and was a Member of the Governor's Council brilliantly summed up the case against the Vernacular Press Act in a minute dated 28 January 1878 in which he recorded that a special law as was proposed for the control of the Indian language Press, was not an immediate need.²¹ So Madras, its Government and the people were against it, clubs and societies discussed this provocative measure, but no concerted action was possible as there was no medium that could organise and focus Indian public opinion on such issues. The Nonconformist attitude of Madras made for uneasy relations with the centre. Consensus was imposed but Madras always seemed to strike a different note. Where Calcutta and Bombay had their journals, Madras was struggling hard in their absence. The platform of the Triplicane Literary Society brought together many members of whom there were six ardent youths fresh from college. They were (1) G. Subramania Aiyar, (2) T. T. Rangachariar, (3) P. V. Rangachariar, (4) Keshava Rao Pant, (5) N. Subba Rao, and (6) M. Viraraghavachariar. It was the enterprising nature of G. Subramaniya Aiyar and Viraraghavachariar that led them to establish a paper which fulfilled not only a long-felt need but responded whole-heartedly to the call of nationalism. N. Subba Rao, a founder of *The Hindu* in his reminiscences in 1928 wrote: "As the mighty Godavari five miles wide at Dowleswaram rises in a pool of water in the far-off hills of the West, the beginnings were humble and obscure."²² In the beginning it was a cyclostyled sheet and it was favourably reviewed in *The Madras Mail* and other papers. With the meagre means that the founders had, a weekly was more than they could afford. Paying the printer and purchasing the necessary paper for the first issue only, they had to borrow for the postage for the very first issue. As subscribers came in and quarterly subscriptions in advance were received, they were able to maintain the good work they had begun. It must be noted that *The Hindu* was not started as a business venture with a view to cashing in on news value. Born as a political journal in response to a pressing need, it was actuated by a sense of duty to the country exclusively. *The Hindu* was no doubt motivated by the noble ideal of better government and an independent nation.

It is not known how far the outbreak of 1857 affected the function of the Madras Native Association. However, the special Act XIV of 1857 might have had some effect on the organisation which was gradually lapsing into obscurity. An attempt to revive the Madras Association was made in 1878 but it proved futile. The Madras Native Association was merged with the Madras Mahajana Sabha established in 1884. This was followed by the establishment of the Indian National Congress. "Having been since 1882 the headquarters of the Theosophical Society, Madras felt directly and immediately the impact of that society. The Theosophical Society not only did a great deal to stimulate the educated Indians' pride in the history and culture of his own country, it also provided an example of an all-India Organisation."²³

In 1886 the press began to criticise the policies of the Government.²⁴ In 1887 the third session of the Congress was held in Madras. Prominent members from Madras were T. Madhava Rao, S. Subramanya Aiyar, Sabapathy Mudaliar, S. A.

Swaminatha Aiyar, P. Somasundaram Chetty, C. Vijayaragavachariar, Eardley Norton and A. O. Hume. The Madras Mahajana Sabha started propagating Congress views. And about the same time, district conferences were held annually in several districts presided over by eminent men like P. Sivaswami Ayyar, G. Subramania Ayyar and U. P. Madhava Rao. These conferences organised by local leaders of various communities, Brahmins, non-Brahmins and Muslims alike, discussed important questions affecting the welfare of not only the district and the state but also the whole of India. "The attainment of Swaraj, the boycott of foreign cloth and foreign goods, the encouragement of Swadeshi cloth and Swadeshi goods, the establishment of Swadeshi industries, the revival of Panchayats and the eradication of the drink evil, all these loomed large in their discussions. These subjects were precisely similar to the subjects discussed, at the various sessions of the Indian National Congress."²⁵

Bipin Chandra Pal's tour of the Madras Presidency in 1907 sensitized South Indian politics. The Swadeshi and Terrorist movements challenged the classes and masses to greater participation in the national movement. Annie Besant, the social reformer, started taking active interest in politics.²⁶ In 1913 the *Commonweal* was started followed by *New India* in 1914, which resurrected the old provincial newspaper *Madras Standard*. *New India* had become the medium of the Home Rule and the Labour Union Movements. In spite of Besant's internment at Ooty, the paper continued. Even the Government subscribed to no less than 62 copies. In the year 1916 the Home Rule agitation was further accentuated by organised efforts to stir up opposition against the government by working on the feelings of the student community. The counter measures taken by Government provoked unprecedented outbreaks of violence leading to the implementation of the Press Act of 1910 and the Defence of India Act. A prominent leader of this time was, V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, who formed the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company and Subramaniam Siva, who was his close associate. Subramanya Bharati, the editor of the weekly *India* from 1906 roused the national spirit of the people through his poems. The climax of the Swadeshi movement was the terrorist activities. Although Madras had been comparatively free from terrorist activities, a few attempts were made to instil revolutionary principles. One phase of the terrorism came to an end with the murder of Ashe, the District Magistrate of Tinnevely on 7 June 1911. French possessions like Pondicherry assumed a special importance with the rise of extremist nationalism. Subramania Bharati and Aurobind Ghosh sought political asylum in Pondicherry. The Home Rule Movement and Non-Cooperation movement coming in the wake of the First World War led to widespread political agitation. "The Home Rule Movement very soon emerged itself into the two greater movements of all India importance, the non-cooperation and Khilafat movement."²⁷ The climax of Non-Cooperation and the Khilafat agitation in the South was the Mapilla Rebellion of 1921. The guerilla style of warfare of the Mapillas engaged for more than a year a full brigade of regular troops including detachment of the Suffolk, Dorset regiments, two Gurkha Battalions, a Garhwali and a Burma battalion and a specially raised force of 700 military police. On 19 November 1921, seventy

Mapilla prisoners died by asphyxiation in the rail-car while they were being sent to Bellary jail. Though overtones of communalism and agrarian discontent seemed evident, yet it had a severe impact, and the South was left with traumatic memories. Ironically it was the special police from Malabar that suppressed the Rampa rebellion of Alluri Sriramara Raju alias Sitarama Raju in the Vizagpatam District in 1923. These violent meteors across the Southern skies burnt themselves out and brightly faded away.

Violence had failed as an alternative course of action, and the only other force was constitutional. Gandhi's visits to Madras in 1920s stimulated activities of the Congressmen in Tamilnadu. A noteworthy aspect of political life in Madras Presidency was the growth of anti-Brahmin sentiments and its effect on political controversy. The Maharashtra Non-Brahmin Movement²⁸ was now transplanted in the South. Its development and fulfilment had now become the mission and programme of an emerging political party. C. Natesa Mudaliar started *The Dravidian Home*, a hostel for non-Brahmin students in 1914. Later, he formed the Dravidian Association 'with the purpose of advancing non-Brahmin political power for Dravidian uplift.'²⁹ The real step towards politicisation of non-Brahmin movement was brought into practice by Dr. T. M. Nair and P. Theagaraja Chetty. The non-Brahmin movement entered the political arena with the South Indian Liberal Federation popularly known as the Justice Party. The vernacular press helped greatly in the propaganda of the Justice Party and the influence of these journals cannot be discounted for, though their circulation was small, their readers were numerous and were faithful followers, and propagators of the creed of the journals.³⁰ On 20 December 1916, P. Theagaraja Chetty released the 'Non-Brahmin Manifesto' setting out the guidelines for their advancement and declared the party's opposition to the Home Rule Movement. 'It was not anti-nationalist in its outlook. It was only more moderate than the Congress party and it sought to attain its goal of full responsible Government through constitutional methods.'³¹ They demanded communal representation to the non-Brahmins in the proposed Legislative Council and demanded that the rules should be framed to secure adequate representation for non-Brahmins in Legislatures and in all branches of administration. During the pre-independence period, the Justice Party was in power for 17 years. The Swarajists headed by Satyamurthy attacked the Justice Ministry branding them as communalists as opposed to nationalists. In 1926 the Justice Party was defeated by the Swarajists. The Justice Party lost its popularity after 1926. However, the Justice Party made the first breach in the monopoly of the Brahmin elite, helped in the establishment of the Annamalai University and consolidated the position of the non-Brahmins considerably by giving them the confidence needed to enter the public and political life.³² The total eclipse of the party came in 1937. This period witnessed the formation of the trade unions. The industrial working class was not numerically large in relation to the population but they formed the part of the permanent urban population. The beginning of the labour movement in India could be traced from the second half of the 19th century. An organised movement emerged only after the end of the First World War. The Indian Trade Unionism had its origin in the

Madras Labour Union formed by B. P. Wadia, an associate of Mrs. Besant. The Madras Labour Union was the first systematic attempt of a Trade Union Organisation with regular membership of a mass of Indian workers in an industrial centre.³³

During this period till the advent of the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-31), the spirit of nationalism was kept up by the Congress in our state by continued propaganda. This propaganda led to the launching of the no-tax campaign in Tanjore, the collection of Khadi purses, picketing of toddy shops, several strikes in textile mills of the state, and the boycott of Simon Commission when it arrived in Madras. The Civil Disobedience Movement indeed shook the whole of South India. Its characteristic features here consisted as before of processions, mass meetings, hartals, singing of national songs and so forth in defiance of prohibitory orders. Its special features here consisted of salt Satyagraha, labour strikes, anti-British campaign agitations in local bodies, publicity in the press and in some places even popular mass risings in resentment at the repressive measures adopted by the Government. The Salt Satyagraha Movement was marked by police excesses in the city of Madras in April 1930. These provocative incidents were analysed in a public enquiry of the Madras Mahajana Sabha. A report of the non-official Enquiry Committee was published after examining oral and written evidence in six sittings in May 1930. An interesting citation was that of Mrs. G. Durgabai as the 'Dictator of the Madras Satyagraha movement.' Arcot, Vellore, Gudiyattam and Sholingur in North Arcot and Tindivanam in South Arcot had experienced violent outbursts occasioned by violent repression; nevertheless the movement was characterised throughout by dull, persistent and pacific agitations in almost all districts. The nationalist Press despite the vigorous enforcement of the Press Ordinance carried on subtle national propaganda. Local bodies supported the agitation and ensured its success. In the city, labour strikes in mills and factories were organised with equal success. C. Rajagopalachari had by now come to the forefront in the politics in Madras. He had become Gandhi's righthand man. Vedaranyam was fixed as the chief venue for the salt satyagraha. In this campaign, Rukmini Lakshmi pathi had been the first woman who broke the law by making salt. She was arrested and sentenced to a year's rigorous imprisonment. The salt satyagraha at Vedaranyam in 1930 gave her the unique distinction of being the first woman in India to have received such a sentence. Prakasam and Nageswara Rao were fined Rs. 500/- each and their cars were confiscated on refusal to pay the fine. It was impossible for the Congress to conciliate the communists or "socialists" as they called themselves, who organised strikes in the city as well as in the districts. Indeed they thrived and grew from strength to strength in the challenges they faced in all parts of India. In July 1934 the Government of India banned the Communist party and its agencies on the ground that they constituted a threat to public security.

On 13 May 1935 S. Satyamurthy was elected as the President of the Tamilnadu Congress Committee. On 11 August 1936 Rajaji resigned from the Congress owing to differences with his colleagues. The Congress won an overwhelming majority in the 1937 elections and Rajagopalachari was asked to form the ministry.

Rajagopalachari enjoyed complete freedom in his administration to the extent of undermining the directions of the Congress High Command. Rajagopalachari ordered the police to shadow congressmen, arrested Congress socialists, continued the ban on the Independence pledge and demanded security from a socialist journal.³⁴ During his regime, Sri Minakshi Temple of Madurai and Sri Brihadeswara temple of Tanjore were thrown open to the Harijans. The Madras Congress ministry resigned in 1938 and in 1942 Rajagopalachari introduced compulsory Hindi in Madras. C. N. Annadurai carried on a raging agitation against Hindi under the guidance of E. V. Ramaswami Naicker who launched in 1925 the Self-Respect Movement. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker's campaign against the imposition of Hindi was also a fundamental issue of the Justice Party which brought E. V. Ramaswami Naicker closer to the Justice Party. The reins of the party were handed over to E. V. Ramaswami Naicker. In 1939 E. V. Ramaswami Naicker organised the Dravida Nadu Conference for the advocacy of a separate and independent Dravida Nadu. In 1944 the Justice Party was renamed as Dravida Kazhagam.³⁵ Though a follower of E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, C. N. Annadurai did not hesitate to differ from his leader on vital issues. The gulf between C. N. Annadurai and E. V. Ramaswami Naicker was widening and the parting came in 1949. On 8 August 1942 the All India Congress Committee passed the 'Quit India' resolution. The Quit India Movement remained active in Madras only for two months roughly from August to December 1942. Rajagopalachari by this time resigned from the Congress on the issue of carving out of Pakistan before the passing of the Bombay Resolution. As other leaders had been imprisoned, the people were more or less left to themselves and their resentment in many places resulted in acts of violence. In Chingleput District, the students of the Loyola College and the Madras Christian College staged strikes. In Ramanathapuram serious disturbances took place at Rajapalayam, Karikudi, Devakottai, Thruvandai and large numbers died in police firing. In Madras City even in the face of strong military forces, hartals and strikes frequently took place, and acts of incendiarism were attempted. Hundreds of students of schools and colleges including women students of Queen Mary's College observed hartals, led processions and shouted Quit India slogans until the police dispersed them all. Communists carried on extensive underground propaganda and tried to win over students, mill and factory workers as well as kisans from the Congress into the Communist fold. They formed "Student Cells" and 'Matha Sangams.' Instigation of the workers to make indiscriminate demands and the organisation of strikes in mills and factories throughout the state were the order of the day. The Congress was forced in 1945 to expel them from the party. The Congress attempted to restore lost initiative by forming associations called 'Samithis' concentrating on problems connected with the kisans, students and food.

Popular organizations are no accidents of history and the domination of the Congress scene in the South was due to the leadership of Kamaraj Nadar who emerged as Satyamurti's successor in 1943. Climbing from the lower rungs of the political ladder as a Congress volunteer, he became a party boss who manipulated ministry making at Madras from Prakasam in 1947 to Rajaji in 1954.³⁶ The separation of

Telugu speaking areas from Madras strengthened Kamaraj's position and in 1954 he 'deposed' Rajaji. The creation of the Andhra State was the implementation of the promise of linguistic provinces made by Nehru. Linguistic separatism was thus accommodated in the federal setup.³⁷ Soon after the removal of Rajaji, Kamaraj made his reputation as one of the most effective Chief Ministers in India. Kamaraj's regime saw a stable administration and he continued as the Chief Minister of Madras from 1954 to 1963 when he resigned under his self-sponsored plan which bears his name. Despite the fact that Bakthavatsalam and Subramaniam had thrown in their lot with Rajaji, Kamaraj kept both of them in the ministry. Kamaraj left the reins of office in the hands of Bakthavatsalam when he chose to take up party work under the 'Kamaraj Plan'. Bakthavatsalam carried on the administration but the test came when Hindi was to be used for official purposes. The Tamils felt that the introduction of Hindi would impose a serious handicap on those for whom it is not the mother tongue. Further it was considered that the measure to replace English by Hindi within fifteen years was a gross betrayal of Nehru's assurance in 1959 that Hindi would never be imposed on the non-Hindi areas without their consent. Students started demonstrating against the introduction of Hindi even before 26 January 1965. By this time the D.M.K. had grown in strength and influence. In policy and strategy, the D.M.K. has made volte-face, but it has been consistently involved in protests against Hindi.³⁸ Bakthavatsalam found the language question and anti-Hindi agitation very hard to cope with. Repressive measures of Government made matters worse. Consequently the D.M.K. under the leadership of C. N. Annadurai was able to remove the Congress from power. The D.M.K. was swept into power in 1967 on the rising tide of anti-Hindi feeling that prevailed then. The D.M.K. gave a new political outlook by renouncing its secessionist demand in 1962 and formulated its demand for autonomy as a part of its manifesto in 1967. C. N. Annadurai as the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, was the forceful champion of autonomy. The D.M.K. in power transcended its non-Brahmin origins and through its manifesto, it appealed on less chauvinistic grounds, though its 'past' had been held against it.³⁹ Annadurai symbolized the aspirations of the downtrodden and it is entirely to his credit that he transformed a mere social splinter of the D.K. into a political party, and he gained a position of unique prominence among non-Congress Chief Ministers. He prematurely died on 2 February 1969. However, the D.M.K. has continued to seek justice for a region and sought to consolidate its 'autonomy' even in a constitutional context'.⁴⁰ The case of Telengana agitation in Andhra Pradesh from December 1968 to October 1969 highlighted the new force of sub-regionalism and its attempt to balance the claims of various areas within a state to equality of treatment particularly in Indian economic development.⁴¹ South India and its recent history can no longer remain 'unhistoric' as circumstances are clearly bringing into view the important part that this region must play in the changes that have become imminent in India. This attempt at South Indian History since 1600 is only a beginning in asserting our identity and expressing our role in the formation of our heritage.

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Epigraphy and Numismatics

SOUTH INDIAN EPIGRAPHY—ITS VALUE AS SOURCE MATERIAL

D. C. SIRCAR

IN HIS FAMOUS *History of India* (first published in 1839), Elphinstone observed that in Indian history, "no date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander and no connected relation of the transactions can be attempted until upto the Muhammadan conquest".¹ This is because the Indians of old did not leave for posterity any written history of their achievements. Thanks, however, to the activities of a number of scholars working in different branches of early Indian history, an unexpected wealth of material was discovered and studied for the reconstruction of the lost history of the most glorious days of our country. The achievements of early Indians recorded in epigraphs engraved on pillars, temple walls, copper-plate grants and other objects have proved to be of the greatest importance for the work of reconstruction.

The study of inscriptions began about the close of the eighteenth century while the attempt at reconstruction was first made in Lassen's great work entitled *Indische Alterthumskunde* published in four volumes of about one thousand pages each between 1847 and 1861. The first edition of V. A. Smith's popular work entitled *Early History of India* appeared four decades later.² The progress in the work of reconstruction that has been made till now can be realised by a comparison of the account of early India in a school text-book of about 450 pages published about the middle of the nineteenth century and another of similar length appearing a century later. It will be seen that while the older book disposes of the early period in about 20 pages, the later one devotes an equal number of pages to its accounts of the early, medieval and modern periods of Indian history.

What has been said above is true for both North and South India. The southern areas of the country have yielded and are still yielding considerably larger number of epigraphic records than the North. The great number of inscriptions on the temple walls at such places of the South as Drākshāīāma, Śrīkurmam, Simhā-chalam, Śrīraṅgam, Kāñchīpuram and other localities are almost a peculiarity of the South, such cases being quite negligible in the North.³ Of about the 80,000 inscriptions so far collected from different parts of India, the largest number come from the Tamil-speaking region which is followed in order by the Kannada and Telugu-speaking areas in that respect.

Between 1783 and 1821, Colin Mackenzie collected the impressions of numerous transcripts of inscriptions on stone and copper from various parts of the old Madras Presidency comprising the Tamil-speaking areas together with some regions speaking Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. Walter Elliot collected the impressions of a large number of inscriptions and also published a paper entitled 'Hindu Inscriptions' in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, First,

Series, Vol. IV, pp. 1ff., a revised version of which was later published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. VII, pp. 193ff. The manuscripts of Elliot's *Karnataka Desa Inscriptions*. Vols. I and II, are preserved in the library of the Edinburgh University and in the Royal Asiatic Society, London. In 1885 the Mysore Government published a photographic collection of 150 inscriptions and, in the following year, Theodore Hope edited photographic copies of 64 inscriptions in his *Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore* for the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India. Some more inscriptions were inserted in his *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore*. A limited edition of these collections, edited by J. F. Fleet, was published in 1878 by the India Office, London, under the title *Pali, Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency and parts of the Madras Presidency and Mysore*. Fleet's articles on the inscriptions of this series also appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, started by J. Burgess in 1872. In 1879 B. L. Rice published his *Mysore Inscriptions*. Later he started the series entitled *Epigraphia Carnatica*, the first volume of which appeared in 1886 (*Coorg Inscriptions*, revised by Rice in 1914 and B. R. Gopal in 1972) and the second in 1889 (*The Inscriptions of Sravanabelgola*, revised by R. Narasimhacharya in 1923 and by Gopal in 1973). The volumes mentioned above were published earlier than Vol. I (1890) of the Series entitled *South Indian Inscriptions*, in which E. Hultzsch began to edit epigraphic records mostly in Tamil discovered in the old Madras Presidency.

Karnataka has yielded about 16,000 inscriptions out of which Rice collected 8,869 epigraphs from the former princely state of Mysore and from Coorg between 1884 when he was placed in charge of archaeological researches in the Mysore State, and 1906 when he retired. Vol. I of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, published by Rice in 1886, was followed by Vols. II-XII. Out of the rest, Rice's successor, R. Narasimhacharya (1906-22), collected 5,000 inscriptions and published the important ones in Annual Reports.⁴ These volumes are now being revised by the Institute of Kannada Studies of the University of Mysore. Six of these revised Volumes edited by B. R. Gopal have now been published. They contain also new records which have incidentally come to light.

In this connection, mention should be made of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, now affiliated to the Karnatak University which has published six volumes of *Karnatak Inscriptions* edited by R. S. Panchamukhi (Vols 1-3), A. M. Annigeri (Vol. 4) and B. R. Gopal (Vol. 5-6). Vol. I of this series containing the texts of 69 inscriptions with introductory notes with an index and 5 Plates appeared in 1941. Among other epigraphical publications of the Institute mention may be made of *The Descriptive List of Stone and Copper-plate Inscriptions examined by the Kannada Research Institute during the years 1940-41 to 1942-43* (1961) by A. M. Annigeri and B. R. Joshi and *Summaries of Inscriptions* (1943-44 to 1949-50) (1966) by B. R. Gopal and S. H. Ritti.

E. Hultzsch was Epigraphist to the Government of Madras during the period 1886-1903 and brought out Vol. I of *South Indian Inscriptions* in 1890. Vol. II (1892) and Parts I (1899) and II (1903) of Vol. III of this series were edited

by Hultzsch; but the introduction of Part II was written by V. Venkayya while Parts *iii* (1920) and *iv* (1929) of Vol. III were done by H. Krishna Sastri. A large number of the later volumes of the series have also appeared under the editorship of various other scholars. These volumes include inscriptions in Tamil and Sanskrit and also those in Telugu and Kannada. Hultzsch also published notices of inscriptions collected and examined by himself and his associates, notably Venkayya and Krishna Sastri, in annual reports from the year 1887. In half a century, nearly 25,000 inscriptions on temple walls and other monuments and about 500 copper-plate grants were reviewed in this periodical. Originally the reports were published under the name of particular Government Orders. Later the title of *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* was given to the publication. From the issue of 1944–45, it bears the title *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* in which South Indian Inscriptions form the major part. Rangacharya's *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vols. I–III, Madras, 1919, incorporate in it summaries of all the epigraphs as noticed in the earlier annual reports. C.R.K. Charlu's *List of Inscriptions copied by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras* (1941) and his *Subject Index to the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* (1940) should also be mentioned in this connection. Other lists of inscriptions discovered in different parts of South India that may be mentioned in this context are—(1) F. Kielhorn's *Inscriptions of South India* published as an Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VII (1902–1903); (2) R. Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, edited by S. K. Aiyangar, 1932; (3) R. V. Poduval's *Topographical List of Travancore Inscriptions*, Trivandrum, 1941 (4) A. V. Naik's *Inscriptions of the Deccan* (*Bul. Dec. Col. Res. Inst.*, Vol. IX, 1947–48); (5) M. Rama Rao's *Inscriptions of the Āndhra Dynasties* (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Cult.*, Vol. I, 1943–44), and (6) *Chronological List of Inscriptions of the Pudukottai State* (Pudukottai, 1929). The princely states in the Malayalam-speaking areas encouraged epigraphic studies although the inscriptions discovered in that region are mostly written in the Tamil language.

Out of the inscriptions so far discovered in India, it is said that about 10,000 have been found in the Telugu-speaking areas. Some important epigraphs were published by the Archaeological Department of the Government of the former Nizam of Hyderabad. The Hyderabad Archaeological Series started with the booklet entitled *The Aśokan Edict of Maski* by H. Krishna Sastri, published as No. 1 in 1915 (Revised edition by D. C. Sircar published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh in 1958). Among the monographs published later in the series mention should be made of No. 10—*The Gavimath and Pālkigunḍu Inscriptions of Aśoka* by R. L. Turner (pp. 24 with 18 plates), 1931 (reprinted in 1952). The most significant in the series are, however, Nos. 13 (1940) and 19 (1956) entitled *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions* (Parts II and III) by P. Sreenivasachar in which 56+95 (i.e. altogether 151) epigraphs have been published. The first volume published during the Nizam's days contains the texts of 56 inscriptions in the Roman script with English translation with appendices and glossary and contains no less than 56 Plates; but the second volume contains the texts of 95 Sanskrit and Telugu inscriptions in either Nāgarī or Telugu

characters with a short index and 34 Plates. Compared to the works appearing in this series, epigraphical publications including those of areas outside the former Nizam's dominions cannot be regarded as of importance; cf. e.g. (1) Appendix on inscriptions in the *Kalirigadeśācharitramu* (edited by R. Subba Rao and published by the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry), (2) *Telarihānā Śāsana-mulu*, Vol. I (Lakshmaṇarāya Paṇṇodhaka Maṇḍali, Hyderabad, 1935), (3) Appendix on inscriptions (pp. 1-98) in the *Kākatīyasamhika* (edited by M. Rama Rao and published by the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, 1935). Among recent publications, mention may be made of *Copper Plate Inscriptions of A.P. Govt., Museum*, Vol. I, Hyderabad, 1962, and *Inscriptions of Andhradesa*, Vols. I-II, Tirupati, 1967.

Every year new inscriptions are still being discovered and studied, and our knowledge of the early period of history is being widened. The belief that all important inscriptions have already been discovered and also utilised for the reconstruction of the history of the early period is wrong can be easily proved. Thus the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions, which have been published during the past forty-five years, have added a glorious chapter to the political and cultural history of Andhra Pradesh. For more than a century it was said that the successor of king Pulakēśin I of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi was his eldest son Kīrtivarman I. The Mudhōl copper-plate grant, published in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXXII, 1957-1958, pp. 293ff., has, however, now shown that the eldest brother of Kīrtivarman I was Pūgavarman who either predeceased his father or was ousted by his younger brother Kīrtivarman I. The Nelkunda grant (*ibid.*, pp. 213ff.) of king Abhinavāditya, the son of Ādityavarman and grandson of the great Pulakēśin II, adds a new name to the dynasty and a fresh page to its history. For a long time, the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I of Kāñchī was assigned a reign of about ten years; but, the Vunnaguruvāyapālem copper-plate grant (*ibid.*, pp. 91ff.) of his nineteenth regnal year and the date of his successor's Rēyūru grant (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, 1951-1952, pp. 89ff.) suggest that he ruled for nearly thirty years. Nothing was formerly known about the time when Pallava Paramēśvaravarman II ended his rule and about his struggle with the Chālukyas, before the discovery of the Ujchāla inscription (*Ancient India*, No. 5, January, 1949, p. 54) which shows that tribute was levied from him by the Chālukya prince Vikramāditya II, shortly before its date, i.e. the 35th year of Vijayāditya's reign corresponding to 730-31 A.D. A recently discovered hero-stone inscription shows for the first time that Pallava Mahēndravarmān I ruled at least upto his thirty-fourth regnal year. These are numerous other instances of this kind among the recently studied epigraphic records of South India.

Most of the inscriptions are of importance from one or the other angle of vision; but some of them are more important than the others for the purpose of reconstruction of history. The importance of an inscription is determined by the light it throws on the political and cultural history of the land. Thus great importance should be attached to the Aihoḷe inscription (*E.I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1ff.) of Pulakēśin II (c. 610-42 A.D.) which offers very valuable information regarding

the rise and early history of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi till the year 634 A.D. as well as to the light it throws on the date of the poets Kālidāsa and Bhāravi and to the otherwise obscure poet of great merit named Ravikīrti, who composed the record. Equally great importance has to be attached to certain inscriptions of Rājēndrachōḷa I (1012-44 A.D.) including the Tirumalai rock inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 229ff.) and the Tiravālaṅgāḍu plates (*SII*, Vol. III, Part III, 1920, pp. 383ff.) which give us unique information about the military achievements of the Tamilnadu forces in advancing successfully along the east coast as far as Bangladesh in the east and also about the glory of its navy in conquering certain territories in and beyond the Bay of Bengal. Indian students of modern history, with the leftist bent of thinking, have the wrong idea that early Indian inscriptions deal only with kings and have nothing to say about the common man. Sometimes such a question was put to me when I spoke on the importance of epigraphic records for the reconstruction of early Indian history. Nothing, however, can be more erroneous. There are innumerable South Indian inscriptions recording such things as the death of a villager fighting against cattle-lifters, the self-immolation of a widow, the head-offering of a devotee, the transactions of the village assemblies relating to various matters such as repairs of irrigation tanks for the benefit of the cultivators of a locality.

The story of Chālukya history in the Aihole inscription begins with Jayasimhavalabha, founder of the house, and his son Raṇarāga, both of whom appear to have been small rulers. Raṇarāga's son, Pulakēśin I, who made Vātāpi (Bādāmi) his capital and performed the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, established the greatness of the family. His son and successor named Kīrtivarman I subdued the neighbouring powers such as the Nāḷas, Mauryas and Kadambas and was succeeded by his younger brother Maṅgalēśa who was successful in extending Chālukya power in the west and north by conquering Rēvatīdvīpa and defeating king Buddhārāja of the Kalachuri dynasty. Maṅgalēśa's attempt to appoint his son as his successor resulted in a civil war between himself and his nephew Pulakēśin II who was the eldest son of Kīrtivarman I. Disorder set in and the whole kingdom fell into a chaotic state. Ultimately Pulakēśin II succeeded in killing his uncle and gaining the throne; but he had to face the invading armies of Appāyika and Gōvinda who had reached as far as the northern bank of the Bhaimarathī (Bhima). He was successful in winning over Gōvinda and expelling Appāyika. In the south, he next subdued the Kadambas of Vanavāsi on the Varada and some of their neighbours such as the Gaṅgas and Aḷūpas. In the west, the Mauryas of the Konkaṇa were defeated and their capital Purī was besieged, while in the north, the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gūrjaras were subdued. Next Pulakēśin II defeated the North Indian emperor Harsha in the region of the river Rēva (i.e. Narmada) and became the undisputed lord of the three Mahārāshṭras or great kingdoms. Then after in the course of a *digvijaya* in the east, he subdued Kōśala (i.e., South Kosala) and Kaliṅga, conquered Piṣṭapūra and Lake Kuṇāla and drove the Pallava king behind the ramparts of his capital, the city of Kāñchī. Next he crossed the Kaveri and made friends with the Chōḷas, Pāṇdyas and Kēraḷas. The Pallava army was once again defeated on his way back to his capital, the city of Vātāpi. The details of the rise and growth of the Chālukya empire quoted

above from the Aihole inscription are mostly unknown from any other source so that, if the inscription had not been available for study, the early history of this great dynasty would have remained inadequately known.

To the history of Sanskrit literature, very important is the concluding stanza of the Aihole inscription which says, "May that Ravikīrti (i.e. the author of the record) be victorious, who full of discernment has used the Jina temple, firmly built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme, and who thus by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi." Besides offering us the only work of the great South Indian poet Ravikīrti, the Aihole inscription (dated 634 A.D.) shows that both Kālidāsa and Bhāravi were already regarded in South India as the foremost of Sanskrit poets by the time it was composed.

The records of Rajēndrachōḷa say, "[He seized] Śakkarakoṭṭa (Chakrakotṭa) whose warriors were brave; Madura (Madhura)-maṇḍala destroyed in a trice; the prosperous city of Na-manai-k-koṇam with its dense groves; Pañchapaḷli whose warriors [bore] cruel bows; Māsuni-dēsa with its green fields; a large heap of family treasures together with many [other] treasures [which he carried away], after having captured Indraratha of the ancient Lunar race, in a fight that took place [at] Ādinagara (i.e. Yayātinagara), [a city] whose great fame knew no decline; Odda (Odra)-vishaya which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence; the good Kōsalai-nāḍu (Kōsala-dēsa) where Brāhmaṇas assembled; Taḍḍabutti (Daṇḍabhukti), in whose gardens bees abounded, [acquired by him] after having destroyed Dharmapāla [in] a hot battle; Takkaṇalāḍam (Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha), whose fame reached [all] directions, [and which was occupied] after having forcibly attacked Raṇasūra; Vaṅgāla-dēsa where the rain-water never stopped, [and from which] Gōvindachandra fled having descended [from his] male elephant; elephants of rare strength, women and treasure, [which he seized] after having been pleased to put to flight in a hot battle-field the strong Mahīpāla by the sound of a cock from the deep sea; Uttiralāḍam (Uttara Rāḍha) [on the shore of] the expansive ocean [producing] pearl; and the Gaṅgā whose waters bearing fragrant flowers dashed against the tīrtha (bathing places)".⁵

This account, full of references to the personal names of adversaries, is totally unlike vague praises and must be regarded as having a considerable amount of truth behind the claim. Hardly any of the above exploits are known from literary sources. Similar is the case with the achievements of Rājendra's naval forces which are described as follows:

"[who] having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Saṅgrāma-vijayōttuṅgavarman, the king of Kaṭāra (Kaṭāha), together with the elephants in his glorious army, [took] the large heap of treasures which [that king] had rightfully accumulated; [captured] with noise the [arch called] Vidyādhara-tōraṇa at 'the war-gate' of his extensive city; Śrīvijaya with 'the jewelled wicket-gate' adorned with great splendour and 'the gate of large jewels'; Paṇṇai with water in its bathing ghāts; the ancient Malaiyūr with the strong mountain for its rampart; Māyirudiṅga, surrounded by the deep sea [as] by a moat; Iṇṇasōka

(Lañkāśōka), undaunted in fierce battle; Māpappāla having abundant [deep] water as defence; Mevilimbaṅga having fine walls as defence; Valaippaṇḍūru having Vilappandūru; Talaittakkola praised by great men [versed in] the sciences; Mādamaḷiṅga, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmurideśa whose fierce strength rose in war; Mānakkavāram in whose extensive flower-gardens, honey was collecting; and Kaḍāra, of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea.”⁶

The inscriptions at Uttiramērūr, a village in the Chingleput District of Tāmil-nadu, give us very interesting information regarding the appointment of committees (*vūriyam*) by the assembly of the village elders (*sabhā*). A large irrigation tank, called Vairamegha-taṭāka in the epigraphic records of the Pallava and Chōḷa times, was placed under a special Tank Committee. In 919 A.D., the assembly adopted a resolution (*vyavasthā*) in the presence of a royal official specially deputed for the purpose by the king's order (*śrīmukham*), in order to fix the method of appointment to its committees, five of which were named. The main object was to secure on the committees a fair representation of the thirty wards (*kuḍumbu*) of the village as well as of the twelve streets into which the wards were grouped. The selection was made by drawing lots (*kuḍavōlai*); but it was confined to people duly nominated by the wards according to rules which laid down certain conditions that had to be satisfied by the persons to become eligible for nomination. This attempt to combine the representation of the wards and streets on the committees having failed, another attempt was made, two years later, to get the wards directly represented on the committees without reference to the streets though more detailed and specific regulations were made for the nominations by the wards. This revision was also carried out in the presence of a royal official and was recorded in the form of a resolution of the assembly. Next year, the assembly appointed a committee for assaying gold for all people in the village. It was a committee of eight persons who were chosen by lot out of the tax-paying residents of particular quarters of the village and had earned a reputation in assaying gold. This committee seems to have been created for assisting the Gold Committee of the assembly.⁷

Only persons, who were shareholders of land situated in the village, were members of the *Sabhā*. Persons possessing high qualifications by virtue of their property, character and learning were allowed to take part in the proceedings of the assembly and especially in its executive functions. They mostly belonged to the Brāhmaṇa community.⁸ The assemblies were on the whole allowed to enjoy their autonomy in regard to local administration. Sometimes an assembly referred a matter to another body and accepted its opinion. Often the personnel of the village accountancy, administrative committees and ward-councillors were changed every year by order of the assembly.⁹

Another body functioning simultaneously with the *Sabhā* was the *Ūr* in the villages in which the proprietors of land were not exclusively Brāhmaṇas. At some places, the *Ūr* functioned side by side with the *Sabhā* either by itself or jointly with the latter in accordance with the requirements of the work. It has been suggested that the qualifications of the members of the *Ūr*, consisting of villagers including

agriculturists and professionals, were as high as those of the assembly members, excepting the knowledge of the Vēdas.¹⁰ There was also the *Nāḍu* which was the assembly of a district, though little is known about its functioning.¹¹

The important functions of the different kinds of assemblies were the control and regulations of land-holdings, management of irrigation work and temples, collection and remission of taxes, management of charities, receiving deposits of money and lending money as banks and looking into the cultivation of lands.¹²

In this connection, attention may be drawn to such other types of South Indian inscriptions as the Nāga-stone from Banavāsi, hero-stones from Tripurāntakam and Kalakāḍa, Sati-stone from Dēvagiri, head-offering stone from Mallam and earthen relic pot from Pondūru—all of them illustrated in my *Indian Epigraphy*, Plates XII, XIV-XVII and XIX. The Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription (ibid., p.2) contains a unique seventh century work on musical notations.

The charters of the South Indian kings were engraved on many sheets of copper, and South India can claim the biggest and heaviest copper-plate grants ever discovered in India. The Karandai plates written on 55 plates and weighing about 230 pounds, of Rājēndrachōḷa I contain a list of 1073 donees with various details which throw light on the social history of the country.¹³ Likewise inscriptions mentioning coins and the activities of the various types of merchants' guilds throw light on economic life. Epigraphic records dealing with gifts in favour of temples throw similar light on religious life.

Notes and References

1. Cf. op. cit., (ed.). E. B. Cowell, 5th ed., 1866, p. 11.
2. D.C. Sircar: *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 7-8, 10..
3. *ibid.*, p. 2.
4. For epigraphical studies in South India, see Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1882, pp. ii ff.; cf. Sircar, op. cit., p. 8, note 2. See also E C, Vol. I, revised ed., Institute of Kannada Studies, Mysore, 1972, pp. 11 ff. (Preface), 19-20; also Vol. II, 1973 pp. x ff., xvii-xviii.
5. K.A.N. Sastri; *The Coḷas*, 2nd ed., 1956, p. 207.
6. *ibid.*, pp. 212-13.
7. *ibid.*, pp. 495-96.
8. T. V. Mahalingam: *South Indian Polity*, 1955, pp. 341 ff.
9. *ibid.*, pp. 356-57.
10. *ibid.*, pp. 358-59.
11. *ibid.*, pp. 359-60.
12. *ibid.*, p. 360.
13. Sircar, op. cit., pp. 123-24.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS

V. S. SUBRAHMANYAN

THE earliest inscriptions in lower Deccan are all in Prakrit. An inquiry regarding the introduction of Sanskrit will be very revealing on account of the various factors responsible for the same. This does not mean that Sanskrit was not in use at all. So far as epigraphy is concerned, it may be noted that most of these Prakrit inscriptions are in the nature of short statements recording the name of the donor and the object gifted. Some of them are in the form of labels giving names. Yet, the influence of Sanskrit on them can be noticed. For example, the Karle inscription of Vāsishṭhī-putra Pulumāvi (regnal year 24 - 154 A.D.)¹ contains a few expressions such as *saṁvachchhare*, *divase*, *puttasya*, *ekuvise* etc. This position seems to have continued up to the beginning of the Ikshvāku rule in the Eastern Deccan and up to the emergence of the Kadambas in the Western parts. Nasik inscription,² which is engraved on the left wall of the court in cave 10 is a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

The reason for the use of Prakrit as against Sanskrit is not far to seek. The prevalence of Buddhism, the votaries of which preferred to use Prakrit is the most important reason. It is well known that the Buddhists found Prakrit to be a powerful medium to propagate their ideals among the masses. The introduction of Sanskrit appears to have coincided with the spread of the Vedic faiths, which was initially confined to the elite among the higher levels of the society. This is evident from the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of Ehuvala Charṇtamūla,³ which is in Sanskrit language.

The simultaneous use of Prakrit is however evident from the inscriptions of the Ikshvāku kings of the later period who are introduced with the epithets describing their Vedic affiliations such as *Mahārājasa* *senaparigahitasa*, *Agihotāgithōma-Vāja* *Hiraṇakōṭi gō-sata* etc. But it must be remembered that the donors whose gifts are recorded in such inscriptions had Buddhist leanings. The above mentioned inscription of Ehuvala Charṇtamūla, dated in his 11th regnal year is couched in Sanskrit. It records the construction of a temple for Śarva (Śiva) by Ēliśrī, son of Gāṇḍi and grandson of *sēnāpati* Aṇikki called a *talavaravara* and said to be a devotee of Kārtikēya. It is noteworthy that the donor and his grandfather were highly placed officers of the royal hierarchy. This is the earliest recorded instance of the introduction of Sanskrit arising out of the association of some activities with highly placed intellectuals. Besides, this is the earliest instance of an inscription entirely in verse. The composition is remarkably free from errors. Except for the auspicious formula *Siddham* at the beginning, the record is in verse comprising two stanzas, the first in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre and the second in *Sragdharā*.

Another significant instance is met with in another inscription of the same king. This inscription⁴ dated in the 16th year of reign is all in prose and introduces the

king's genealogy in three generations i.e. up to his grandfather. Similarly, the genealogy of his queen Kupapaśrī commences from her grandfather. Here we get the earliest and the first instance, where three generations of the reigning king and his queen are introduced. Of course, this ancient practice is observed also in his Prakrit inscriptions. This inscription records the erection of a temple of Mahādēva (Śiva) Pushpabhadrasvāmin and also of a *dhvajastambha*. It further records a grant of the village Puṣṭōkedam as an endowment for the temple. This does not contain any imprecatory verse even as it is absent in contemporary Prakrit records. Prakrit language continued to be used inspite of this introduction of Sanskrit, right up to about the 4th century A.D. But, strangely enough, we find the introduction of the imprecatory verses in Sanskrit in the Prakrit inscriptions of this period, such as the Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman⁵ and the Śālaṅkāyana plates of Nandivarman I⁶ from Kanukollu. The portion of the text dealing with the boundaries of the village granted in the Koṇḍamuḍi plates is recorded in Telugu thus anticipating the later day practice of the business portion being always written in local languages leaving the introduction of the king, genealogy etc. for the medium of Sanskrit.

The next stage in the introduction and the elaboration of the Sanskrit portions in the inscriptions is reached in the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallavas, the Viṣṇukūṇḍins and those of the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Kadambas. The tendency of introducing long phrases including the epithets of the places, the deities to which the kings were devoted and also of the kings is noticed at this stage. Even here, we can discern initially a tendency to describe the dynasty in glowing terms and then it developed into a short eulogy describing the exploits of each of the kings belonging to the dynasty.

Though Prakrit has continued even after the introduction of Sanskrit in Ikshvāku inscriptions, the Prakrit inscription had an imprecatory portion in Sanskrit appended to the text. For example, the Kanukollu plates of Nandivarman I of about the middle of the 4th century A.D. is entirely in Prakrit, but for the imprecatory portion which begins with the expression *Bhavati ch -atra (Vyūsa-gītau ślōkau*)* followed by two verses (1) *Sva-dattum para-dattum vū* and (2) *Bahubhir = vasudhā dattā* etc. The Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōḍavarman⁷ of the same period which describes him as *Bhagavataḥ samyak-sambuddhasya-pūd-ānudyāta* etc. contains a prefatory passage in Sanskrit at the beginning introducing the king and the details of the grant made by him. The imprecatory portion is also in Sanskrit. Yet, the record containing the list of donees and their shares is in Prakrit. This tendency of using Sanskrit at the end or, for the imprecatory portion in a Prakrit grant is also met with in the Hirehadagalli plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarman⁸ and the Guṇapadeya grant (British Museum Plates) of Skandavarman⁹ in which the grant made for *Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa* by prince Buddhavarman's queen is recorded. The former contains the following Sanskrit passage at the end.

Svasī gō-brāhmaṇa-lēkhaka-vāchaka-śrōṭṛibhya itī.

Another characteristic feature of the copper-plate charters of this period is the introduction of the place where the grants were issued such as Vēṅgi, Kāṇḍabura.

Vaijayanṭi, Kāñchīpura, Palakkāḍa etc. Further, their affiliation to the local deity is also expressed as follows:

Bhagavatō Vaṅkēśvar-ādhivāsinaś=tribhuvana-kartuḥ Śarabhōś=charaṇa-kamalu-rajah-pavitrīkṛtē Kandara-nṛpati-kulē samudbhūtēna in the Goranṭla plates of Attivarman¹⁰ and *Bhagavach-Chitrarathasvāmi-pād-ānudhyātasya* etc. in the Kanteru plates of Śālaṅkāyana Vijayaskandavarman.¹¹

The use of Prakrit had been prevalent also in the Western parts of South India during the period of rise of the early Kadambas in the beginning of the 4th century A.D. The only Prakrit inscription¹² (discovered so far) of Kadamba Mayūraśarman is from Chandravaḷḷi in Karnataka. It is a brief one like its earlier counterparts of the north. It records the excavation of a tank by Kadamba Mayūraśarman who is said to have subdued the Trīkūṭaka, Ābhīra, Pallava, Śaka, Sēndraka etc. But this is the only Prakrit inscription of the Kadambas.

TEXT

1. *Kadambāṇam Mayūraśammaṇa vinimmiarḥ*
2. *taṭākam [kuṭa]-Tēkūḍa-Abhira-Pallava-Puri-*
3. *yōtika-Sakastha[na]-Sayinṭhaka-Puṇḍa-Mōkari[ṇa]*

It is thus clear, that inspite of the spread of the Vedic religions, the use of Prakrit up to the beginning of the 4th century A.D. in the northern parts of South India was a hang over of the tradition descending down from the days of Aśōka. Most of these dynasties were the political successors of the local feudatories under Aśōka and it is no wonder that they continued to use Prakrit till Sanskrit came to occupy a pre-eminent place.

Among the early Sanskrit inscriptions of this area the Tālagunda pillar inscription of the time of Śāntivarman¹³ (c. 455-70 A.D.) stands out as a shining example of introduction of high poetic Sanskrit in epigraphy. This inscription begins with an invocation to god Śiva and then describes the greatness of Kadamba family. The genealogy of the reigning king is introduced at the end of which the donor-king is described in glowing terms. Finally, the poet introduces himself as the author of the entire composition. It records the construction of a big tank near the Śiva temple at Sthānakundūra i.e. Tālagunda. The poetic excellence of this inscription should be evaluated against the background of limitations that epigraphy has in respect of literature. The limited space on the stone, the necessity to present a few facts of history in the garb of classical poetry and the utility of the text for the public who are supposed to read and be informed were the prime factors that governed this composition. The metrical varieties used in this composition are no mean contribution to the forms of classical poetry. This aspect will be dealt with in the sequel.

The composition is described at the end of the inscription as a *kāvya* by the poet Kubja. The appellation *kāvya* is the most deserving as it has the basic character of a *kāvya* i.e. the central theme, subject to the limitations mentioned above. Two

of the verses are discussed below to bring out the poetic excellence of the composition.

TEXT

*Nānāvidha-draviṇa-sāra-samuchchayēshu
matta-dvipēndra-mada-vāsita-gōpurēshu |
saṅgīta-valgu-ninadēshu gṛihēshu yasya
Lakshmy-aṅgaṇā dhṛitimatī suchirah cha rēmē ||*

(verse 30)

TRANSLATION

“And in his house which contained manifold collections of choice wealth, the gateways of which were perfumed with the rutting juice of lordly elephants in rut (and) which gaily resounded with music, the lady fortune delighted to stay steadfast, for very long.”

This verse is a good example of *Udātīlālāṅkāra* where the prosperous situation in the palace of the Kadamba king is described in very glowing terms. The acquisition of wealth in various forms obviously meant for distribution, the preponderance of the fine arts including music and the scene of the rutting elephants smelling all over the palace reflect the very prosperous condition of the Kadamba kingdom.

TEXT

*Gupt-ādi-pārthiva-kul-āṅburaḥ-sthalāni
snēh-ādara-praṇaya-sambhrama-kēsarāṇi |
śrīmanty=anēka-nṛipa-śaṭpada-sēvitāni
yō=bōdhayad=duhitṛi-dīdhitiḥ=anṛip-ārkkah ||*

(verse 31)

TRANSLATION

“This sun of a king by means of his rays—his daughters—caused to expand the splendid lotus-groups, the royal families of the Guptas and others, the filaments of which were attachment, respect, love and reverence (for him) and which were cherished by many bees, the kings (who served them).”

This verse is another example where the known facts of history i.e. the matrimonial alliance of the Kadambas with the Guptas and other dynasties is woven into the texture of *Rūpakālāṅkāra*. The Kadamba king Kākutsthavarman is likened to the Sun whose race *dīdhiti* i.e. daughters (*duhitṛi*) illuminate the lotuses i.e. the royal houses of the Guptas and other dynasties. The bonds that connect the said dynasties such as friendship, sympathy etc. are compared to the *kēsarās* of the lotuses.

We do not know whether Kubja was the author of any *kāvya* other than the one found in this inscription. The Guḍnāpur inscription of Ravivarman¹⁴ the grandson of Śāntivarman of the Tālagunda inscription contains verses similar in style, metre and the sequence of the subject-matter such as the invocation, the description of the family, the donor-king and the gift, following faithfully its predecessor, Tālagunda inscription. It appears that the tradition set up by Kubja was powerful and sustaining enough to be carried on to the times of Ravivarman. This shows that Kubja was no mean poet though we do not know much about him.

Besides, this inscription gives the genealogy of the Kadamba family. The poetical form of this inscription is in striking contrast to the contemporaneous inscriptions of the Pallavas, the Vishnukundins etc. in which only descriptive epithets almost stereotyped are employed to describe the king and their ancestry. A few examples of the latter are given below:

- 1) *Svasti vijaya-Vṛṅgyāḥ bhagavach-Chitrarathasvāmi-pād-ānudhyātasya Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktasya Śālaṅkāyanasya mahārāja-śrī Vijayaskandavarmmaṇō vachanēna*¹⁵ etc.
- 2) *Vijayaskandapurāt bhagavataḥ samyak-sambuddhasya pād-ānudhyātasya Ānandasa-gōtrasya avandhya-gō-sahasr-ānēka-hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhav-ōdbhavasya mahārāja-śrī Dāmōdaravarmmaṇō vachanēna*¹⁶ etc.

The tradition set up by Kubja survived to the times of the Chālukyas. The famous inscription of Pulakēśin II from Aihole¹⁷ is an excellent example showing considerable improvement over its predecessors, the Tālagunda and Guḍnāpur inscriptions, both in content and form. Here also the sequence of the subject-matter is the same. It begins with an invocation to Jina followed by a description of the greatness of the Chālukya family. Then the genealogy of the reigning king Pulakēśin II is given in detail. The verse pertaining to each king gives the details of the particular events associated with him. Finally, the patron king and his exploits are introduced at length. At the end of the composition the author, Ravikīrti, introduces himself as a favourite of the king and as the builder of the temple of Jina, where it is engraved. The last verse of the inscription runs as follows:

*yēn=āyōji navēśma-sthiram=arthavidhau vivēkinā Jina-vēśma |
sa vijayatām Ravikīrtiḥ kavī-āśrita-Kālidāsa-Bhāravi-kīrtiḥ ||*

(May the Ravikīrti be victorious, who full of discernment has used the abode of the Jina, firmly built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme, and who thus by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of Kālidāsa and of Bhāravi).

We can do no better than quote some verses in drawing a comparison between this inscription and the composition of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi whom Ravikīrti the author of this inscription cites as his forerunners. They are already noticed by Prof. Kielhorn.

Kālidāsa

- I *Pūrva-āparau tōyanidhī
vigāhya sthitāḥ prithivyā
iva māna-dāṇḍaḥ* 1
(*Kumārasaṁbhava*, Canto 1,
verse 1)
- Vēlā-taṭeṣaḥ = ūshita-
sainik-āśvaḥ* 11
(*Raghuvamśa*, Canto 18, verse 22)

*Gaganam = aśva-khur-
ōddhata-rēṇubhiḥ
nṛi-savitā sa-vitānam =
iv = ākarōti* 11
(*Raghuvamśa*, Canto 9, verse 50)

*Bhuvastalam = iva vyōma
kurvan vyōm = ēva bhūtalām* 11
(*Raghuvamśa*, Canto 4, verse 29)

- II *Sa saṁya-paribhōgēna
gaja-dāna-sugandhinū* 1
*Kāvērīm saritām patyuh
śamkaṇīyam = iv = ākarōti* 11
(*Raghuvamśa*, Canto 4, verse 45)

Bhāravi

- III *Sa Bhavasya bhava-
kshaya-aika-hētiḥ
sita-saptēś = cha vidhāsyatōḥ
sah = ārtam* 1
*ripur = āpa parābhavāya madhyam
prakṛiti-pratyayayōr = iv =
ānubandhaḥ* 11
(*Kirātārjunīya*, Canto 13, verse 19)

- IV *Prithu-kadamba-kadambaka
rūjitam*
(*Kirātārjunīya*, Canto, 12, verse 9)

Ravikīrti

*tasmīn surēśvara-vibhūti-
gat-ābhilāshē
rājā = bhavat = tad-anujah
kila Maṅgalēśaḥ* 1
*yah pūrva-paścima-samudra
taj-ōshit-āśva-
sēnā-rajah-pañā-vinirmita-
dig-vitānah* 1
(*Aihole inscription* verse 11)

*Jalanidhir = iva vyōma
vyōmnaḥ samō = bhavad =
ambudhiḥ* 11 (verse 21)

*Kāvērī druta-śapharī-vilōla-nētrā
Chōlānām sapadi jay-ōdyatasya yasya* 1
*praśchyōtan-mada-gaja-sētu ruddha-nīrā
samsparsam pariharati sma rama-rūśēḥ* 11
(verse 30)

Ravikīrti

*Śūrē vidushi cha vibhajan
dūnam mānam cha
yugapad = ēkatra* 1
*avihita-yāthāsamkhyō
jayati cha Satyāśrayah
suchiram* 11
(verse 3)

*Prithu-kadamba-kadamba-
kadambakam*
(verse 10)

It is evident that Ravikīrti not merely cited the names of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, but had really imbibed the traditions set up by the great poets whom he acknowledged openly.

In the meanwhile we find the convention of giving the Puranic genealogy of the ruling dynasties being introduced for the first time in the Pallavankōvil plates of Pallava Simhavarmā.¹⁸ This set of copper-plates contains two portions, one Sanskrit and the other Tamil. The Sanskrit portion begins with an invocation of Jina appropriately indicating that the grant was made in favour of Jina. But immediately following this, the Puranic genealogy of the Pallava dynasty is introduced in a very short form as—Brahma, Aṅgīrasa, Bhāradvāja, Drōṇa (Aśvatthāman) and Pallava. The poet who composed the *prāsasti* was Mēdhāvin. This composition is replete with *prāsa-yati* as may be seen from the following examples:

Śrī Sirhaviṣṇur = jīta-sirha-viṣṇur = balēna
jishṇur = dhanushā = pi jishṇum ।
bhrājishṇu vaṁśam svam - alamkarishṇur = nirākarishṇuḥ
samarēshu dhṛishṇūn ॥ (verse 4)

Śrī Vardhamānēśvara-dharma-tīrthē
śrī-Nandi-saṁgh-ōdgha-gaṇē gaṇ-aiśē ।
guṇyair = agaṇyair = guṇibhiḥ prapūrṇē
gaṇī gaṇ = īv = ājani Vajranandī ॥ (verse 6)

This charter introduces the subject-matter of the grant at the end and also introduces the minister Narabhaya designated as *ājñapti*. The entire format of this charter is followed almost faithfully in the later grants of this family, but with a difference that the Puranic genealogy is dealt with more elaborately. The details of the grant are given very meagrely in the Sanskrit portion while they are given elaborately in the Tamil portion, which, on the other hand, does not give the genealogy. This arrangement of the subject-matter is maintained from the period of this Pallava charter upto the period of the Pāṇḍya and Chōla charters. It is obvious that the details of the grant were not given elaborately in the Sanskrit section because it involves the translation of the expressions in the local languages, especially in Tamil, which was probably found to be difficult. The following passage from Tiruvālaṅgādu plates¹⁹ of the sixth year of Rājendra-chōla I illustrates this point.

Rām-ātmajō Jayaṅgōḍachōḷa-maṇḍala-maṇḍanē ।
pāśchātya-giri-madhya-sihē Purāṇa-grāma-saṁjñitē ॥
vasatē dēva-dēvāya Śaṁkarāya Pura-dvishē ।
Ammaliyappa-samākhyaṇa grāmam = ēnam = adatta sah ॥
prāg-dakṣhiṇatas = tas, purastāch = ch = āpi sīmatām ।
Simhaḷāntakachaturvēdimāṅgala-grāmakō gataḥ ॥
pāśchān = Nityavinōdachaturvēdimāṅgalam = iti khyātah ।
śīm = abhūd = grāmasya Tiruvālaṅgāḷ-samākhyaṇa ॥
Akṛita śrī-mukhalēkhām = Uṭtamachōḷa-tamiḷdarayaḥ ।
vijñaptim kṛitavān = atra Tirukkālārtipichchakah ॥

Māyānasya sutaḥ śrīmān dhīmān = Araneriḥ svayam !

Jananātha-niyōgēna kariṇī-bhramaṇ-ādikam ||

kṛityam = Maṅgalavāyil-samākhya-grām-ātibudhēs = samasta-śaśī !

kṛitavān = ubhaya-viśuddha-chaturīh-ānvaya-sam-udbhūtaḥ ||

(verses 128 to 135)

The transliteration created perhaps more problems than it could solve, e.g. in the Larger Chinnamanūr plates.²⁰

vaṭakaḷavaḷi-rāshṭratō = grahāraṇ

mahita-guṇam Maṇiyāchchī-nāmadhēyam !

alabhata matimān = anūna-sāraṇ

vihita-Tiṭṭaichchutarmāṅgal-ābhidhānam ||

The accent, the intonation etc. could not be effectively brought out in Sanskrit. Besides, the Sanskrit compositions were more prestigious in nature, while their counterparts in Tamil had a more legalistic purpose. But the copper-plate charters of the Vijayanagara dynasty discovered in Tamilnadu do not have the Tamil text at all. Therefore, we find that the entire contents of the intended Tamil portions are given in Sanskrit verse forms inspite of the obvious difficulties. For example, see Arivilimaṅgalam plates of Śrīraṅga II dated Śaka 1499.²¹

chāvaṭau Tiruvārūrāv = ōhayūr-pattakē sthitam (v. 34)

Kīḷkūrchau cha Kulōttuṅga-śrī-Chōḷavaḷanāḍukē !

Parittiyūr-grāmakasya sīm-āntāt = prāg-diśi sthitam || (v. 35)

Kōvilpattu-grāmakāch = cha Tiruvaṭṭachchēri-nāmataḥ (v. 37)

Apart from these compositions having stereotyped forms of texts, there are certain other types of compositions, which exhibit better forms of Sanskrit poetry. These comprise biographical texts, devotional poems, and narratives.

Under the first group come the inscription of Naraiḍkavīra,²² Muddaya-daṇḍa-nātha etc. The inscription of Muddaya-daṇḍanayāka is engraved in Grantha characters on the west wall of the second *prākāra* of the Raṅganāthasvāmi temple at Śrīraṅgam, Tiruchchirapalli District, Tamilnadu.²³

This inscription is prefaced and ends with Sanskrit verses, but is couched in prose in between. The prose passage consists of a long string of epithets (*brudāvaḷi*) beautifully arranged in different patterns such as *amuprāsa*, *samkhyāpūrva*, *akshara-mālā* and *anīdi*.²⁴ Examples under each pattern respectively are given below:

Svāmi-satata-praśarita-viśvāsa-mudra

bhadra-guṇa-śāsaṇ = ābhimudrita-chatur-samudra

*svāmi-samudyōga-bhañjana-taru-bhañjana-prabhañjana
prajā-parivār-āmurañjana etc.*

*Ēk-ādhipatya-bhūshita-pada-pratishṭha | dvi-vidha karma-
nīshṭhita | tri-bhuvān-ābhinandita-svāmi-satkāra | chatur
upāya-vikīta-vimata | pañcha-kṛitya-nirata-pañchavaktra-
kāruṇya-pātra etc.*

*Aśva-hṛidaya-Rēvanta | Ājñā-vaśīkṛit-āsēsha-sāmanta |
īshṭ-ārtha-dāna-vadānya-kara | Īśvara-charaṇa
kiṃkara | urvīta-pārijāta etc.*

*Asur-ādhidāivat = ōpāsana-labdha-vidyā-viśēsha |²⁵
Śēshāhi-bhōga-bhāsura-bāhu-daṇḍa | Daṇḍanāyak-ādhipa-
tya-nity-ōtsav-āraṃbha-gaṃbhīra etc.*

A similar passage occurs in the Kaśākkudi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

*Ēka-purushāya dvi-lōka-chintanāya tri-varga-
sādhakāya chatur-vēdāya pañcha-mahābhūta-par-ārthāya²⁶
śaḍ-aṃgāya sapta-sapti-pratimāya su-guṇāya
Subrahmaṇyāya.*

But this composition showing the prominence of *śabdālankāra* is not totally bereft of *arthālankāra*. An example may be cited from the same inscription.

*svāmi-sampat-kamalinī-vikāsa-mārtāṇḍa
svāmi-sampad-vighātak ūdri-bhaṃga-śaṃbhōli-saṃraṃbha
svāmi-samudyōga-bhañjana-taru-bhañjana-prabhañjana.*

In this we can see an excellent *Rūpakālankāra*. One of the verses at the end of the Śrīraṅgam text gives the name of the composer as Abhirāma.²⁷ This poet is identical with his namesake who is known to be the father of Sabhāpati, the author of the genealogical *praśasti* found in all the charters of the Vijayanagara records.

The next class of composition, namely devotional poems, deserves notice. Most of the inscriptions have invocatory stanzas at the beginning of the record. These stanzas also belong to this class of composition. The most famous among these is the verse given below:

*Namas = tuṅga-śiraś-chumbi-chandra-chāmara-chāravē |
trailōkya-nāgar-āraṃbha-mūla-śaṃbhāya-Śaṃbhavē ||*

This verse which occurs in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* is quoted at the beginning of the stone or copper-plate records from about the 10th century to 17th century

A.D. More such examples quoting verses from the composition of the great poets can be cited.

Vāgarthān=iva sampriktau vāg-ārtha-pratipattayē |
jagataḥ pitarau varhḍē Pūrvati-Paramēśvarau ||

is a verse of Kālidāsa quoted in an inscription of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, dated Śaka 1029=1107 A.D.,²⁸ found at Hūli.

Besides, stray verses composed by the author of the inscriptions are also quoted similarly. The Guḍimallam plate of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya II²⁹ begins with eight verses on Śiva. The earliest among them occurs in the Pallava monument at Śāluvaṅkuppam.³⁰ The verses are so composed as to form a pun (*ślēsha*) applicable to both Śiva and the king. An inscription from Kālahasti³¹ contains ten verses glorifying the devotion of Kaṇṇappa, the hunter, who is associated with that place. There is a similar poem of verses called *Śrī Veṅkaṭeśhāṣṭakam* engraved on both sides of entrance to a ruined temple of Viṣṇu near the Kōḍaṇḍarāmasvāmi temple at Hampi.³² Next in importance may be considered a poem called *Hanumad-viṃśati* of Lakṣmīkumāra Tātāchārya engraved on the walls of the Hanumān temple on the banks of the tank called Tātasamudra at Tirupati³³ and in Kāñchīpuram. Under the third class of compositions i.e. narratives comes the inscription from Kāñchīpuram³⁴ which contains an account of the story of a composition on the 63 Śaiva devotees. It begins with the king's directive detailing the poet Śrinivāsa's composition of the work called *Trishashṭi-bhakta-charitram*, its recitation before a great assembly and the honours conferred upon the poet.

We have so far reviewed the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Tamil country in the chronological order. But the real meritorious compositions in Sanskrit epigraphy are available naturally in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

The Eastern Chālukya grants are generally composed in *champū* style. The poetry found in these grants is not of a high order. The charters introduce the genealogy of the dynasty in a rather matter-of-fact way giving the order of kings and the years of their reign. But the acme of this type of composition is seen in the grant of Rājarāja I.³⁵ There is a common prose passage which occurs generally in almost all the Eastern Chālukya grants which reminds us of the style of Daṇḍin in *Daśa-kumāra-charita*.

Tat-ōrjunād=Abhimanyuḥ | tataḥ Parīkshit | tatō
Janamējayah | tataḥ Kṣhēmukah | tatō Naravāhanah |
tataḥ Śatānikah | tasmād=Udayanah | tataḥ prabhṛtiḥ -
avichchhinna-santānēshv = Ayōdhyā-sūthhāsan-āsīnēshv =
ēkān-na-shashṭi-chakravartishu gatēshu tad-varhīyō
Vijayādityō nāma rājā vijigīshayō dakṣhiṇāpatham gatvā
Trilōchana-pallavam=adhikṣhīpya datva-durīhayā lōkāntaram
=agamāḥ³⁶ etc.

These grants also contain the Puranic genealogy as in the case of Pallava and Chōḷa grants. They contain the usual prefatory passages introducing the Chālukya dynasty as in the case of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. They give the usual details about the occasion, the donee and the land granted. During the Kākatīya period the quality of the Sanskrit inscriptions was considerably better from the point of view of literary excellence. The earliest poet who deserves mention was Achintēndravara.

The inscription composed by him begins with a Telugu prose passage giving briefly the purport of the record. Then begins a long poetic composition in Sanskrit, running on the sound lines of the classical *kāvya* style. Dr. P. Srinivasachar describes this as follows:

“There is a surprisingly real tone of sincerity and feeling in passages where he describes Rudra’s preparation for a military expedition, the gossip at the king’s court about the misdeeds of Bhīma of the Kanduri family and the description of the city of Anumakoṇḍa.”³⁷

We find a particular family of poets in three generations who have contributed considerably towards keeping up the standard. They are Taraṇikaṇṭi Mayūra-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya, Īśvara-śuri and Abhinava Mayura. Their inscriptions generally follow the pattern of describing the dynasty in a short form and then introducing the ruling king with an elaborate description with his achievements. Taraṇikaṇṭi Īśvara-śuri, son of Mayūra-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya set the standard in the inscriptions from Bothpur³⁸ dated Śaka 1194. This inscription exhibits very clearly the poet’s great learning and skill in versification. Some of the specialities mentioned by the author himself in this inscription are as follows:

*Nir-īti-nīti-suprīti-bhūri-bhūti-nuti-dyuti ।
surī-nidhi-dhṛiti-sphūrtiś = śrī-sūti bhuvi ni-dvishi ॥*

This is a type of composition called *nish-kaṇṭhya* i.e. it denotes the absence of the gutturals *a*, *ka*-*varga*, *ha*, and *visarga* (verse 12)

*Tatō = bhavan bhāsurā-sat-prabhāvā
varṇṇās = suvarṇṇā vara-pūrṇa-kāmāḥ ।
lōka-prakāma-svaka-dharma-karma-
raktāḥ kalā-lōla-manō-nubhāvāḥ ॥*

This is a type of composition called *nis-tālavya* i.e. omitting the alphabets palatals *i*, *cha*-*varga*, *ya* and *śa*

*Kaṇṭh-ōpānta-su-jāta-nūṭana-lasad-vinyāsa-vany-āmilat-
phullat-pallava-samchalat-pika-śuka-stōmai = stutis = tāyatē ।
niśvās-ānta vikāsamāna-mahimā vās-aika-līlā-lasad
vaiśṇḍya-dyuti-vīchi-sūchi-yaśasō yasy = ātī-śasy-ātmanah ॥*

This is a type of composition without using the cerebral i.e. *ṛi*, *ṛa-varga*, *rēpha* and *sha* called *nir-mūrdhanya* (verse 32).

Śrī-bāhā-bahu-rāga-kāri-ruchira-krīdā-karaḥ śrī-karaḥ
śrīyās = śrēnim = āraṅka = plishṭa-paramān yushmākam = Iśaḥ śriyaḥ |
dharmi-prakrama-ḍambara-āmbara-para-prūchurya-chary-ākshara-
kshīr-āpāra-gabhīra-kūbara-payō-rāśi-prakāś-āśrayaḥ ||

This is a type of composition called *nir-dantya* denoting the absence of the dentals i.e. *l*, *la-varga*, *la* and *sa*. (verse 1)

Kēdār-ātata-śālī-śālī-janatā-chētaḥ sad-ānanda-kṛit-
sār-ākāra-niranta-nīraja-rajah-sarichāra-chāmichaj-jalah |
naij-ādhiḥksha-salīla-sāgara-sad-ālamkāra-śamkā-karaḥ
kīrtim yasya dig-anta-santata-tatām tāntanyatē = yam sadā ||

This is another type of example for *nirōshṭhya* i.e. denoting the absence of the labials i.e. *u*, *pa-varga* and *upadhmānīya* i.e. the half-*visarga* before the letter *pa*- (verse 25).

Vidhush = ēsham = alam vidvad-vidhōr = Guṇḍa-yaśōvahā |
tavasya sakalām nārīnaṅganēshu naka-kshataiḥ ||

This is called *apaśabd-ābhāsa* using superficially ungrammatical forms (verse 34).

Sarvatra santatām sāyam = ut = āpi sapadi svayam |
avaśyam yātimānūnam sahasā svaḥ sadā samam ||

This type is called *avyay-ābhāsa* which appears to be all *avyayas* or indeclinables, but not really so (v. 17).

Astu bhūyāt = samastasya jagatō maṅgalam śivam |
janō jantur = atō nauti tatā = tasmād-itō gataḥ ||

This is called *punaruktavad-ābhāsa* where the *śabdās* appear to be a repetition but not really so (v. 5).

Iśatē kurutē sūitē khyāti yāti vipadyatē |
nīyatē dyōtatē = bhyēti kīrtitayaty = adhikāyatē ||

This is an example of *kṛtyūpadabhrāmaka*. In this verse every word seems to be a verb and renders all attempts to unravel the meaning extremely difficult (v. 4).

Tanutē tanutē rāyaṁ vidyatē vidyatēr=api |
rājatē rājatē=’yaṁ bhū-bharatē bharatē=’satā ||

This is an example for *pādādi-yamaka* (v. 18).

Similarly there are other examples also in his composition namely *kriyāpāda-traya-gōpaka*, *stabakāvalī* and *mithunāvalī* which can be seen in the verses 19, 22 and 23 respectively.

All the inscriptions so far described are compositions which deal with grants made by royal donors. The authors of such compositions have tried to show their skill in *śabdālaṁkāra* as well as *arthālaṁkāra*. But we meet with two inscriptions which are *kāvya*s by themselves without having anything to do with the kings or their grants. One of them³⁹ is incomplete and contains a beautiful description of the Andhra country and the city of Oruṅgallu i.e. Warangal (*Ēkaśilā-nagarī*). This is a *nirōshṭhya* which does not have labials. The other⁴⁰ composition is a *kāvya* describing the story of a Siddha couple. An example from this is given below:

Kāntayā ghaṇṁti yat-kāṁtāḥ kāṁtānām hṛidayam dṛiśā |
Kāntayā ghaṇṁti yat-kāṁtāḥ kāṁtānām hṛidayam dṛiśā (v. 28)

This is the best example for *Lūṭānuprāsālaṁkāra*. Though the two parts are similar, the meaning is different. Another verse therein runs thus:

Tiṣṭhaty=uchchalati prayāti punar=apy=āyāti sambhashatē
tūṣṇīm bhāvam=upaiti paśyati dīśaḥ saṁmīlayaty=akṣhiṇī |
udbhṛāmyaty=adhikaṁ dadhāti cha dhṛitīm niśchēṣṭatē chēṣṭatē
hā kashṭaṁ madanēna dāruṇataraṁ iṁ kiṁ na sū kāryatē ||

The author of these beautiful compositions was Narasimha, son of *rājaguru* Viśvēśvara-panḍita.

Narasimha is said to have composed a few more works *Rik-chhāyā*, *Kākatīya-charita* etc. The following verse about him describes the eminence of his scholarship:

A-prāpta-sabhā-sambhō=py=a-ṛipanna-Hiraṇyakaśipur=api
a-vikṛita-mukhō=-pi daśasu pragalbhatē rūpakēṣhu Narasimhaḥ ||

This verse shows his capacity of composing all the ten varieties of drama.

The period of the Kākatīya rule in the Andhra country is well noted for the flowering of excellent Sanskrit poetry engraved in numerous inscriptions. They reveal the names of a number of other poets like Kavi Chakravarti, Bālabhārati, Gōpāla-kavi etc.

Thus we find that Sanskrit began to be used in epigraphy from about 3rd century A.D. along with Prakrit inscriptions. When the regional languages were used for writing the grant portion in the place of Prakrit, Sanskrit gained a privileged position in the inscriptions to depict the genealogy, the prowess of the dynasty or its individual kings in the preamble. In Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh the use of Sanskrit in drafting a few entire inscriptions gave scope for the display of literary skill as in the case of Tālagunda and Aihole inscriptions, while in the south it was confined to the preamble.

Naturally we find better poetic composition in other regions than in Tamilnadu. Even so, the limitations imposed by the space on stone, the nature of the subject-matter etc. have shrunk the scope of great works of merit being engraved on stone. Rare exceptions are noticed in the *Nirōshṭhya-kāvya*⁴¹ and *Siddha-kāvya*⁴² the tilting prose style of the inscription on Muddaya-nāyaka⁴³ etc. The few Kākatīya inscriptions reveal the talent in employing styles of *śabdālamkāras* and *arthālamkāras*.

Notes and References

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1. Dr D. C. Sircar: *Select Inscriptions* (2nd Edn) p. 210.
2. *EL.*, Vol VIII, p. 88.
3. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 147-49.
4. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 17.
5. *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 281.
6. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 1-10.
7. *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff.
8. *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 2. ff; *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil History Academy, 1966) pp. 361 ff.
9. *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 143 ff; *ibid.*, pp. 369 ff.
10. *IA.*, Vol. IX, pp. 102 ff.
11. *EL.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 42 ff.
12. D. C. Sircar: *op. cit.*, p. 473.
13. *EL.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff.
14. K. V. Ramesh & B. R. Gopal, (Ed.): *Śrīkaṇṭhika*, pp. 61 ff
15. *EL.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 42 ff.
16. *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff.
17. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 1-12.
18. *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates*, p. 27.
19. *SII.*, Vol. III, p. 401.
20. *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 451 ff.
21. *EL.*, Vol. XII, p. 353.
22. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 225.

23. *ARSIE.*, 58, of 1892; *SII.*, Vol. IV, p. 143, No. 505.
24. All these characteristics are obtained generally in the Sanskrit *kāvyas*, especially in Subandhu's *Vasavadatta*, Cf. pp. 262-69 of the Ś. Irāṅgam Vani'vilasa edition, 1906.
25. The Kukkarūr plates of Mārasīmha II contains a similar passage consisting *antādi* as below:
Dāna-pravṛitti-sam-anurūpā dhīna-nyāya-mārg-ānusaṅga-samārjita-dravya-sampat | Sampat-sau-
ndarya-bhāgya-saubhāgyady-arēka-guṇa-janitāhmkāra mahāgrah-ā-śīta-pravat-ālay-anayadhī-
rita-sāthv-asādhū-jana-māra-āvaraṇa-nishpādana-su-dūṛibhūta-samyaggāṇā | Samyaggāṇā-ā-
hīdhāna etc. (Kannada Research Institute Plates of Marasimha, Śaka 890)
 I am thankful to Dr. S. H. Ritti for kindly permitting me to reproduce the passage from the unpublished copper-plate grant.
26. This reminds us of the verse in Canto 1, 29 in *Raghuvamśa*: *tam vēthā vidadhānūram mahā-*
bhūta-samādhinā.
tathāhi sarvē tasya - āsan-par-āṛtyaika phalā guṇāḥ.
27. This is pointed out here for the first time.
28. *El.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 197; *SII.*, Vol. XX, p. 167 and 169.
29. *El.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-7.
30. *SII.*, Vol. I, p. 6, No. 21; *El.*, Vol. X, p. 12, No. 23.
31. *SII.*, Vol. IV, p. 195, No. 650.
32. *ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 223, No. 217.
33. *Journal of Oriental Research (JOR)*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 32 ff.
34. *El.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 199 ff.
35. *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 66.
36. *SII.*, Vol. I, p. 53; *El.*, Vol. V, pp. 70 ff.
37. *HAS.*, No. 13, part I p. 11.
38. *ibid.*, No. 13, part II, No. 57, p. 142.
39. *El.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 214.
40. *ARIE*, 1958-59 No. 128, see Introduction p. 15.
41. *El.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 209 ff.
42. *APGES.*, Vol. 2. *Siddhādvaṇa of Nṛsiṃha* by Parasurama Sastri.
43. *SII.*, Vol. IV, No. 505.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS

K. G. KRISHNAN

TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS appear from about the 3rd century B.C. This dating is based on a comparative study of these inscriptions in Brāhmī script with those of Aśoka and the inscriptions of Bhaṭṭiprōlu. There are a few inscriptions which use the letters *sa*, *dha*, *śa*, etc. and all the other records tend to avoid these letters and use *cha*, *ta* and *cha* etc. in their places.¹ Thus these two sets of inscriptions represent two stages in the use of Brāhmī in which the *tatsama* principle of using the *varga-prathama* letters for the aspirates or the voiced consonants was being introduced. This development in the use of Brāhmī in the Tamil country is in step with the observation made in the *Tolkāppiyam*, the most ancient Tamil work. It says that the northern letters (of the alphabet) are substituted by Tamil letters. It is possible therefore that upto this stage the *varga* letters were being used freely along with the peculiar Tamil letters *ṇ*, / etc. The use of the forms *dharmam* and *salakaṇ* in the Brāhmī inscriptions from Māṅgulaṃ is an instance in point. Besides this explains the free use of the Prakrit words though the sentence structure was basically Tamil.²

These inscriptions form a class by themselves from all points of view. They are short records engraved on the eaves of the caverns or caves in inaccessible places outside the sites of habitation in remote areas of the southern districts of Tamilnadu viz. Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli Districts. They give generally the names of the authors of the monuments on which they are engraved along with their places such as *Iḷam* or *Saiyalam*, *Erukāṭṭūr* etc. and their professions such as *poṇ-vāṇikaṇ*, *upu-vāṇikaṇ*, *pāṇita-vāṇikaṇ*. The caves or caverns are described as *pāḷi*, *kal*, *kaḷchanam*, *tāṇam*, *aliṭṭāṇam* etc. Some of the texts in short sentences end with the verbal nouns *koṭupitōṇ*, *kuṭupitavaṇ* suggesting the use of colloquial forms. The nature of the language of these records suggests that they are as far removed from the contemporary literature as the later inscriptions are from their counterparts. These Brāhmī inscriptions contain the names *Neduñchalaiyaṇ*, *Irumporai*, *Peruñkaḍuñkōṇ* etc. Thus the historicity and the period of the personalities of the Śaṅgam age of the Tamil classical literature are conclusively placed on a firm chronological base, which are otherwise also indicated by the edicts of Aśoka referring to the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷaputras.

There are a few Brāhmī inscriptions on potsherds excavated from Arikamēḍu in Pondicherry,³ Uḡaiyūr⁴ in Tiruchchirappalli District, and Koṅkar⁵ in Tirunelveli District, Tamilnadu. Barring a few from Arikamēḍu in Prakrit language, the rest of them are in Tamil language. Otherwise these records, though fragmentary, belong to the same class as the cave inscriptions in so far as their main characteristics are concerned.

From about the third century A.D. we meet with inscriptions which are, though they continue to be short in nature, engraved in early Tamil script i.e. in a script

which is developed from Brāhmī and which shows independent trend of evolution used exclusively for Tamil language. The inscription from Arachchalūr in Coimbatore District belongs to this class. This short inscription of two lines records the composition of charts of letters (engraved nearby) which appear to represent some dance notations by Tēvaṇ Chāttan, a garland-maker.⁶ Slightly later to this in point of time but on a coin was found a short legend engraved in an anticlockwise direction giving the name of a chief Chēndan. One hundred and fortythree lead coins bearing the same legend were reported as a treasure-trove obtained at Aṇḍippaṭṭi in North Arcot District.⁷ We now pass on to the numerous hero-stone inscriptions found in the north-western parts of Tamilnadu serving as the border with Karnataka.⁸ These range from inscriptions of some chiefs whose identity with the probable descendants of the feudatory families such as Kaṇṇaṇ (Gaṇṇa), Kaṭṭi, Vāṇa (Bāṇa), Viṇṇa etc. mentioned in the Śaṅgam classics is beyond doubt with those of the imperial dynasty of the Pallavas upto about the 9th century. These are engraved in their early stages in a script which may be considered to be common to Tamil and Vaṭṭeḷuttu and in the later stages in Vaṭṭeḷuttu script only. They generally begin with the reigning king or chief's name, his regnal year, then introduce the place of battle involving the lifting or rescue of cattle and finally record the name of the hero along with that of the chief on whose behalf he died. In some cases the local opponents are mentioned. A few among these inscriptions record such deaths in defence of women in the danger of molestation or in the course of fighting robbers kidnapping women or stealing property. Some of them deal with the fight of an army attacking a particular place. These inscriptions are engraved around the sculptures of the hero carved in a fighting pose. The inscriptions of the later period belonging to the Pallavas stretch the periods of reign of some of the kings to very high regnal years as 33 for Simha-viṣṇu, 59 for Mahēndra I, 50 for Narasimhavarman II etc. thus indicating that the reigns must have overlapped.

The language of these inscriptions has a few important characteristics viz., 1) the euphonic *u* ending of certain words such as *tēvaru*, *araisaru*, *chēvagaru* etc. This *u* ending is not uniformly seen in respect of all the words ending in *r*; this feature common to Telugu and Kannada is not met with in later Tamil inscriptions; 2) the structure of the sentence consisting of the following members in their sequence: the king's regnal year expressed in ordinal numerals in letters, the feudatory, his servant, the place of attack as well as the occasion and the name of the hero. This invariably ends with the expression *paṭṭāṇ kal* i.e., the stone (in memory of the person who) died. In some cases the name of the agency such as a corporate body like *ṇamakkal*, *Nāṭṭār* etc. is also given; 3) the use of both the honorific plural *makkal* and *magaṇ* in respect of single individuals according to their social standing, *Gaṇṇaraisaru makkal* *Ponṇandiyaṛ*, *Karuṣāṭṭaṇṇāru magaṇ* *Kaṭṭaṇṇāru* etc.

The text of a typical example is given below:⁹

*Kō-Viṣalya Maṇḍiraparumaṇku paḍiṇeṭṭāvadu Mī-Vēṇāṭṭu
Āṇḍaipāḍi Isai-Perumbūṇaraisaru marumakkal Porchēndiyāru
chēvagaru toruk-konḍa ṇāṇṇu mīṭṭu paṭṭāṇ Vēṇāṭṭu Nandiyār kal.*

Inscriptions subsequent to this period use more Sanskrit words in the Tamil texts. These Sanskrit words are engraved in Grantha characters in the midst of the Tamil or Vaṭṭeḷuttu portion. The free admixture of Grantha in the Tamil texts was almost a permanent feature after this period.

Inscriptions of this period in Tamil script in the eastern and southern regions of Tamilnadu are few and far between. They are records referring to the foundation of the monuments erected by the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas on which they are engraved. Naturally they are brief referring only to the persons who actually carved or who caused them to be built. The Vallam cave inscription records the excavation of the rock-cut shrine (*rēvakula*) by Kandasēgaṇ, son of Vayantap-piri-arasarū, a servant of Mayēndirap-pōttaraisarū.¹⁰

The inscriptions available in the next period are more varied in nature and scope.¹¹ Most of them record donations made to the deities set up in temples, thus giving more information about the king, his regnal year, the place, the deities, the donors and the object gifted. Most of these inscriptions end with the phrase *Śrī Panmāhēśvara-rakshai* or *Śrīvaishṇava-rakshai* as the case may be.

Many inscriptions state that the endowments should last as long as the Sun and the Moon endure (*Chandrādityavat*, *āchandra-tāram*, *āchandra-kālam*). There is also a statement that the feet of the persons who protect the endowment would be on the donor's head i.e. the donor would adore such persons by placing their feet on his head. This statement is followed by an imprecatory portion which prescribes the ill-effects of killing Brāhmaṇas and thousand cows or tawny cows on the bank of the Ganga or the effects of all the sins committed by people between the Ganga and the Kumari, upon the people who destroy the endowment.

These are engraved on stray stones. They are rarely dated in the Śaka era. They are yet short records not requiring to be engraved on big walls. Label inscriptions below the sculptured panels narrating the contemporary event of the accession of Pallavamalla in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñchīpuram belong to this period.¹² This situation continued right up to the times of Chōḷa Āditya I in whose reign many stone temples (*kuṟraḷi*) came into being. These temples began to have numerous inscriptions, though short, giving the same details mentioned above. They begin with the king's names such as Nandivarman, Aparājita etc. or titles such as Rājakēsari and Parakēsari in the case of Āditya and his successors. During this period the details of date viz. the solar month, the star and weekday only were given in some records. There are also inscriptions in verse which only glorify the subject of the inscription but do not provide much information for history.¹³

The copper-plate inscriptions of this period contain two sections—one in Sanskrit mostly in verse engraved in Grantha characters and the other in Tamil language and characters. The Tamil section does not give any genealogy obtained in the Sanskrit section but contains a more legalized text giving meticulously drafted details regarding the gift proper. The conditions (*vyavasthai*) and the exemptions

(*parihāra*) are given in full detail.¹⁴ The *vijhapti* who places the petition before the king and the *ajhapti* who issues the order on the strength of the king's approval are mentioned in the appropriate places.

The Pāṇḍya copper-plates of this period form a class by themselves. The Tamil sections entirely in verse begin with a list of the glorious achievements of the dynasty from very early times to the date of the known kings of the family during this period and then recount the events of the individual reigns and finally give the details of the grant in a set form almost similar to the inscriptions of the other dynasties.¹⁵

Some of the stone inscriptions of this period begin with a short prefatory verse in Sanskrit followed by the Tamil text.¹⁶ They introduce the kings along with certain epithets such as *Maduraiyum Iḷamum koṇḍa Parakēśari*, *Madurai koṇḍa Rājakēśari*, *Telḷāṟṟ-eṇḍu rājyamum koṇḍa*, *Pāṇḍiyaṇaich-churam iṟakkiṇa* etc. These epithets coupled with the particular regnal years enable us to work out the sequence of events thus paving the way for a connected account of the political history of the period. The regnal year with the details of date such as the month, the star and the week-day yield the Christian equivalent. The mention of the eclipses and these details enables us to fix the date of accession of kings providing a firm chronological basis.¹⁷ Pāṇḍya inscriptions of this period contain double dates as 4 + 6, 2 + 12 etc., which are to be understood as 10, 12 etc. though the reason behind this double dating is not yet clear. The provenance of the transaction recorded in the inscription consists of *kōṭṭam*, *nāḍu*, *kūṟṟam* and the *ūr*, thus giving information regarding the political geography and the administrative divisions into which the country was set up and ruled. The deities mentioned next give us an idea of the icons representing them and the art of the objects may be studied on the basis of this information. They are introduced by such names as *Tiruvaigā-uḍaiya-mahādēvar*, *Śailēśvarattu Gaṇapati-bhaṭṭārar*, *Tiruvīraṭṭānattu-mahādēvar* etc.¹⁸ The donors are introduced along with their names, titles, places and their official designations also such as *mūvēṇḍavēḷāṇ*, *sēṇāpati* etc. The objects gifted are generally gold pieces or coins mentioned by their weight (*kaḷaṇḱu*), sheep which are never stated to die or age (*chāvā-mūvāp-pēr-āḍu*) and land, the boundaries of which are given along with its measurements.

See below for an example of this type.¹⁹

1. *Svasti śrī [i] Kō-Rājakēśarivarmmarkku 3-
āvadu vaḍakarai brahmadēyam
śrī Vīraṇārāyaṇach-chaturvvēdima-*
2. *iṅgalattu Tiruv-Anantēśvaratt-ālvārkkku
Pāṇḍi-nāṭṭu Vāḍav. . Kaḷavaṇ =
ūrāṇ brāhmaṇi Tāyaṇ Vaḍu-*
3. *gi ivv-āṭṭai Kaṟkaṭaka-nāyarruch-
Chaṇik-kīḷamai peṟṟa Tiruvādirai
nāṇṇ = iṟāp-pagal-oru nondā-vi-*

4. *ḷakku Chandrādityavat erippadaḷku*
kuḍutta poṇ 12-1/2 kaḷaṇḷu²⁰ i
12-1/2 kaḷaṇḷu²⁰ poṇ koṇḍ-iv-
5. *vūr maṇṇāḍi-kalaṇṇaiyōm chāṇā-*
mūvā pēr-āḍu 96 taḡar 1-m
koṇḍu niṣadi
6. *uḷakku neyy-aṭṭuvōm-aṇōm [1*]*
ivaṇṇ nilai-viḷakkukku vaitta
poṇ 2 kaḷaṇḷu-
3 mā.²⁰

We come across numerous short inscriptions engraved in Tamil or Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of about the 8th or 9th century A.D. below the Jaina sculptures carved in inaccessible places near the rock-cut caves or caverns.²¹ These generally give the name of the donor, his place of residence or nativity, his or her status in society. Some of them are described as *kuravar* (Skt. *Guravaḥ*) and *kuratti*, the female name of the same meaning.

A few inscriptions of this period begin with a statement that they are copies of old inscriptions.²² Very few of them are exact copies. Others are abridged statements.

Towards the end of the 10th century, the position in Tamilnadu changed. The political stability assured under Rājārāja I caused some changes in the draft of inscriptions. The inscriptions begin with a passage in verse incorporating the achievements of the king's reign and this introduction is called *meykkṛtti* (the true fame). The first line began with an auspicious word like *tiru*, *pū*, etc. thus observing both a convention and a standard. The *meykkṛtti* of a particular king begins and ends with the same refrain. The *meykkṛtti* grows in length along with the period of the king's reign by additional passages incorporating the latest achievements of the king inserted in the portion preceding the closing refrain. This is best illustrated by the *meykkṛtti* of Rājendra I, thus enabling us to ascertain the sequence of events of his reign.²³ The other sections of inscriptions also grow longer. The portion mentioning the date contains more details such as the *paksha* and the *ttithi* which provide a surer equivalent. The dates of accession of many kings have been worked out more precisely on the basis of these equivalents.²⁴ The donors are introduced with more details regarding the places from where they hail and the territorial divisions in which those places are situated.²⁵ The details about the land regarding its situation, its boundaries, in some cases their previous history, are given. It is during this period that the land was surveyed elaborately and it is reflected in the measurements given to the minutest fraction.²⁶

The inscriptions of Rājārāja I from Tanjāvūr form a class by themselves.²⁷ They are long and contain many details. They are stated to have recorded all the donations made by the king, his elder sister, his queens and officers. They contain

veritable lists of images, jewels, lands, vessels, etc. with meticulous details of weight or measurement. Some of the jewels are stated to have been captured as booty in the war-fronts from the Chālukyas and the Chēras. Some other inscriptions contain a list of the *dēvaraḍṭyār* i.e. women dedicated to the service of the god, a list of other classes of servants such as priests, drummers and musicians.

With the expansion of the empire, the administrative set-up also should have necessitated proliferation and it is fully reflected in records involving grant of land and exemption from taxes on the same. We meet with a growing hierarchy of revenue officials right through the Chōḷa times. The Leyden plates of Rājārāja I and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājendra I bear ample testimony to this.²⁸ The entire procedure from the issue of the oral order by the king down to the delivery of the finally drafted order signed by all the concerned authorities to the donee is clearly revealed by these grants. This gives us an idea of the practices in the secretariat where the land grants are registered and where the conditions and exemptions are recorded. The taxes are also enumerated. The signatories who represented the authorities at every level are also mentioned at the end of the record. These details are given only in the Tamil section of the grant. This section is dated in the year from which it takes effect unlike the Sanskrit section which is clearly a later addition to the set of copper-plates as indicated by its narration of events which occurred subsequent to the date of the Tamil section. But the Tamil section contains the *meykkīrtti* as developed upto the date of the grant.

Apart from the *meykkīrtti* which is a new development of this period and grew in length with the progress of the reign, the inscriptions tended to become longer in respect of the portion dealing with grants also, thus occupying considerable space on the walls of the temple. Besides they became also varied in form and substance. Some inscriptions begin with legends in Sanskrit consisting of an *anushtubh* verse, which appear also on the seals of the copper-plate charters.²⁹ This was followed, in the case of the stone inscriptions, by the detailed contents of the grant in Tamil. Another innovation of this period was the mention of Chaṇḍēśvara, a well-known devotee of Śiva as a party to all the transactions like sale, purchase etc. pertaining to the Śiva temple. Correspondingly the word *Sēnāpati* (for Vishvaksēna) is used in the expression *Sēnāpatipperuvilai* as against *Chaṇḍēsvarapperuvilai* in respect of auction of lands in the case of the Vaishṇava temples.³⁰ In the later period the association of Chaṇḍēśvara was introduced in the form of a verse in *venbā* metre at the beginning of the record.³¹ Some inscriptions narrate political events in prose style, even while recording the grants made by the donors who were associated with the events. The inscriptions from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu,³² Pallavarāyaṇpēṭṭai,³³ Tiruvēndipuram³⁴ etc. belong to this group.

A number of inscriptions of this period contain more details regarding one aspect or other of its contents. An inscription from Āttūr in Tirunelveli District gives elaborate details regarding the provision of materials necessary to the rituals connected with *pañchagavya*, *pūrṇakumbha*, garland, *tiruv-ārādhanai*, feeding the devotees from far and near, vessels, fuel, payment for services etc. giving details of

every item of expenditure in terms of paddy accruing as interest out of the capital donated towards the purpose.³⁵ Inscriptions pertaining to the sale or auction of land give the details generally more than once, if not thrice.³⁶ A number of inscriptions contain regulations laid down for the conduct of elections to the local body called *sabhai* of the brahmanical villages called *chaturvēdimaṅgalam*.³⁷ A few inscriptions give some information about the military establishments called *Mūṇṇukai-mahāsēnai*, *Vīraśōḷa-aṇukkar* etc. Though only the grants made by the members of these establishments are recorded in the inscriptions, the entire information on them collected from all those inscriptions enables us to give their short history through the ages.³⁸ Inscriptions of particular temples covering a long period of history afford enough evidence to write a full account of an area embracing different aspects of social life. An inscription from Tiruvīdaimarūcūr in Tanjavur District dated in the 16th regnal year (1000-01 A.D.) of Rājaiāja I describes the measures adopted to collect the defalcated amount due from an absconding accountant by confiscating his lands. The amount is stated to have been realised by auction sale. The land was purchased by Puṇṭakan Dēvi-ammanār, the queen of Sundarachōḷa.

The names of taxes or levies were few and far between in the early inscriptions. But with the rise of the Chōḷas the numerous land transactions following the expansion of irrigational facilities under them gave ample scope for increasing the incidence of taxation. Hence we find a larger number of names of taxes or levies. This list which increased with time reflects the proliferation of the sources of income for the various ruling bodies from the *nāḍu* down to the *āḷuṅ-gaṇam*. Examples of the earlier and the later lists give us an idea of the variation in tax incomes in respect of both the nature and the quantum.

*Kōyil vastuch-chekkum taṭiyum ulliyakkūliyum Ṣiṭakkāṇamum
sāḍippōṇṇum Kārum teṅgam-poṇṇum upakaraṇattandamum adhi-
karaṇat-tandamuṁ paṭtūr-chāṭṭu uḷavaippaḷlivastuvum aṭappuṭai-
tandamum Ṣeyivu pōgach-chiṇanda poṇṇum urikkāṇamum paṭikkā-
ṇamum nīrtūkkuk-kāṇamum puṭṭaka vilaiyam paṭṭigaik-kāṇamum
bīrāmaṇichak-kāṇamum kaṇṇiṭṭukkāṇamum kālkkōṭṭuk-kāṇamum
Ṣenkkōṭṭikkāṇamum āṭṭukkāṇamum nāvitakkāṇamum Vanṇārakkā-
ṇamum*

The above list is from the Pullūr plates of Nandivarman(II) Pallavamalla dated in his regnal year 33 (c. 763 A.D.).³⁹ This list is drawn up in respect of a *brahmadēya*. Another list in respect of a *dēvadāna* occurring in the Vēlūrppālaiyam plates of Nandivarman III dated in his 6th regnal year (c. 857 A.D.)⁴⁰ is given below:

*nāḍ-āṭṭchi, ūrāṭṭchi, puravu-poṇ, tirumuk-kāṇam, vaṭṭi-nāḷi,
puḍāḷi, taṭṭu-kāyam, ḷampūṭṭchi, ḷāḷip-pāṭṭchi, māṇṇu-pāḍu, taragu,
tarik-kūṭṭai, kūḷam, nallā, nall-erudu, nall-āḍu, nāḍu-kāval;
ūḍu-pōḷḷu, kallāṇak-kāṇam, kuṭakkāṇam, pāṭṭaikkāṇam, paṭṭiṇa-
Ṣēri*

A later list obtained in a Pāṇḍya inscription of the 13th century mentions the taxes under two broad heads of *upādhi* and *āyum* as follows:

neṭ-kaḍamai, kāsū-kaḍamai, māvaḍai, kuḷavaḍai, nīrāṇi, puṇ-payirk-kaḍamai, poṇ-vāri, antarāyam, kāṇikkai, kāttikaip-pachchai, abhiśhēka-kāṇikkai, tulā-bhāra-vāri, paṇḍipīlī, sandhivigrahappēṟu, kīṟru-vāri, vāśal-viṇḍiyōgam, śirai-achchu, ilāṇchiṇaippēṟu, āṇaich-chālai, kudiraippandi, āṇḍeḷuttut-tēvai, vēṭṭi, nilai-āḷ, paṇikottu, pāḍikāval, āḷ-amaṇḍi, kūṟṟilakkai, kaḍaikkūṭ-ṭilakkai, sīkāriyappē-ṟu and nāṭṭuvīṇḍiyōgam-upādhiḡaḷ.

cheṭṭīrai, tuṟiyīrai, aḷugal-śarakku, āyam, vālamaṇḍāḍi, taṭṭoli, taṭṭārappāṭṭam, kāḍu-kāval. śīrukaḍai, ṭampuṇchai, chekkiṟai, magamai-āyam.

A much later inscription of Kōṇērdēva-mahārāja (c. 1490-1507 A.D.) contains the following list.⁴¹

nal-erudu, nar-paśu, nal-āḍu, kāṇikkai, viri-muṭṭu, uluppai, āḷiyam, ūr-māḡaṇi śivitam, adikāri-śōḍi, ōlai-eḷuttu-vattāṇḍai, araśu-pēṟu, āyam, vaḷichchāri, paṭṭaḍai, chalattaram etc.

Some of the names in these lists are characteristic of the periods to which the lists are assignable.

Several inscriptions mention at their beginning the names of the documents whose texts are purported to be given, such as *chiṟu-muṟi* (short deed of agreement), *nila-vilai-pramāṇa isaiyu-tiṭṭu* (deed recording the agreement on the authorised price of the land), *āḷilai-pramāṇa isaiyu-tiṭṭu* (a similar deed as in the previous one in respect of the sale of humans), *kaiyeḷuttōlai* (promissory note), *ubhaiyat-tiṭṭu* (deed undertaking to carry out the specified endowment) etc. thus giving an idea of the nature of the contents even at the outset.

A few records of about the 13th century register the oaths of fealty taken by persons, sometimes also women, described as *vēḷaikkāras* and *vēḷaikkāris* undertaking not to survive their master's death. The institution of *vēḷaikkāras* was a very old one; but records of this type began to appear in later times when chiefs of the feudatory families entered into political compacts to sustain themselves in the prevalent critical conditions when the central government was weak. A short inscription containing the text of this political compact is given below.⁴³

1. *Svasti śrī [] Tribhuvanachchakravarttigaḷ śrī Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-dēvaṟku yāṇḍu 20-vadu Maḷaiyaṇ Viṇaiyai vēṭṭāṇ-āṇa Karikāla-śōḷa-Āḍaiyūr-nāḍālvāṟku Śēṇḡēṇi Ammai-appaṇ Attimallaṇ-āṇa Vikkiramāśōḷach-chambuvarāyaṇṇ ivv-āṇḍai Āvaṇi māsaṭṭup-padinālān-tiyadiyum Nāyaṟṟuk-kiḷamaiyuṇ = Tiruvādiraiyuṇ = āṇav = aṇṟu kal vēṭṭiṇapaḍiy-āvaḍu [] Nānuṇ = tivarum = uḷḷa-daṇaiyuṇ eṇḡaḷilē.*

2. *tappādirukkak* = *kaḍavōm* = *āḡavum piṇandaperumāl* = *āṇa Irāja-rāja-Adigamōṇār* = *uḍaṇ uṇavu paṇṇudal pagai koḷḷudal śeyyum-idattu iraṇḍu tiṇattōmukku mēvich* = *cheyyak* = *kaḍavēṇ* = *āḡavum maṇṇum* = *ivaṇk* = *iṇṇāḍār* = *uḍaṇ kūḍiy* = *ivaṇku virōdam* = *āyiru-ppaṇa śeyyak* = *kaḍavēṇ* = *allāḍēṇ* = *āḡavum ippaḍikkut* = *tappiṇ-ēṇ* = *āḡil eṇṇ-ōḷḷai yāṇ ye*
3. *ḍuttut-tambalamuṇ* = *kalach-chōḷun* = *iṇṇēṇ* = *āvēṇ Vikkīramaśō-ḷach-chambuvarāyaṇēṇ*.

Tamil records issued in the name of the king begin with Sanskrit verses which also figure as legends on their seals. One of the verses is:

Ētad = *Rājēndrachchōḷasya parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ*
rājad = *rājanya-makuṭa-śrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam*

There are some other records issued in the name of the deity. They begin with verses like the following.⁴⁴

Sarvalōka-samutpatti-sthiti-saṁhāra-kāraṇam
Śāsanam śāśvatam Śaṁbhōḥ Śrī-Pushpavana-vāsinah

These verses introduce the record as an order of the deity of the temple where it is engraved. The verse cited here states that the inscription is the edict of Śaṁbu (Śiva) residing at Śrī-Pushpavanam i.e., Tiruppūvaṇam, the findspot of the inscription. Records beginning with such verses introduce the reigning king in endearing terms like 'our son' (*nam piḷḷai*). Most of these records pertain to the administrative affairs of the concerned temples.

Besides the *meṅkkīrttis* of the kings mentioned above, we come across such eulogistic pieces on communities like *Chittiramēḷi*,⁴⁵ *Eḷunūṇṇuvar*⁴⁶ etc. *Chittiramēḷi* was a powerful agricultural organisation which built up its own traditions, and wide network of branches. *Eḷunūṇṇuvar* is the name of a community of fishermen who claimed mythological origin.

Inscriptions were generally engraved on the well-dressed surface of stones. They were engraved in reasonably sized letters in the early period. Ornamentation was also adopted in early times. Later on the size of the letters grew up and reached their maximum extent during the Vijayanagara period when a single inscription used to occupy nearly the entire length of a *prākāra* wall. Inscriptions of the later period started diminishing both in their size and in the quality of their engraving.

Notes and References

1. I, Mahadevan: *Corpus of Tamil Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Seminar on Inscriptions, Madras, 1966.
2. For an analysis of the Brāhmī script in Tamilnadu, see my article in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. I, 1974, pp. 26-30.
3. *Ancient India*, No. 2, An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India, pp. 109 ff.

4. *ARIE.*, 1965-66, Nos. B. 335-48.
5. *Damillica.*, Vol. I, Dec. 1970, Photographs Nos. 48 a and b.
6. *ARIE.*, 1961-62, Nos. B. 280-82 and Plate II (back).
7. *ibid.*, 1967-68, No. B. 254.
8. R. Nagaswamy (ed.): *Chengam Naḍukaṇṇal*.
9. *ibid.*
10. *SII.*, Vol. II, pp. 340-41, Plate, Note the euphonic *u*.
11. *ibid.*, Vols. III, XII, XIII and XIV.
12. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 135.
13. *ibid.*, No. 131; *EI.*, Vol. XI, p. 157 etc.
14. *EI.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 157.
15. *SII.*, Vol. III, pp. 441. 65.
16. *ibid.*, Vol. III.
17. *EI.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 81-88.
18. *SII.*, Vol. XII, Nos. 58, 68 and 73.
19. *ibid.*, XIII, No. 60.
20. Expressed by symbol.
21. *SII.*, Vol. V, Nos. 308-406.
22. *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, App. No. 2.
23. *JIH.*, Golden Jubilee Volume, pp. 109-16.
24. The pages of early volumes of *EI.* contain the calculated equivalents leading to more precise fixation of these dates—See Vol. IV, pp. 66-73, 216-21, 262-66.; Vol. V, pp. 48-49, 197-200, etc.
25. *SII.*, Vol. II, No. 27, pp. 131-2; No. 31, p. 139 etc.
26. *ibid.*, Vol. II, Intr. p. 6. Nearly all the inscriptions of Rājārāja registering grants of land give the measurement to the minutest fraction.
27. *ibid.*
28. *EI.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 213-66; *SII.*, Vol. II, pp. 383 ff. see also *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 145 and 157.
29. *EI.*, Vol. XXV, p. 242, note 1.
30. *SII.*, Vol. V, No. 885.
31. *ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 1041.
32. *EI.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 86-92.
33. *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93.
34. *ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 160-89.
35. *SII.*, Vol. XIV, No. 192; Vol. XVII, No. 222.
36. *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 608 and 609.
37. *ibid.*, Int. p. iii
38. *ibid.*, p. v.
39. *EI.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 157, II. 113, 18.
40. *SII.*, Vol. II, p. 509, II. 51-55. A nearly identical list is available in the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates of Choḷa Rājendra I year 6 (1017-18 A.D.) *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 410-11, II. 436-41.
41. *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 293. Another inscription of this king is said to have assigned the income from forty five taxes to a temple (*ARSIE.*, 1913, para 72).
42. *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 178, 541, 643, etc.
43. *ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 127. For longer versions see *ibid.*, Nos. 118 and 119 and *ARSIE.*, 1934-35, para 16, pp. 60-63.
44. *ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 306.
45. *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 442.
46. *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 545.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF KANNADA INSCRIPTIONS

B R GOPAL

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF KARNATAKA are next to those of Tamilnadu as far as the bulk is concerned. But they have certain special features of their own distinct from those of Tamilnadu. One important feature to be noticed is that most of these inscriptions on stone are engraved on loose slabs set up in front of or within the precincts of temples, or at the entrance gates of the villages. There are quite a large number of engraved hero-stones. This is a special feature as it were, for, probably in no other part of our country do we find such large numbers. There are also memorial slabs like the *sati* or *nisidhi* stones. These throw a flood of light on various facets of human life in Karnataka.

Script

So far as the script is concerned there is no dispute about its having derived from the Brāhmī script. However, the shape of the letters changed distinctively to develop into the Kannada script. The earliest records in Karnataka are those of Aśōka. The script used therein is more simple with straight lines. The letters do not have the *talekaṭṭu*. In the southern Brāhmī barring the letter *ga*, the others are not easily comparable to their later Kannada counterparts. The letters used in the records of the Sātavāhanas are roundish and ornamental. Although we do not find *talekaṭṭu* in usage as such, the top portions have triangular curves. The next stage in the development of the script can be seen in the records of the Kadambas and the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. The script used in the Kadamba records is considered to be the earliest form of Kannada. They resemble the script of the Gupta records in some respects. Specially noteworthy is the box-head. Gradually this box-head is found replaced by the *talekaṭṭu*. Some of the letters are more roundish while some letters like *ka* and *ra* become smaller and elongated. In the records of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, we find the *talekaṭṭu* assuming a definite form. Thereafter, in the centuries that follow, the script evolved naturally.

It is interesting to note that these letters not only develop a roundish form, but in the period of the Chālukyās of Kalyāṇa and more so of the Hoysāṇas, great stress is laid upon artistic engraving. Writing came to be considered as an art. We have inscriptional evidence wherein it is stated that writing should be such "as not to take up many lines, so close that all who see will admire and yet distinct to all in the world".¹ That was the period when Karnataka reached the pinnacle of glory in art and architecture and fine arts. This was very much reflected in the matter of engraving inscriptions also. It was "a thing of beauty, a joy for ever". Interestingly, indeed, in no other part of India was engraving considered an art. Of course this excludes calligraphy of Arabic and Persian inscriptions.

The period beginning from the rise of Vijayanagara is a period of decadence at least in so far as the script, and also of language, of inscriptions of Karnataka is concerned. The taste for artistic engraving is not found in these centuries. The patience required for such painstaking work was perhaps not there. Further, even in architecture, emphasis was laid on loftiness and great proportions and sizes and on voluptuousness. Writing also underwent a similar change, the letters becoming bigger in size losing their charm.

Language

In the history of Kannada literature scholars have noticed a form called inscriptional literature, thus connecting inscriptions and literature. In fact, this is a speciality of Kannada. Perhaps no other Dravidian language has such a literary form. In the north, some Sanskrit literary works are found engraved on stones. We find a few instances, though rarely, in Telugu. The *Siddhōdvāha*, found engraved at Urusugatṭa in Warangal District and the *Nairōshṭhya* at Siddhēśvaragutṭa in the same District in Andhra Pradesh, are two such examples. But this is a special characteristic of Kannada inscriptions. Many records of the 11th to 14th centuries are considered works of literary merit. It is known that in some cases great poets have also composed inscriptions. Hundreds of poets who are otherwise obscure have come to light through the inscriptions composed by them. Quite a good number of composers have remained anonymous also. It is very difficult to evaluate exactly the contribution of such inscriptional poetry to pure literature, either from the point of style or otherwise. But they have in their own way enriched Kannada language and literature.

Strictly, inscriptions are to be regarded as documents, either official or private. They have a specific purpose in view. They narrate an incident, register a gift or record an order issued by the kings or their representatives in related matters. In private records the donor makes the gift in his individual, private capacity and registers these gifts etc., in these inscriptions which are, therefore, documents. Naturally, the purpose of inscriptions is to report, publicise or narrate such deeds. The language used in such records is official. The language ought therefore to be such as can be understood by common men. Spoken language is used for it is more convenient to convey the information. It is to be noted that although Sanskrit as a language had developed to a great extent even during the period of Aśōka he did not make use of that language in his edicts. He preferred Prakrit and Pāli which were in his day the more popular spoken languages. But it was not so in Karnataka. Excepting the Aśōkan edicts we do not have many Prakrit inscriptions. Some of them are found at Banavāsi, Maj. 'aḷḷi and Chandravāḷḷi which had come under Sātavāhana domination. Although it may be assumed that in the 3-5th centuries A.D. Prakrit was a major language in Karnataka, inscriptions of the later period are found in Sanskrit. The earliest Kannada inscription found at Halimidi is greatly influenced by Sanskrit. From this it would follow that while in the north Prakrit was the language used in inscriptions, in the south, in Karnataka, prominence was

given to Sanskrit. Sanskrit had thus been used probably as the official language, as could be seen in the Tālagunda inscription of Kadamba Kākutsthavarma, the Guḍnāpur inscription of Ravivarma and the Aihole record of Pulakēśi II. Even the short inscription of Pulakēśi I found at Bādāmi is in Sanskrit. Around the 7th century we find stray verses in Kannada appearing in inscriptions, mostly in Śravaṇa-beḷagoḷa which are important as literary pieces, but have been to a great extent influenced by Sanskrit.

One point here is worthy of consideration. These stray verses in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa are Jaina-oriented. Most of the few found in other places like the Bastipura rock inscriptions² of c. 750 A.D. also are Jaina. These are eulogies of Jaina preceptors or devotees. By this time many Jaina literary works had been composed. The Jaina monks, desirous of propagating their religion, made strenuous efforts to impart the tenets of their religion to the common people of this area through their own language. Hence they composed such stray verses in Kannada. By then they had gained enough command over the poetic medium. Slowly, by the 8th and 9th centuries literary works had come to be composed. It was therefore not difficult for them to compose Kannada records in verse. But as one could well notice these were greatly influenced by Sanskrit. A few instances may be cited as examples.

The first Bastipura inscription³ in Sanskrit registers the death of the Jaina pontiff, Pushpanandi and eulogises him. The second record⁴ on the same rock is in Kannada. It reads thus:

*Atisaya Pushpaṇandi-muni mukṭiyan-eydidod-ā niśidhikā
pratibaddhade pavitram-idan-ān-agalen dhruvum endu
vrata-paribhāvitārtha-manadi gurubhaktiā-samētan-uttamō
nnata-guṇa-pūrṇārṇava-teḡadi Purimaṇḍala-sanmunīśvaram*

[When the sage Pushpaṇandi endowed with *atisaya* (eminence, one of the super human qualities attributed to Jaina Arhats) attained final emancipation, having set up the *niśidhikā* for him, 'surely, I shall not leave this pure (*niśidhi*) for ever'. Thus determining, the venerable chief of sages of Purimaṇḍala, who is endowed with the devotion to the preceptor and is filled with opulence that has been gained by means of pious observance of austerities, became accomplished with noble and excellent qualities like an ocean.]

This may well be compared with similar short verses in praise of Jaina ascetics, found carved on the epitaphs at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa. The Bādāmi record⁵ of Kappe Are-bhaṭṭa is both in Sanskrit and in Kannada. He is eulogised in Kannada as *śiṣṭajana-priyan*, *kaṣṭajana-varjitān* and *Kaliyugaviparīṇan*. From the point of prosody, the earliest form of *tripadi* metre is noticed in this inscription. But the impact of Sanskrit is quite obvious although the features of poetry and chaste Kannada language are also seen in the last part of the record which reads:

*oḷḷitta keyvōrāp-polladumadaḡante ballittu kalige
viparītā purākṛitamillī sandhikkum udu bandu*

*kaṭṭida śiṅghaman keṭṭodēn emagendu biṭṭavōl kalige vi
pariṭaṅgaḷ ahitarkkaḷ keṭṭar mēṇ sattaravichāraṁ*

Kannada prose of the period was also becoming embellished as can be seen in the Bādāmi cave inscription⁶ of Chālukya Maṅgalēśa of the first decade of the 7th century which reads:

*svasti śrīmat-prithivīvallabha Maṅgulēśanā kalmanege itt-ondū
Laṅḡigēśaram dēvarkke
pūṇiḡiva mālakārargge arddha visadi ittodān-aḡivōn pañchamahā-
pātakanakurṁ ṭḡaneyā narakada puḡu akkum*

Kannada of the Halmidi inscription⁷ has probably more grandeur than this; but here is a Kannada record which is more pure and straightforward in conveying the information. The use of Kannada term *kalmane* for temple, *puḡu* for worms etc. should be noticed.

Stone inscriptions of the Kadambas, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and to some extent even of the Rāshṭrakūṭas are fewer than their copper-plate grants. The language used in the copper-plate grants is Sanskrit. Kannada is resorted to mostly while specifying the boundaries of gift lands, the names of villages and such other details. Perhaps an exception is in case of the British Museum plates of Gōvinda III⁸ which is in Kannada. Recently, a copper-grant of c. 8th century is found at Belmaṅḡu in South Kanara District. The language of this record also is Kannada.

Stone inscriptions of these centuries are mostly in Kannada and in prose. Only matter-of-fact statements are found therein. The king is given the epithet attributed to him along with some titles which are commonly used by all the members of the family. The record thereafter proceeds to cite the date and register the gift or record the deed. The language used in them is refined and influenced by Sanskrit. We have already cited the record of Maṅgalēśa as an instance in point. A record of Kīrtivarma II,⁹ of the middle of 8th century may also be illustrated.

*Kīrtivarma satyāśraya śrī prithuvīvallabha mahārājādhirāju
paramēśvara-bhaṭṭararā rājyaṁ ond-uttaram=abhivṛiddhi sale
āḡaneyā varsham pravartitamānam-āge Jēbuḡagēṛige Kaliyamma
gāmuṇḡu geyd-i chēḡiyamān māḡisidōn ida munde Koṇḡisulāra
Kuppa Kīrtivarmma gōsāsiyan-iḡisidā kīrttana diśāpālasya likhitam
prabhunāman*

There is gentleness and delicacy in language. The imprecatory portion containing curses upon those who object or destroy the gift is also couched in a pleasant yet powerful way by taking recourse to more polished Sanskritic terms like *pañchamahāpātaka*.

This may be as well compared with the Kannada inscriptions of the contemporary Gaṅgas of Talakāḡ who ruled the region below the Tungabhadra and around Kaveri. The language used therein has no doubt succeeded in conveying the meaning,

By their texture and thought-content the Kannada character is revealed. But they lack in refinement. They are nearer folklore in nature, the term *dēśī* being more apt in describing its style. What we see is the spoken word even in writing.

A record of Gaṅga Śivamāra¹⁰ registers the death of a person named Veḍirūn and records a gift of land, stipulating the condition with regard to the collection of certain taxes:

*svasti śrīmad Śivamāram prithuvīrājyath keye Veḍirūn svarg-
gatt-iṣeya-mariyādi koḷḷān sēbige viṣṭār..... andinā teṇē
koḷga andinā key vesane koḷga dēvamāṇṇu Vāṇḍāri eṇettaname
.....okkaḷpottin-makkaḷ-paṭṭelka puṭṭidondū purṭga.*

[While the illustrious Śivamāra was ruling the kingdom on earth Veḍirūn (having died?) *iṣeya mariyādi* was granted for the services (of the god).....The tax prevailing at that time has to be collected. The produce has to be collected (at the rate) prevailing at that time. The possession of god's land Vāṇḍāri..... May his house be burnt, may he not beget children, may those that are born die.]

It may be noticed that many Kannada words then in use are not found in currency to day. They have gone out of currency and their meanings cannot be now made out. We do not know the meaning of *sēbige viṣṭār*. The term *eṇettana* may probably mean possession. The words used as curses may be noticed. They are like terms of abuse used in personal quarrels, appearing also in documents!

Another record of Śivamāra (I or II) from Dēbūru¹¹ has a similar imprecatory portion: *idan aḷiṭṭōn pañchamahā-pātaka-āgi oṭṭagalunḍu koṣṭa kēḍu āṭṭuveṇṇattala pūsurōnakku*, the exact import of which is not clear. *Āṭṭuveṇṇu* means a dancer. But the other words are not easily understood.

The regions of north Karnataka had by this time come under the influence of Sanskrit and the process of Aryanisation had already started. But the southern districts like those of Mysore, Mandya, Bangalore and Kolar were still under the dominating influence of Tamil language and culture. Historically it is accepted that the Gaṅgas had received the support of the Pallavas and the impact of the latter upon the former was quite marked. It may be incidentally noted that almost all the early literary works were composed by poets of the northern districts. The Jaina influence in the southern areas was comparatively less. It had been once thought that the Gaṅgas were adherents of Jainism and gave patronage to that religion and philosophy. But the surmise that the Jaina teacher Simhanandi helped in establishing the Gaṅga kingdom is now doubted. The names of the early rulers like Mādḥava, Harivarman and Viṣṇugōpa and the specific titles like *Nārāyaṇacharaṇa-udyāta*, *guru-gō-brāhmaṇa-pūjaka*, *dēva-dviḷa-guru-pūjā-tatpara* which they bore, indicate that they were the followers of Viṣṇu. There is meagre evidence to show that they were followers of Jainism. A good number of copper-plates of the Gaṅgas are found wherein the language used is Sanskrit. Since they were official documents they seem to have adopted the prevailing custom of using Sanskrit in such. On the other

hand, as noticed above, there is a preponderance of the use of spoken Kannada language in the Gaṅga records which are not so refined. In fact, one would be tempted to consider that the language used in many of them has a folk bias. In the later periods in this southern regions, owing to the political control of Tamil dynasties, Tamil language percolated to a great extent and the Kannada records of this region are greatly influenced by Tamil. This condition prevailed even in the Hoysala period because of the large Tamil population which had immigrated into these parts.

This was not so in the northern districts where, as seen earlier, Sanskrit had a perceptible influence. Naturally the Kannada language of these records is more refined and could be considered the *mārga* style of Kannada language.

In the format of the inscriptions we find a definite change in the records of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and of the rulers that followed, right upto the period of Vijayanagara. They are no more short records. Highflown language is made use of in describing the king and the donor, their genealogies, achievements, works of merit etc. They adopt what could be called literary *kāvya* style. Poetry takes the place of prose. Eulogy and exaggeration replace matter-of-fact statements. Language becomes metrical, the style charming, making room for descriptive literature. It would appear that the poets vied with one another in composing such records. But we do not find much variety. Stereotyped forms of *prasaśtis*, copies of poetic forms in matters of descriptions can now be clearly seen. Greater details with regard to the gifts made are also noticed. These enable the historians indirectly to depict the socio-economic life, and the general religious and cultural conditions.

From the 11th century onwards inscriptions became longer and larger. To some extent the literary works have been adopted as models in composing inscriptional poetry. The *champu* style is deeper rooted. As the Chālukya kingdom expanded and the kings became more powerful, they found themselves surrounded by poets who sought and got patronage. The feudatories also became strong and followed the footsteps of the masters in offering patronage to poets, who had attained fame as well as those who were striving for recognition. Inscriptions now take the shape of small poetical compositions containing descriptions of kings and chiefs, the donors and the donees, towns and villages. Fiction takes the place of fact, exaggeration becomes extravagant, emphasis is laid upon felicity of expression. Inscriptions in prose are fewer; but even there one can see ornateness and grandeur. More generally, inscriptions on hero-stones, *niśidi* stones and the like are found in prose.

The number of inscriptions of the 12th to 14th centuries till now discovered exceeds four thousands. Some of the verses in the inscriptions have been metrically identified, although some of them do not conform to rules of prosody. T. V. Venkatachala Sastri says: "The part played by Prosody in Kannada inscriptional poetry, the way in which metres are spread over... would enable one to recognise the literary value of these inscriptions more easily."¹² Such a study is being made in the Revised Volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica* wherein the metres of all verses in inscriptions have been identified. Some metres which form a class by themselves in literary works of this period, like *ragale* and *vachana* have also found their way

into inscriptions. In an inscription at Kōgaḷi the portion eulogising Indrakīrti, a Jaina preceptor, is described in the record itself as *Tōmara-ragaḷe* (same as *Lalita-ragaḷe*). Three *vachanas* of Siddharāma of Sonnalige have crept into inscriptions.

The impact of Tamil upon Kannada in the southern districts has been referred to above. This could be traced from the period of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ, right upto the Vijayanagara rulers. The language in the Hebbalaguppe inscription¹³ of Duggamāra may be noted: *svasti śrī Narasiṅgere appōr Duggamāra kōyil-vasadige aru-gaṇḍugaḇ-bede-māṇ koṭṭar*. Here the term *kōyil* is a loan word from Tamil. In the lexicon it is described as *dēśya*. But it is certainly not a pure Kannada term. Similar is the case with *neḷ-maṇṇu* meaning wet land. In the phrase *Keśava-bhaṭṭar uḷḷiṭṭa sabheya* figuring in another epigraph, the term *uḷḷiḍu* meaning convening, the term *nandāvēḷaku* occurring in 10th century records, the phrase *ponnarakoṇḍu maṇṇara koṭṭu* found quite often in the Kannada records of the southern region are all consequences of the impact of Tamil. At least, these words are found in usage even in the present day Tamil, while they have lost currency in Kannada. That they are loan words is certain.

The Hoysaḷas who were politically neighbours of the Chōḷas followed in some respects, the method of documentation in vogue in the Chōḷa records. The Chōḷa rulers commencing from Rājaraḷa I developed the system of prefacing their records with certain definite eulogies which, as the years of rule extended, grew in size the latest achievements, factual or imaginary, being added to the eulogies. These were different from the string of titles used by the Rāshtrakūṭa and Chālukya rulers. But such eulogies are found in the *praśastis* of the Hoysaḷas. In literary style these are called *daṇḍakas*. The eulogy found in the Haḷēbīḍ inscription¹⁴ of Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha II may be cited as an example:

*svasti samasta ripu-nripān-amal-sīmantiṇī-sīmanta-sindhūra-
rēṇu-ghūrṇita-niṣa-pada-payōja | vividhārthijana-kalpa-bhūja | nija-
vijaya-lakshmi-prathita-bṛihad-prabandha-bandhura-kaṭaka-vikshēp-
ākshūṇa-vilakshya-vistārita-bhūja-daṇḍa | vipaksha-kshatra-kuḷa-
kupita-kāḷadaṇḍa | nija-vijaya-prayāṇa-samaya-samudbhūta-svarṇ-
ṇa-kōṇa-nihita-gabhīra-bhūri - bhēri - praṇād - ākarpita-brahmāṇḍa-
bhūṇḍa | samara-prachanda | ati-vipuḷa-sukaḷa prājya-sāmṛājya
lakshmi-sarvārṅga-saṃgat-āṅga | sahaja-saundarya-nirjit-ānārṅga |
dara-daḷita-vadan-āravinda-prasaradasarāḷa-sahaja-saugandhya-ma-
rṇḍa-makararṇḍ-āpahasita-mṛigamad-āmōḍa | Vasantikādēvī-labdha-
vara-prasāda-taraḷatara-tāra-hāra-nīhāra-sāru-ghanasāra-kshīra-vā-
āśiprapūra-chāru-ūji-sudhāṣīra-sannibha nija-yaśahprakāśa harye-
ksha-saḍṛiksha-madhya-pradēśa | ati-chatura-bharata-chitra-chama-
kāra-tara-vitāta | etc.*

With the foundation of Vijayanagara, gradually the whole of South India came to be politically united under one banner. This was necessitated by circumstances which endangered the country and were a threat to Hinduism as a whole.

This onslaught had to be withstood in a united manner. The Vijayanagara empire undoubtedly succeeded in its aim. A great deal of patronage was given to the growth of language and literature, art and architecture. But yet, in many of these fields they did not rise to great heights. Unfortunately, from the point of culture, the period of efflorescence had come to an end giving way to a period of slow decadence.

A marked difference is noticed in the records of the rulers of Vijayanagara. Barring the copper-plate grants of these rulers and some stone inscriptions of the more prominent rulers like Sāluva Narasimha, Kṛṣṇadēvaraya and Achyutarāya which seem to be copies of copper-plate grants, others do not contain significant literary merit. Compared to the earlier centuries the inscriptional poets of this period are few and far between. The Kannada records are shorter and restrict themselves to the matter-of-fact statements.

Contents

The inscriptions normally contain a preamble, the details of donor, the donation made and the donee whereafter is found a concluding part in the form of imprecation. The preamble in the early records generally is very short. It contains the words *svasti* or *śrī* or *śubham-astu*; there would be sometimes a symbol in the beginning. *Svasti* and *śrī* are the most commonly used auspicious words immediately whereafter the titles of the king are recounted and a reference to his rule made. This practice could be noticed even in the 10th century records of Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Some instances may be cited (1) *svasti śrī Vijayāditya-bhaṭārārā pṛithuvīrājyadoḥ* figuring in the Bannikoppa epigraph¹⁵ of Vijayāditya, the Chālukya of Bādāmi. (2) *Svasti śrī Dōrapparasar pṛithivīrājyaṁ geye* in the record¹⁶ of Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva. (3) *Svasti samasta bhuvanāśrayaṁ śrī pṛithivīvallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvaraṁ paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Chālukya-ābharaṇaṁ* etc. in a record¹⁷ of Vikramāditya VI. However, in the copper-plate grants, as also some stone inscriptions we find invocatory verses like *Jayaty-āvishkṛitaṁ Viṣṇōr-vārāhaṁ kshōbbhit-ārṇavaṁ dakṣiṇōnnata-damṣṭrāgṛa-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ* which is a common invocation in the grants of Chālukyas.¹⁸ Occasionally one finds a different verse like the one in the Lakshmēśvara¹⁹ inscription invoking Jina:

*Jayuty-atīśaya-jinair-bhāsuras-sura-vanditaḥ
śrīmān-jinapatiḥ śrīṣṭīr-ādēḥ karitā-dayōdayaḥ*

In records of 11th century and thereafter the Sanskrit verse invoking Śiva (*namas-tuṅga-śiraśchumbi* etc) or Jina (*śrīmat-parama-gaṁbhīra-syādvād-āmōgha-lāñchchhunaṁ* etc) or Viṣṇu in the form of *hoṁa* (*namas-tasmai Varāhāya līlayā charatē mahīm* etc) is found. Sometimes Kannada verses invoking the presiding deity of the place are also found. Thus the verse:

*Śrīmad-amarēndra-ruiṇdra-śikhāmaṇi gaṇa-taruṇa-kiraṇa-
parivṛḍha charaṇaṁ
Sōmārkkāṇa-nayanaṁ Sōmēśvaradēvar-īge śāsvata sukhamaṁ*

is in praise of the deity in the temple of Sōmēśvara at Kalkēri.²⁰

The genealogical accounts of the ruling families are more commonly found in the Hoysala records. Such a practice is found, though not so quite often, in the records of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa or rulers of Vijayanagara. The copper-plate grants of the former are very few in number. But in those of Vijayanagara such accounts are found narrated almost invariably. It had become a practice from the 11th century onwards to trace the ancestry to kings of epic or puranic fame and describe themselves as belonging to the lunar or solar race. This has led to different opinions about the origins of these families, although now such accounts are brushed aside as fictitious.

So far as the grants are concerned, the Kannada records generally make a bald statement that a specified area of land was gifted for worship, offerings etc. (*aṅga-rāṅga-bhōga*) to the temple. These lands were made over to the *sthānapatis* i.e. the pontiffs in charge of the administration of the temple. It was left to the donee to make use of the produce of the land in the way he deemed fit. Besides worship and offerings, there were perpetual lamps (*nandādīpa*) to be burnt, temple servants to be maintained. Quite a number of these temples were also centres of learning where students were maintained along with the teachers. They were provided with board and other necessary comforts of life. In such cases the record stipulated that the gift was also meant for food and clothing (*aśan-āchchhādāna*) of the students, for feeding the ascetics (*tapōdhanar-āhārādāna*) and the like. In rare instances more details as to how the produce or income from the gift (land) was to be proportionately spent were specified. But generally the records do not go into such details, beyond specifying the responsibilities of the donees.

However, the system of referring to the minute details with regard to the appropriation of income by the temple authorities are found in the contemporary Tamil records of Chōḷas and others that followed. They specify the amount of land (or share in produce, or income) to be rightfully enjoyed by the several temple servants like the piper, the florist, the cook, the accountant, the *dēvadūsis* and the like. The donee was not free to utilise it according to his discretion. Further, these were rights held hereditarily as *kāṇiyāṭchi*. Naturally, there was no room for defalcation of the gift. As stated above, the Hoysalas had come into close contact with the Chōḷas and the system of administration of the latter had left its impact upon the former. Hence, as a sort of exception, such details are found recorded in their inscriptions.

Dating of inscriptions is yet another important feature. The records of Karnataka are mostly dated in the Śaka era, the earliest mention of which is made in the Bādāmi cliff inscription of Pulakēśi I which is dated the Śaka year 465 corresponding to 543 A.D. The Aihole *prasaśti* of his grandson is dated Śaka 556. It refers also to the Kali era and states that the Kali year was 3735, corresponding to 634 A.D. The Kadambas had adopted the method of dating their inscriptions in the regnal years of the kings, season, *paksha* and days which are not sufficient data to find out the English equivalents. However, the Gaṅgas in the south, in the early periods referred to the regnal years. Only after the 8th century did they too start the Śaka

reckoning. This practice of using the Śaka era has continued right upto the present day. The records of the Bādāmi Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas also refer to the regnal years of the kings, but the use of Śaka era became more and more popular.

Credit should be given to Vikramāditya VI who founded an era, named the Chālukya-Vikrama era, replacing the Śaka. This was in use as long as he ruled and even for two to three decades thereafter. This commenced from 1077 A.D. This custom was continued later on by his successor and subordinates. But they were more in the nature of regnal years and were shortlived. This practice of counting regnal years was continued thereafter by the Sēuṇas and the Hoysaḷas, although the Śaka reckoning was in vogue. During the Vijayanagara period Śaka era once again gained prominence, but came to be designated more popularly as the Śāli-vāhana Śaka.

Special mention must be made of the records of Kalachuris of whom Bijjala II is the foremost. This king was responsible for the political upheaval in the middle of the 12th century resulting in the overthrow of the Chālukya rule. The Kalachuris of Karnataka ruled as sovereigns only for two decades, a period which witnessed great changes in the political, social and religious conditions. Bijjala II was an ambitious chief belonging to a family whose early members were kings. In the Kalachuri records we find a vivid description of how this chief gave vent to his feelings, clamoured for power and became the leader of the revolution. The records are autobiographical in nature. They say that the early members of the Kalachuri family were rulers; later some members who lacked valour became feudatories, (*maṇḍalika*). [I, have now grown strong and powerful and this position of subordination is not becoming of me; hence, with my own power of arm, I have become the emperor. After all, the saying that the earth is to be enjoyed by the mighty is not false (*pusiyaḷtu vīrabhōjyā vasundharū*)]. Hence, like Agastya who, born in a waterpot sucked in the entire ocean, this king Bijjala has conquered the whole earth! How could he do it? By sheer valour; and who could prevent him when kingship was writ large in his forehead (*nosuloḷ sāmraḷjyapaṭṭam nelasaḷ*). Such is the tenor of thought recorded in Kalachuri inscriptions, which is a unique feature. This could as well be compared with the edicts of Aśōka where the emphasis however was different, the thoughts being lofty.

So far as the contents of the record are concerned during the 15-16th centuries, they tend to become more and more documents of modern days. They record agreements entered into between two parties, stipulations laid down with regard to payment of taxes, more so when new townships and settlements were established, petitions to redress grievances placed before higher authorities about illegal and unauthorised taxes being collected and the like.

This short analysis of the Kannada inscriptions is an attempt at showing their value as essential source material in the reconstruction of history.

Notes and References

1. *EC*, Vol. V (Rice's edition) Ak. 127.
2. B. R. Gopal (ed) *EC.*, Vol. IV (Revised 1975), Ko. 91 and 92.
3. *ibid.*, Ko. 91
4. *ibid.*, Ko. 92.
5. *Indian Antiquary (I.A.)* Vol. I p. 60-61.
6. *ibid.*, Vol. X p. 59.
7. *MAR.*, 1936 p. 73.
8. *El.*, Vol. XXXIII pp. 327 ff.
9. *SI.*, Vol. XI, pt I, No. 5.
10. B. R. Gopal (ed): *EC.*, Vol. III (Rev. 1974) HK 156.
11. *ibid.*, Nj. 129.
12. *ibid.*, Vol. V, Introduction, p cxiii.
13. *ibid.*, Vol. III, HK. 63.
14. *EC.*, Vol. V (Rice's edition), Bl. 114.
15. *SI.*, Vol. XVIII No. 3.
16. *ibid.*, Vol. XX No. 10.
17. B R. Gopal (ed.): *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. V, No 12
18. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 31.
19. *ibid.*, No. 3.
20. *ibid* , No. 49.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF TELUGU INSCRIPTIONS

M. D. SAMPATH

NEXT TO TAMIL AND KANNADA figure the inscriptions in Telugu language and script. So far as the script is concerned, it may be noted that right upto the 13-14th centuries, it resembles Kannada so much that the two together have come to be designated as Telugu-Kannada. It was only after the 14th century that Telugu developed its own feature in so far as the *taḷekaṭṭu* and the signs for lengthening are concerned.

Scholars have traced some Telugu words figuring in the Prakrit inscriptions of the early Christian era. It is further said that this language had an independent existence even at such an early period. V. Prabhakara Sastry and M. Somasekhara Sarma held that the words like *Vēpūru* and *Nāgabū* occurring in the label inscriptions datable to 1st-2nd century B.C. are Telugu words in short form.¹ I. Kartikeya Sarma has traced the occurrence of Telugu in the cave inscription from Mālakoṇḍa and on a potsherd from Sālihuṇḍam as early as 2nd-3rd century B.C. He opines that the legends on the bilingual silver coin of the Sātavāhana kings are in Telugu verse belonging to a *dṛṣi* metre. It is further said that these coins were not meant for Telugu-speaking subjects but for the western and northern provinces of the Sātavāhana empire.² In all probability, the expression *Nāgabū* is a short form for a Prakrit word *Nāgabudhasa*. Thus it may not be a Telugu word as understood by some scholars. The legend on the Sālihuṇḍam potsherd is read as *Nakupona* or *[Na]kuhena* and it is in Brahmi characters of the 1st century B.C. and Prakrit language and not Telugu.³

The language of the bilingual coins of the Sātavāhana kings Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi and Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakaṛṇi have been regarded as Prakrit and Telugu by Dr. Sircar and I. K. Sarma⁴ and as Tamil by R. Nagaswamy and R. Panneerselvam.⁵ Another interpretation regarding these coins is that they were meant for circulation in the northernmost areas of their kingdom for Tamil-knowing subjects in the Hyderabad region and not for Telugu-speaking subjects. The expression *tiru* on the reverse of these coins has been taken to be an adjective in Telugu. This is commonly met with as an honorific term in Tamil even to this day. Further, in the word read as *mākaṇaku* or *makanku*, the sixth case ending *ku* has been taken to be a Telugu word.⁶ It is also said that the early Telugu *makan* became *magaṇḍu* plural *magaṇḍu*.⁷ If this is taken as a Telugu expression, then it is possible that Telugu words are said to have been expressed or written in Tamil pronunciation. It is doubtful in this case because there is distinction between *k* and *g* in Telugu language. In fact, the *Tolkāppiyam sūtra* of using *ku* as a genitive case-ending has been followed here. If the legend on the reverse of the bilingual coins under study is accepted as Tamil, then it is possible that these coins were issued for the subjects on the border land.

The area to the north of Vēṅgaḍam is called Vaḍugardēyam. Thus the Vaḍugars are said to be the neighbours of the Tamil country on the north and the north-west. The area once inhabited by the Vaḍugar is occupied by the Telugu-speaking people at present. We have no idea of the name of the language spoken by the Vaḍugars in the early centuries. But from Tamil literature we come to know that they are stated to be speaking a language which is described as *Kallā-nīṇ-moḷi* i.e. uncultivated long forms of speech.⁸

Most of the documents of this area are written in Prakrit language. Perhaps it was the official language in those days. K. G. Krishnan has informed me that the common people of the Andhra country might not have used Prakrit in the early period. There must have been a language other than Prakrit, probably Telugu, but what exactly was that language is not definitely known.

Both Prakrit and Sanskrit languages were used in the inscriptions till about the 4th century A.D. We find therefore in the Prakrit inscriptions like the Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman and the Kanukollu plates of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman, the imprecatory verses in Sanskrit and the section dealing with the boundaries of the gift village in Telugu. Such a practice was followed in the Eastern Chālukyan grants. In the Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman of about the middle of fourth century A.D. except the portion introducing the king and the imprecatory passage, the operative part giving the names of the donees, their shares etc. is entirely in Prakrit.

The language of the early inscriptions is mostly Prakrit and Sanskrit till about the first half of the 6th century. They are also written in an admixture of prose and verse as in the two Vishṇukunḍi charters from Tummalagūḍem in Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh. The metre of the verses used in the first set of plates of Gōvinda-varman dated his 37th year is *anushtubhī*. In the plates of Vikramēndravarma II dated the Śaka year 488 (566-67 A.D.) the introductory section begins with a verse introducing the ruling king along with his titles, then a praise of the Vishṇukunḍis following in the portion describing the royal genealogy. The second section records the declaration of the king made on a specified month, *tithi* etc. in his reign-period and the grant and its object; this is followed by the usual imprecatory passages. The third section contains the date of the charter, the camping place of the king and the executor (*ājñāpanā*) of the charter.⁹ It is interesting to note that in the 1pūr set I of Mādhavavarman II, the great-grandfather of Vikramēndravarma II, dated in his 37th regnal year, the prince Mañchyanna-bhaṭṭāraka figures as the *ājñā* or the executor of the charter.¹⁰ This record furnishes the solitary example of a Telugu name among the Vishṇukunḍi princes whose names are otherwise Sanskritic. The Chikkulla and Kandulapalem plates were issued by Vikramēndravarma II. In the former charter which is dated his 10th regnal year the expression *samhassa(isa) rambuḷ* in line 26 of the record has been taken as an equivalent of the word *Saṁharsa-saramulu* occurring in the Telugu inscriptions.¹¹ But for these instances we have not met with the use of Telugu language in the inscriptions prior to the inscriptions of the Chōḷas of Rēnāḍu found in the region of Anantapur and Cuddapah Districts.

There are about twelve records of the Chōlas of Rēnāḍu, in the early Telugu language and Telugu-Kannada script of the variety seen in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, assignable on palaeographical grounds from the later half of the 6th century to about the end of the 8th century A.D.

The Kalamajja inscription of Eriḱal Mutturāju Dhanañjaya is one of the earliest of these records in Telugu known so far from the Telugu region. It is evident from the study of this record that by the time of the record, Telugu had begun to take an independent status in its development. But for the damage of the record resulting in the loss of some of the Telugu expressions, this is a valuable record especially for the history of Telugu language and orthography.¹² Note the text of the Kalamajja inscription:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | 8 <i>pu Chēnūrukāju</i> |
| 2. <i>kal [Mu]turū</i> | 9. <i>aḷikaḷū[ū]ri-</i> |
| 3. <i>ju Dhanamja-</i> | 10. <i>ṇḍa vāru[ūri]</i> |
| 4. <i>yuḡu Rēnā</i> | 11-14. (damaged) |
| 5. <i>ṇḍu ēḷan</i> | 15. <i>pañcha [ma*]</i> |
| 6. <i>Chiḡumbūri</i> | 16. <i>hāpātakasa</i> |
| 7. <i>Rēvaṇakālu [paṇi]</i> | 17. <i>[ku]</i> |

The language of these early Telugu records has some interesting and significant features such as (1) the euphonic *i* ending of many of the expressions like *muturāju*, *dhanamjayuḡu*, *Rēvaṇakālu* etc. This is not commonly met with in Tamil inscriptions except the hero-stone records of the early period.¹³ (2) The text of the record containing the sequence viz. the king's name, the country of his rule, the place and name of the donor or donee, the nature of grant, the imprecatory passage or the witness to the gift and or the name of the engraver or composer. These records end with the expression *pañchamahāpātakasaku* or *pañchamahāpātaku agu*.

In the early Telugu inscriptions the use of *varga* letters like *cha* and the use of letters such as *sa* were common as in *chakshi* and *sakshi* both meaning witness. The expression *pannasa* seems to have been derived from the Prakrit words *paṇa* and *nas* meaning absence (*nās*) of money or tax (*paṇa*). It is probably for this reason that the gift is termed *pannasa* as in the record of Eriḱal Mutturāju (Insn. B). The distinction between *k* and *g* or between *t* and *d* has not been strictly observed in the Telugu inscriptions unlike in the Tamil records (cf. G: *Dukarāju* and *Dugarāju*). The word *vōja* (*vōju*) is derived from Prakrit form *uvajjha* or *ojha* meaning a teacher. Some of the words show that the suffix like *pāda* in Sanskrit has been rendered into Telugu *kālu* meaning foot. The word *koḷoche* in line 9 (Insn. I, p. 240) meaning 'engraved' is an earlier form of *krochche* occurring in the later epigraphs. The *n* ending of the words like *ēḷan* and *śarmamārikān* as in poetry is noteworthy.

The Chāmalūru inscription of Prithivīvallabha Vijayādi[tya]-chōḷa dated in his 22nd regnal year is written with a mixture of Telugu and Sanskrit prose in the portion wherein the names of the donees figure (ll 7-9: *Kauḡḍilya-gōṭrasya penbāju Rēvaṇ(ś)*)

armanā [pu] itrasya Aggis(ś) armarik-ichchina dattī). The expression *aggi* is a Telugu form of Sanskrit *agni*. We get instances to show the early use of words like *iāmbul* and *amma* meaning younger brother (or sister) and mother respectively.¹⁴

But this is an instance of the doubling of consonants after the *anusvāra* (e.g. *samyyuktunru*). In the early Telugu inscriptions instead of *anusvāra* the *anunāsika* is being used for e.g. *Rēnāṇḍu* for *Rēnāṁḍu*, and *reṇḍu* for *reṁḍu*. This is an instance of the influence exerted by Sanskrit on the Telugu language apparently seen in the early stages of the development of Telugu.

The genealogy of the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu is furnished only in the copper-plate grants and a single stone inscription. They are the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra,¹⁵ the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription of Satyāditya¹⁶ and the Madras Museum plates of Śrīkaṇṭha-chōḍa.¹⁷ The copper-plates of these rulers are written in Sanskrit.

Another feature not commonly met with in the early Telugu records is the mention of astronomical details like the month, *tithi*, weekday, *nakshatra* and *hōra* in the inscription of Erikal Muturāju Puṇyakumāra.¹⁸

From about the 6th century A.D. to about the 10th century A.D. the inscriptions are found to be short in nature and show an evolution of the Telugu language. The study of hero-stone inscriptions found in the south western areas of the Telugu country in the borders of Karnataka and Tamilnadu belonging to Bāṇas and Vaidumba families who were feudatories of the imperial dynasties of the Pallavas, Chālukyas and Western Gaṅgas show that they normally mention the ruling king's chief's name, the Śaka date, the ruling country, the place of skirmish due to cattle lifting or political raid upon the territory, the name of the deceased hero and the chief on whose behalf he lost his life. These are engraved on the bands between the sculptures in relief. The language of these records is Telugu of the archaic type. The *prāśasti* portion of the hero-stone inscriptions of the Vaidumba kings is rather short unlike the content of the record. Most of their records begin with the highflown eulogy

*svasty = anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭaṇ - ōpalabdha-vijayalakshmi-
samāliṅgita-viśāla-vakshasthala*

of the broad chest, embraced by the goddess of Victory won in several battles.¹⁹ This characteristic preamble of the Vaidumba inscriptions is also seen in their records in Kannada language.²⁰

Thus both Telugu and Kannada were used in the records of the Vaidumbas unlike the inscriptions of the other feudatory chiefs like the Western Gaṅgas, Nolambas and Bāṇas which are not found in Telugu language. From the use of Telugu expressions like *tammu* for *tamma* and *pasiṇḍi* for gold in a record of Gaṇḍatrimeṭra Vaidumba-mahārāja (c. 835-880 A.D.) from Kalakaḍa in Chittoor District, it is difficult to say that the influence of Telugu language in the Kannada inscriptions relates to western borders only.

The hero-stone inscriptions of this dynasty found from Veligallu and Peddatipposamudram in the same district refer to two important battles of Mudūmaḍuvu

and Sōremaṭi respectively. In the latter record the use of nominative singular *ṇṇu* in *chelvunṇu* which is a precursor of later *ṇḍu* and the expression *yemmakāla* are very interesting. This term has a connection with the word *emmekāḍu* meaning 'amorous or sportive' (i.e. *vilāsa-vantuḍu*). But this may refer to a person like the name Eḷu-pakālu mentioned in a record of his predecessor Kaligatriṇētra Śivamāra of c.9th century A.D.²¹

The literary features of early inscriptions are (1) the usage of *vairi-pada* or compound in which Telugu and Sanskrit words²² used indiscriminately side by side; (2) the use of compounds but not long for e.g. *sahyyuktunṇagu* in the Indukūru record of Chōḷa-mahārāja and *uttamōttamunṇ-ayinavāṇṇu* in the Tippalūru inscription of Puṇyakumāra²³ and the sandhi *u + a* in these compounds; (3) the unaffected simplicity of language and treatment; (4) the doubling of the consonant after the *rēpha* as in the words *tarkka* (line 6), *śarmma* (line 7) and *kārttiya* (line 8); (5) the use of letters *l* and *r* rather frequently for e.g. *puḷōlu* meaning 'a place' and *Puṇyakumārūṇṇu maṇuṇṇapiḍuku*, *mahārāju[ṇḷa]*, *jugarājuḷa*, *pāraku* etc.; (6) the mention of various titles like *maṇuṇṇapiḍuku madamuḍitunṇu*, *uttamōttamunṇu* etc. assumed by the kings of the Chōḷa family of Rēnāḍu as noticeable in the stone inscriptions viz Tippaluru inscription of Erikal Mutturāju Puṇyakumāra and Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription of Puṇyakumāra as also in the Mālēpāḍu plates; (7) the influence of local pronunciation may be found in the words like *pri* and *pṛi* in *pṛithivī* in line 3 of the text of Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription of Puṇyakumāra-chōḷamahārāja; (8) the absence of the usual doubling of the consonant after the *rēpha* according to grammar like *rmu* in *Pōrmukha* (p. 235, Ins, G, line 2) in *chirpaliya* and *Tirpalūra* (p. 233, Ins. F, lines 5 and 7); (9) the practice of the distinction between *t* and *d* which exists in Sanskrit does not seem to have been observed consistently; and (10) the distinction between short and long forms which does not exist in Sanskrit is observed for e.g. *ēḷan*, *ūra* (line 8) *pūrvvam* (line 20) (p. 238 Ins. text lines 8 and 20).

Inscriptions in stone of the period between 7th and 9th centuries A.D. use both Telugu and Sanskrit. They begin with an operative part of it which is in Sanskrit. The record ends with the usual imprecatory verse *svadattāṇṇ paradattāṇṇ vā* etc. attributed to Vyāsa. They are very brief giving the name of the king, his regnal year, the donations made to the deities in temples, the images set up, the person who caused the images to be made, the object gifted and the name of the sculptor followed by the last sentence of the record in Sanskrit attributing the writing or the engraving of the inscription to an individual. As in other early records, we get expressions like *Bhatarulakun samvatsarambul elan* etc.

The Bhairavakoṇḍa inscription²⁴ of Vikramāditya II assigned to the middle of 8th century A.D. refers to Kalli-bōḷi who is said to have set up the images of Gaṇapati, Nandiśvara and Daṇḍīśvara. Here the word *Kalli* stands for the name of the village of which Gaṇapati was the bōḷi or bōya meaning an officer. The language of the Tippalūru record of Vikramāditya II²⁵ dated in his first regnal year is archaic making it rather difficult to construe the meaning of the passage from lines 17-25. This is

followed by the imprecatory passage. The section referring to the grant is rather short.

The copper-plate inscriptions of this period are mostly in Sanskrit. The Rēnāḍu Chōḷa plates, partly in verse and prose, begin with an invocatory verse in praise of Lakṣṭapāṇi in the *Āryāgīti* metre and end with an imprecatory verse in *amushṭubh*. The record in prose furnishes the lineage and genealogy of the various kings of the family during this period, the regnal year with the details of date such as the month and *nakshatra* (star) and finally give the details of the grant which are generally the land in a village the boundaries of which are given with measurements, the donees along with their names and *gōtra* and the composer or writer of the charter at the end. The writer of Dombara Nandyāla plates figures as the *ājñāpī* in the Mālēpāḍu plates of the same king.²⁶

The Eastern Chālukya copper-plates of about this period form a class by themselves. The language is Sanskrit mostly in verse or in prose except in regard to the names of places forming the boundaries which are in Telugu. Some of the charters are composed in Sanskrit prose throughout except for the imprecatory verses at the end of the document. They begin with a short invocatory passage followed by the genealogy of the family, the descriptive epithets etc. of the kings being omitted, and then the object of the grant. The officials involved in the transaction recorded in the charters are *grāmēyaka*, *rājapurusha*, *talavara*, *daṇḍanāyaka*, *rāshṭrika*, *dūta*, *bhaṭa*, *nata*, *chēṭaka*, *parichāraka*, *niyukta*, *adhyaksha*, *praśāstī*, *samāhartī* and *nāyaka*, thus giving information regarding the administrative hierarchy. The recipient of the gift who is engaged in *yajana*, *yājana*, *adhayana*, *adhyūpana*, *dāna* and *pratigraha* and who is extolled as 'the very Vararuchi of the present day' for his erudition in the exposition of the *āgamas* mentioned in the charter gives us an idea of the various branches of learning that was in vogue. The dates specifying the occasion on which the gift was made and the writing of the document enable us to fix the precise date of the charter and also the date of accession of the king. The names of the donees and their *gōtra* are introduced along with the shares of land they have been given and also their official designation like *bōya*. The record then cites the officials who were to protect the gift. Another point of interest in these charters is the mention of the place from where the grant was issued, e.g. the grant of Jayasimha I was issued from his residence at Kallūra.²⁷

These charters of the early kings till the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana V do not furnish any historical information in the form of recounting the glorious achievements of the dynasty from very early kings to the date of the known kings of the family during this period and also the events of the individual reigns. The successive generation of kings with whom the issuer of the grant is related and the date that it furnishes are interesting. Besides the matter-of-fact introductory passages, they give us particulars of the object of the grant, the occasion on which it was gifted, the donees and the boundaries of the grant village or lands.

The copper-plate inscriptions prior to 10th century written entirely in Telugu language are few. The Madras Museum plate of Vaidumba Bhuvanāśrīnētra²⁸

dated Śaka 893 is one such. It gives the minimum details. The Addaṅki inscription²⁹ of Guṇaga Vijayāditya dated 845-46 A.D. contains a Telugu verse testifying to the existence of a literary tradition though there is no literature of this period surviving to this day.

Another instance is met with in an inscription from Cuddapah District belonging to the period of Vaidumbas. This record³⁰ contains Sanskritic phrases arranged in poetic diction but not in verse form. Even though the passage given below cannot be considered to be a verse, it should be noted that it may be treated as a poor specimen of poetic diction in the mass of the stereotyped hero-stone inscriptions of this period.

*guḍiṃya vinīta va[chchāṭa] viśa bara [sa]ḍara paṣiṇḍi ku[ṛa]naya
[kāpajana] sahasa pratibalakaṇṭhaka prabhāva ga[ṇgi]ka Dhanumēṭi
dhanya-sampūrṇadaya paradana[sāhivūjya]*

*daṛiṇ kari-nara-vara-vāji-ṛakṣa kukṣi-guṇbhi-prahāri śrī ma-
hārāju..... etc.*

The Addaṅki inscription in Telugu verse and prose furnishes a positive evidence of Telugu poetry in the middle of 9th century A.D. This is an important and valuable inscription from the point of view of Telugu language and literature. It resembles the Bezwada inscription of Yuddhamalla from orthographical point of view, especially in the use of *anusvāra*. In the early periods both the forms ending in *mu* or *mmu* and the frequent use of *mbu* as in the word *kōṭṭambu*³¹ were adopted and not one is a later development than the other. This record is in *Taruvōja* metre written in a group of eight *dvipadas* which is a very popular one. The use of *prāsa* and *yati* are well-nigh distinguishable in this long metre for *prāsa* e.g. *Paṭṭambu* (ll. 3 and 4) *Koṭṭambul* (l. 6) and *kaṭṭepu-durggermbu* (l. 7). The words like *paḍu* meaning army, a cognate with the Tamil *paḍai*, *goḷelchi* probably, for having conquered or captured and *aḍlu* meaning 'paddy' are some of the early Telugu expressions mentioned here. The Kandukūru inscription of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, the Dharmavaram record referring to Pāṇḍuraṅgu, Ayyampeḡgaḍa and Bijeyarāja and the Bezwada inscription of Yuddhamalla are all in Telugu verse. The first two seem to be in *Śīsa* while the third is composed in the *madhyākara* metre. Some are of the opinion that the *Akkara* metre in which Yuddhamalla's record is composed was borrowed from Kannada poetry on the basis of a passage from Nāgavarman's *Chhandōmbudhi*

The trilingual Kurkiyāl inscription³² in Kannada characters of about the 10th century referring to Jinavallabha, the brother of Pampa, the renowned Kannada poet, the author of *Vikramārjunavijaya* contains three Telugu verses in line 10 in the *Kunda* metre. It throws interesting light on the development of poetry in Telugu thus taking the Telugu poetical composition to a century earlier than the oldest Telugu work *Mahābhārata* by Nannayya-bhaṭṭa, which was dedicated to Rājārāja.

In the records of the 11th century and thereafter can be seen a change in the method of drafting inscriptions. They are long and contain more details. The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit throughout containing the legendary and historical genealogy which grew in length with the reign-period of the kings of the dynasty incorporating the most notable of their achievements, the order of their succession and the exact duration of their reign-periods. Thus the *prastasti* is transformed into a family chronicle. A further change was introduced in the form of a lengthy Puranic or mythical pedigree in place of the short preamble embodied in the early records of the family. Some inscriptions narrate political events in short, the date and the grants made. The other sections of inscriptions are longer especially the narration of circumstances in which the grant was made, the details of the donation, the donors, the description of the boundaries of the village or the details of the land regarding its situation, the imprecatory verses and the names of the executor, the composer and the scribe. The Kalidiṇḍi, Kōrumelli and Nandampūṇḍi grants³³ bear ample testimony and present close textual affinities in the draft of the charters.

The boundaries are listed in Telugu. In the stone inscriptions of this period, on the contrary, the details are limited and a standard has been observed in giving the details. Though they are short, they furnish the details viz. the king's important titles and name such as *Sarvvalōkāśrīya Viṣṇuvardhana*, the details of date viz. the regnal year and the Śaka era, or regnal year alone, the cyclic year too, the month, the *tithi*, and the weekday. The mention of the eclipses, the *saṁkrāntis* like *Uttarāyana* or *Dakṣiṇāyana* and other details of date help us to fix the date of accession of kings. These generally give the name of the donor, his native place, his meritorious deeds like the construction of a *maṇḍapa*, image consecrated by him, the provision of income from taxes, the gold (*māḍa*), the sheep, the goat and *inupa-yeḍlu* for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple etc. The text of one such record is given below:

1. *svasti Sarvvalōkāśrīya śrī Vi-*
2. *ṣṇuvardhana-mahārājulu prava-*
3. *rdhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsa-*
4. *raṁbula 41 Śaka-varsharāmbula 983*
5. *nēṇṭi Plā[va]-saṁvatsarambuna [berēṭi] da-*
6. *kṣiṇāmbuna Yāruvēla Velanaṇṭi*
7. *ggrahārambu Valivēri Tiraipuru-*
8. *sha-sthānambuna Mahādēvarakun = i-*
9. *yyūri Janniyabhaṭla kṇturu [Go]-*
10. *ṇḍava āchandr = ārkam = akhaṇḍava-*
11. *[r]ṭti diviyay = okaṇṭikīn = ichchina goṛi*
12. *yal = ēmḥadi³⁴*

The inscriptions of Chālukya-Chōlas and chiefs of Velanāḍu are long and contain more details. There are two sections in almost all the stone records. The inscription of the latter part of the 11th century begins with the Telugu portion giving the details of date, the king's name and the name of the chief along with the titles in various glowing terms and the details relating to the grants. The chronogram is invariably recorded in the Sanskrit portion following the Telugu section. The details furnished in the Telugu section of the record are again repeated in the Sanskrit section. Many of the records of this and later periods end with an imprecatory verse in Sanskrit and state that the endowment should last as long as the sun and moon endure. In the inscriptions of the 12th century the *prāśasti* grows in length incorporating the historical information about the family of the chiefs more than that of the king and in respect of the grant portion too. In the case of inscriptions in Telugu prose or verse the matter-of-fact statements about the king or his titles and the grant portion, the details about the donor, the place of his residence and the territorial division in which it is included, the signatories, the person to whom the gift was entrusted and the engraver are mentioned in the record. The Western Chālukya records of Tribhuvanamalla and Bhūlōkamalla, give the details of date like Śaka year, Chālukya-Vikrama year, month, the *paksha*, *tithi*, eclipse etc. which enable us to find the English equivalent. The records in Sanskrit and Telugu languages begin with an introduction in Sanskrit narrating the political events or the genealogy by the chiefs followed by the detailed contents of the grant in Telugu. They also contain details of the land-grants made by the chief or his officers and others to the deity, to the dancers (*sāni*), priests, *māṇi* etc. Some of the records of this period contain the names of the dancing girls (*sāni*) like Mupparisāni, Kommasāni, Mārāsāni, Kātāsāni, Āytasāni etc. They also refer to provisions made for food-offerings to the deity, to the priest, the *sthānapati* and for different temple servants like *paurāṇika*, *adhyaksha*, *āvajimḍu*, *madaliya*, *pāḍi-dēme*, *pāḍi-vāṇi*, *vaṃssadhvani*, *ottuvāni*, *taṃtrapālu*, *goḍavubhadraṇi* etc. for the several services rendered by them. These are elaborately given in a record of Kulōttuṅga-chōḍadeva dated Śaka 1052 (1129 A.D.) in Telugu verse and prose.³⁵

Another interesting particular mentioned in an undated record from Nādeṇḍla is the agreement entered into by the Teliki one-thousand of Bezwada to the transfer of jewels of a deceased wife to the husband alone and not to any of her relatives, thus giving an idea of the social custom prevalent during this period. In a number of inscriptions of this period occur the terms *vuṭlu*, the same as *puṭlu* which is a grain measure³⁶ and *inupa-edlu* to indicate the 'sheep or goats' offered as gift to the deities for the maintenance of various lamps.

During the 12-14th centuries, these inscriptions are found both in Sanskrit and in Telugu. For example, the inscriptions of Kākatīya Rudradēva from Hanumakoṇḍa, Pānugal and Bothpūr are bilingual. In the Hanumakoṇḍa, Pānugal and Bothpūr records unlike the records of the early times, a reversal of the order of languages is seen. These inscriptions begin with an introduction in Telugu prose which practically contains all the details pertaining to the purpose of the record.³⁷

The Telugu portion of these inscriptions occupy a secondary position from a literary point of view and contain the main details of the grant, leaving the genealogy and achievements of the king, the donor and his ancestors to be dealt with in the Sanskrit portion. Some inscriptions like the records of Rudra from Pillalamagiri³⁸ form a different class. They begin with Sanskrit verses describing the genealogy, achievement of the king or the chiefs or the donor and switch over to Telugu for other details of gift. Inscriptions are generally chaste and good and incidentally show how Telugu attained a place of importance in literary history. Of course, in the inscriptions where language is both Sanskrit and Telugu, it must be said that Sanskrit has been retained. These records gives us an idea of the influence of Sanskrit language upon Telugu literature.

Some inscriptions of this period narrate political events in poetic style, even while recording the grants made by the officers or donors who are associated with the events. The Karimnagar inscription of Rudra's minister Gaṅgādhara³⁹ in Telugu verse in *ṛitta* and *Kanda* metres throughout gives a lengthy account of his family.

There are two other verse inscriptions of this period which afford us evidence of the development of Telugu language. The Gūḍur inscription which seems to be an early forgery of an ambitious Viriyāla chief and the Gōḍiśāla (Upparapalli) epigraph⁴⁰ of Kākatīya Gaṇapati narrating the military exploits of his minister Rājānāyaka are very valuable for the history of the Kākatīya period. In contrast to the clumpy versification in the Gūḍur record, the other two inscriptions viz. Karimnagar inscription of Gaṅgādhara and the Gōḍiśāla inscription of Gaṇapati may be classed as compositions of high order. The composition of the Karimnagar epigraph may be attributed to the minister Gaṅgādhara, which is obvious from the vigorous and direct style of composition as well as the advocacy of pure Telugu (*iānu-denu*). His verses give us a foretaste of the style of Śrīnātha's composition. A noteworthy feature of the composition is the use of the word *rāma* thrice in the first verse even while referring to Śiva and Brahma and the phrase *śrī-kāntā-kāntuchē* at the beginning of every line in verse 11. The use of *anusvāra* in the verses of Gōḍiśāla record show the poetic skill. This period also marks the flowering of the excellence of Sanskrit poetry exhibiting a variety of compositions in highly ornate style by different poets. Two important *kāvya* inscriptions viz. *Nirōshṭhya* and the *Siddhōdvāha* are typical examples in which the poetic skill is easily discernible. We find a number of poets who contributed to the *kāvya* style found in the Sanskrit inscriptions of this period. They are of great literary and historical value.

Inscriptions of this period contain details regarding the various professions⁴¹ the grants of produce in terms of different measures and the rate of amount of cash endowments, the measurements of land, provision of land or other materials for food-offerings, *aṅga-bhōga*, *dhūpa*, lamp, feeding the casual visitors (*abhyāgati*), ascetics, payment for services from out of the income from land or taxes in terms of paddy, grains, liquid or cash etc. An inscription from Pērūru dated Śaka 1181 of Kākatīya Gaṇapati describes the measures adopted to measure the land and the

produce of grain and liquid while recording the land grants. The list obtained from this record mentions *maruturu*, a measurement of land, *kurcha* (grain measure) *śōla*, *manika*, *tavva* and *aḍḍa* (liquid measures).

The Gaṇapēśvaram record⁴² of Gaṇapaṭi mentions the due *chinnu* collected on every boat by the people of eighteen districts at Naṅgegaḍḍa who gave it to the temple of Gaṇapaṭiśvara at Divi.

Many of the grants of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially those of the Redḍi kings give the historical introduction and the list of their *birudas* in Sanskrit verses and the passages describing the boundaries of the villages granted or the details of the donations made in Telugu as cited earlier. This is followed by the usual imprecatory verses. The charters finally end with the sign-manual of the Redḍi kings *śrī Pallavatriṇētra* and with the adoration to Umā-Mahēśvara. The sign-manual *Pallavatriṇētra* is usually found in all the copper-plate grants of this dynasty.⁴³

Some of the expressions like *tirumuṭṭamu* meaning 'the raised platform or shrine' *tiruchuṭṭu-māliya* indicating 'the circumambulatory passage' and *tirumadu[ku]* denoting 'prākāra'⁴⁴ show the influence of Tamil on the Telugu of this period. The Phiraṅgipuram pillar inscription⁴⁵ of Peda Kōmaṭi-vēma dated Śaka 1331 (1410 A.D.) is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Telugu. The first five verses give the Puranic genealogy. The sixth and seventh verses are also seen in *Śrīiṅgaradīpikā*, a commentary on the *Amaruśataka* by Kōmaṭi-vēma. The subsequent two verses describe the achievements of king Vēma. The verses 10-13 and 14-15 respectively praise his charities and the performance of the ceremony of *pratishṭhā* of the tank called, *Santānapayōnidhi*. The next three verses contain a hyperbolic description of the tank, and then follow three other verses from the epic *Mahābhārata* on the merit of digging tanks. This *dharma-śāsana* is said to have been composed by the great Telugu poet Śrīnātha, who was the *vidyādhikārin* of Vēma. This is known from the last verse of the record. The three Telugu verses engraved on the east face of this pillar are in the *Śīsa* metre, each verse consisting of four long lines in the proper *Śīsa* metre followed by four short lines in the *Tēṭagīta* metre. Śrīnātha is said to have composed an inscription referring to the excavation of a supply channel *Jaganobba-gaṇḍa-kālva* to the tank called *Santāna-vārdhi* by king Rāchavēmā-redḍi under the orders of his mother Surāmba. This short record from Amīnābād⁴⁶ in Guntur District ends with the name *Śrīnātha-kṛiti*, the author of this inscription.

Śrīnātha, the well-known court-poet of the Redḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu refers in one of his *chāṭu* verses to his having taken gruel in the Kannaḍa-rājya while he was on his way to the court of king Dēvarāya of Vijayanagara.

In the records of Vijayanagara kings the genealogy of the king is described either in Sanskrit verse in the case of Sanskrit records or in Telugu in the Telugu inscriptions. One and the same inscription of Kṛishṇarāya is found engraved in four different versions viz. Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Sanskrit at Tirupati, Kājahastu and Little Kāñchīpuram.

These records give us a lengthy account of the achievements of the king, the offerings and donations made by him. They are stated to have recorded the various

donations made by the king, his queen, his officers to the temples, to the Brāhmaṇas, to the *Vidvan-mahājanas*, for various purposes.

Some inscriptions of Vijayanagara rulers mention the names of the poets who adorned his court. The two records of Tuḍumuladinne⁴⁷ refer to a Telugu poet Nāchana Sōma as the recipient of an *Ēkabhōgam* village Turimiḷḷadinne (or Turimiḷḷadina) from Praudhadēva-mahārāja. The inscription⁴⁸ from Gayā of Kṛishṇadēvarāya dated 1521 A.D. July 2, described as a *viyaja-śāsana* was composed by Mukku Timmaya. It contains a verse in eulogy of the king in *Kanda* metre. This stanza is a quotation from the poet's work *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*. The quotations from such works are rare in epigraphs. The last four lines refer to the poet Mukku Timmaya as the author or composer of this inscription. Allasāni Peddana another court-poet, who is called Peddayyaṅgāru in a record from Kōkaṭam and *Āndhra-kavitāpitāmaha* Peddirāju in the Aṇṇiyūr inscription.⁴⁹

There is decadance in the language in the inscriptions subsequent to the period of Kṛishṇadēvarāya.

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CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF MALAYALAM INSCRIPTIONS

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THE PRESENT paper pertains only to the linguistic aspect of the Malayalam inscriptions. Malayalam is an important member of the Dravidian linguistic group. The people of the west coast, included in the sixty four *grāmams* which formed the traditional Keralam, spoke the Dravidian tongue as late as the 9th century A.D. The geographical isolation and territorial seclusion of the region necessitated the culmination of new linguistic tendencies among the people of Keralam which had the effect of forming new cultural configurations. Thanks to the new tendencies, the language of the west began to show distinctive features which had been, in due course, developed into the significant characteristics of the comparatively later dialectic form, namely Malayalam.

The word Malayalam in its original sense refers to a territorial unit and by the lapse of time it acquired the sense of the *lingua franca* of the southern part of the west coast. As to the origin of Malayalam three important theories have been postulated, viz., (1) Sanskrit origin (2) Tamil origin and (3) Independent origin from the proto-Dravidian.

The theory of Sanskrit origin was first advanced by Kovanni Nedungadi in 1875 A.D. According to him Malayalam which is an admixture of Tamil and Sanskrit had its origin from Sanskrit, a factor which led to its inception being the intimate contact with the Dravidian dialect-*ārya-drūviḍa vāg-jātā kēraḷīyōkti kaṇṇyakā*. Later scholars such as A. R. Rajaraja Varma, and Dr. Goda Varma did not favour this view, and subsequent researches have totally invalidated Nedungadi's theory.

Savants in the field of Dravidian linguistics like Caldwell, Gundert, A. R. Rajaraja Varma and L. D. Ramaswami Iyer stand for the theory of Tamil origin. They hold that the early inhabitants of Keralam were Tamilians and their language was Tamil. Their language, like those of others, had two types, literary and dialectic. Literary Tamil was known as *sen-tamiḷ* and the spoken dialect was known as *koḍuṇ-tamiḷ*.

The third school of scholars do not accept this as a valid theory. Arrur Krishna Pisharody, Dr. Chelanat Achuta Menon, Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer and Dr. Goda Varma belong to this group. They are of the opinion that Tamil as well as Malayalam had a common parentage that could be identified with what is called the proto-Dravidian. Dr. Goda Varma has cited sixteen distinctive characteristics that are meant to show that Malayalam and Tamil are sister languages. The author of the *Lilātilaka* uses the expression "*malanāṭṭut-tamiḷ*" to denote the spoken language of the indigenous population of Keralam.

Of late, Prof. Ilankulam Kunjan Pillai has propounded a new theory that the origin of Malayalam may be attributed to the admixture of the local *miśrabhāṣā* and Sanskrit.

In spite of all this, scholars are generally agreed on the point that the characteristic features that distinguish Malayalam usages from the corresponding Tamil are the six scientific *nayas* propounded by the Kēraḷapāṇini. According to the Kēraḷapāṇini the six *nayas* were essentially the factors that are decisive principles in the determination of the derivative characteristics of words and usages. The *nayas* propounded by him are: 1. *aṇunāsikātiprasara* 2. *tālavṛyādēśa* or *tavargōpamarda* 3. *svarasamvaraṇa* 4. *purushabhēdanirāsa* 5. *khilōpasanḡraha* and 6. *aṅgabhaṅga*.

Aṇunāsikātiprasara or nasal assimilation signifies the substitution of the succeeding 'khara' by the preceding nasal e.g. *tēṅka-tēṅṇa*; *māṅka-māṅṇa*; *Kuñchu-Kuñṇu*.

By *tālavṛyādēśa* or *tavargōpamarda* is meant the palatalisation of the dental that occurs after a palatal. e.g.: *ta, na, ita, nna, nta* → *ca, ṇa, cca, ṇṇa, ṇca*. Thus *aṇintāṇ* → *aṇiṇcāṇ* → *aṇiṇṇāṇ*. *Svarasamvaraṇa* means the change of the medial *ai* into *a* in the early stage, and the final *ai* into *a* in the later stage. The change of *ai* into *a* is one of the important characteristics in the evolution of Malayalam. e.g.:

<i>uṭaiya</i>	--	<i>utaya</i>	<i>karai</i>	--	<i>kara</i>
<i>puraiyiṭam</i>	--	<i>purayiṭam</i>	<i>malai</i>	--	<i>mala</i>
<i>paṇuivan</i>	--	<i>paṇayan</i>	<i>uṭaiyātai</i>	--	<i>uṭaiyāṭa</i>

The *purushabhēdanirāsa* signifies the tendency to give up the personal termination in verbal forms. The people of the Malayalam-speaking country do not like the repetition of the noun or pronoun in the end of verbs and so they stopped the usage of personal terminations. e.g.: *vanṭān*, *ṇṇṭāṇ*, *vanṭār*, *vanṭatu* → *vannu*. *Khilōpasanḡraha* is the tendency to preserve such suffixes as had become obsolete in Tamil, but still in use in Malayalam, e.g.: *kuḷikkavanṭēṇ* (in Tamil) → *kuḷikkāṇ vannu* (in Malayalam). The change of *i* to *e* and *u* to *i* etc. are seen in early Malayalam inscriptions. e.g.:—*irunneṭattu-irunniṭattu*; *avarṭaya-avaruṭaya*. By *aṅgabhaṅga* is meant the process in which the suffix in the dative as well as the possessive cases are subject to transformation.

The working examples or otherwise of the six *nayas* of the Kēraḷapāṇini may be taken to be the characteristics of the Malayalam inscriptions. The local system of executing royal and public documents has, of course, contributed a good deal to the linguistic variations noticed in early Malayalam writings. In the documents drafted by the person of a particular locality the impact of the local linguistic forms would be conspicuous. This is embittered by a peculiar system prevalent in Kerala, that is, territorial and tribal seclusion. The entire coast of Kerala was divided into a galaxy of small traditional territorial units that had persistently observed certain stringent traditional prescriptions in respect of intermingling and mutual contact with the rest of its kind. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult to take the whole of

Kerala as a homogenous entity for linguistic considerations. Variant forms, patterns etc. prevailed even within a territorial unit of the said description. Another factor that led to the heterogeneity of the cultural as well as linguistic patterns obtained in Kerala is the influx of numerous hordes of immigrants not only of main land origin but also of foreign origin. In these circumstances it is unscientific to hold that the Malayalam language remained as such at all times not subject to inevitable changes of a substantial character. So too, are the *nayas* of the Kēraḷapāṇini that are chiefly concerned with the Malayalam of the higher and literary forms laying no emphatic stress on the purely local forms. Therefore, it is natural that the said *nayas* do not have ample working instances in some of the inscriptions of the Keralites. It is a fact that there is the non-availability of working instances in certain pieces of early documentation. At the same time the availability of the same though sparingly, in such pieces is also noticed.

The following details would, however, illustrate the applicability or otherwise of the *nayas* of the Kēraḷapāṇini in the inscriptional language of the country. These inscriptions hail from two territorial apartments: (1) Kerala proper, and (2) the ceded district of Kanyakumari which was under the direct administration of Kerala kings continuously for about seven hundred years. It may however be noted that the inscriptions that had been written and executed exclusively by the Tamils have not been included among those taken up for the present study. The table would exemplify the salient linguistic features of Malayalam in the inscriptions of the country. The documentation is based on a total numbers of 32 inscriptions, belonging to the two categories mentioned above.

1. The Quilon inscription of Rāmar Tiruvaḍi dated Kollam 278 (1103 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances *vanta*, *iḍaṅkaḷi*, *ceṅṅa*, *irunnaruḷa*, *vanna*.

In the first three cases the *naya* does not apply. If the *naya* is to be justified, the instances should be *vanna*, *iḍaṅkaḷi* and *cenna*. At the same time the same inscription contains the usages *irunnaruḷa* and *vanna* in which the *naya* is borne in. The nasal *n* in *vanta* and *n* in *udaṅkaḷi* transforms the succeeding *t* and *k* into *n* and *ṇ*.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*naṅṅaiccaruḷi*, *vaiccu*, *amaicca*.

The *naya* is justified in these three forms. Before the application of the law of palatalisation the forms were *naṅṅaittaruḷi*, *vaitta*, *amaitta*.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*māṇḍal*, *paṇaiṅkāvil*, *arai*, *paṇai*, *naṅṅaiccaruḷa*, *vaiccu*, *amaicca*, *kaṇṅamai*.

(d) *Khilōpasagraha*: Instances—*irunneṅattu* instead of *irunṇiṅattu*.

2. The Chōḷapuram inscription of Vīra Kēraḷa Varman, king of Vēṅḍu, dated 302 M.E. (1127 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*iḍṇṇi*, *ciṅkanāyirru*, *vāḷṇitaruḷukāṇṇa*.

All these instances do not illustrate the *naya*. The reason for the inapplication of the principle seems to be the fact that the inscription is located in a predominantly Tamil speaking place having direct contact with the Tamil speaking main land.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*veṭṭuvittu*. Only one form without palatalisation is available.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*uṭaiya*, *uṭaikka*, *ilaiyamutu*, *kaṭamai*.

Purushabhṛdanirāsa, *khilōpasanṅraha* and *aṅgabhaṅga* are not available during this time.

3. The Suchīndram inscription of Kōḍai Kēraḷa Varman, king of Vēṇāḍu, dated 320 M.E. (1145 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*vāṇtaruḷuṅṅra*, *iṭvatāṇaṅkaḷil*, *ceṅṅru*. The law does not apply for the reason stated above.

(b) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*uṭaiya*. Palatalisation, discarding of personal termination, *khilōpasanṅraha* and *aṅgabhaṅga* are not justified.

4. Suchīndram inscription of Kōḍai Kēraḷa Varman, ruler of Vēṇāḍu, dated 325 M.E. (1150 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*vāṇtaruḷukiṅṅra*, *amainta*.

The *naya* does not apply because the inscription is located in a predominantly Tamil speaking place.

(b) Palatalisation is not exemplified.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*amainta*. Discarding of personal termination, *khilōpasanṅraha* and *aṅgabhaṅga* are not applied in this inscription.

5. Two records of Vīra Ravi Varman, ruler of Vēṇāḍu, dated 340 M.E. (1165 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*ceṅṅra*, *amainta*, *ciṇṇaṇāyaṅru*. In the first two cases the *naya* does not apply. In the case of *ciṇṇaṇāyaṅru*, the *naya* is justified. The reason is the same as above mentioned.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*karpittu*, *kalpiccamaikku*. Both forms, with and without palatalisation are available.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*amainta*, *tiṭuviṭaiyāṭṭam*, *nilaippaḍai*

6. The Kilimanoor record of Kollam 343 (1168 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*niṅṅra*, *ceṅṅra*, *oṅṅru*, *amaiṇca*, *vāḷunnaruḷiya*, *cennataka*, *iḍaṇṇaḷi*, *kiṭanna*.

In the first four cases the *naya* does not apply. The other four cases justify the *naya*. Even though the provenance of the record is Kilimanoor which is in the Malayalam speaking area, the influence of Tamil is cogent in the local dialect on account of the close association with Tamil language and culture. Further, the record as available at present is a canjan copy of an original copper-plate which had been lost many centuries ago. Therefore, the possibility of indiscriminate interchange of consonants by the local scribe could not be ruled out.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*kalpiccu*, *sammaticca*. The *naya* is worked out.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*piḷḷaiyār*, *paṅra*, *puraiyāṭam*.

In the case of *piḷḷaiyār* the *naya* does not apply. In the case of the remaining two the *naya* could be worked out.

7. The Kilijyūr record of Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma, ruler of Vēṇāḍu, dated 354 M.E. (1179 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*iruntaruḷi*, *kiḍanta*. The *naya* does not apply. The inscription is located in a predominantly Tamil speaking place

(b) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*puraiyiṭam*, *tirunaṭaiccclavū*

8. The Kollūrmaḍam plates of Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma, dated 364 M.E. (1189 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*ceṇṇa*, *iruntaruḷu*, *eḷuntaruḷi*, *iṭaṅkaḷi*, *iṇṅkūy*, *tanna*, *eḷunnaruḷi*, *paṇṇittanna*

In the first five cases the *naya* does not apply, but in the case of the other three it is justified. The reason is the same as mentioned above.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*ḷṛṇṇiccu*, *atīkariccu*, *kalpicca*

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*māṇḍai*, *sabhai*, *vēṭṭilai*, *puruiyitam*, *patinaiṇ-ṇāḷi*, *iṭaikkotṭil*, *paṇai*, *puraiyitam*.

In the case of the last one the *naya* applies.

(d) *Khilōpasagraha*: Instances—*avaraiṭaiya* instead of *avaruṭaiya*.

9. The Mitranandapuram inscription of Maṇikaṇṭha Rāma Varma, ruler of Vēṇāḍ, dated 371 M.E. (1196 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*ceṇṇa*, *irunnaruḷiyeṭattu*.

In the case of first one nasal assimilation does not apply and in the case of the other it does. The inscription is located in the Trivandrum city. The impact of Tamil in the local dialect is very cognisant.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*amacca*, *vaippiccu*.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*veḷḷari*, *puraiyiṭaṇṇal māṇḍai*, *arimaṭai*, *tiruvīṭaiyāṭam*, *enna*, *puraiyitam*.

In the case of the last two the *naya* is justified.

(d) *Purushabhēdanirūsa*: Instances—*aṭṭikkoṭuttūr* (means *avar aṭṭikkuṭuttu*)

10. Record of Vira Rāma Varma, king of Vēṇāḍ, dated Kollam 372 (1197 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*vaḷnturuḷiṇṇa*, *amainta*, *cenna*.

In the case of the first two the *naya* does not apply. In the case of *cenna*, nasal assimilation is applied.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*kalpitta* (without the palatalisational form).

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*tānavōlai*.

11. Kanyākumāri inscription dated 376 M.E. (1201 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*ceṇṇa*. The *naya* does not apply. Kanyākumāri had always been a Tamil speaking place. The influence of Kerala culture and the assimilation of the main land and coastal cultural patterns was of late origin in the area.

(b) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*uḷḷalai*.

12. Trivandrum inscription of Rāman Kerala Varma dated 384 M.E. (1209 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*niṇṇa*, *veṇṇeṇam*, *irunnaruḷi*.

Both forms, with and without nasal assimilation are available. The reason is that the inscription is located in Trivandrum where Tamil influence is more cognisable.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*vaiccu* (before, it was *vaittu*). The *naya* is applied.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*ivai*. The *naya* does not apply.

13. The Tiruvaḷḷam inscription of Vīra Kēraḷa Varma, dated 399 M.E. (1224 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*viyāḷanniṇṇa*, *vāḷntaruḷukiṇṇa*.

Both forms are available. Tiruvaḷḷam is in the Trivandrum District.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*kalpicca*, *camaiccu*.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*arimaṭai*, *camaiccu*, *sabhaiyum*.

(d) *Purushabhēdanirūsa*: Instances—*eḷutikkoṭuttār-avār eḷutikkaṭuttu ar*, the plural sign of *avar* is repeated in the verb meaning 'they wrote'.

The examples of the first four *nayas* are seen in this inscription.

14. The Tiruvaḷḷam inscription of the year 411 M.E. (1236 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*viyāḷanniṇṇa*, *ceṇṇa*, *vāṇṇaruḷiṇṇa*, *amainta*, *paṇṇāṇṇu*, *aḷannāṇṇu*, *oḷiṇṇu*.

Both forms are available. It is interesting that the increase in the positive prevalence of the *naya* is on the ascend by the period of this inscription.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*kalpiccōm*.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*māṇḍai*, *sabhai*.

15. The Varkalai inscription of Paṇḍanābhamārttāṇḍa Varma, king of Vēṇāḍu, dated 427 M.E. (1252 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*niṇṇa*, *oṇṇu*, *ceṇṇa*, *aṇṇai*, *vāḷnta*, *amaiṇca*, *tuṭaṇṇi*. In this inscription there is only one form *tuṭaṇṇi* in which the *naya* is relevant. In the case of the other six forms the *naya* does not apply. Varkalai is a Malayalam speaking area, but the influence of Tamil is powerful in the local dialect, probably due to the large colonisation of men of the brahmin and workmen classes from the Tamil country.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*āṭiccaruḷiya*.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*putanāḷchai*, *aṇṇai*, *varkkalai*.

16. The Kēraḷāpuram inscription of Vīta Udayamārttāṇḍa Varma, dated 491 M.E. (1316 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*ceṇṇa*, *vāḷntaruḷukiṇṇa*, *amainta*.

No word with nasal assimilation is seen in this inscription, because of the cultural affinities of the area with that of the Tamil country.

(b) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*muttaḷaikkuṇicci*, *kaṭamai*.

(c) *Purushabhēdanirāsa*: Instances—*viṭṭukkoṭuttār*.

17. The Quilon inscription dated 513 M.E. (1338 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*vāṇki*, *naṇṇāka*. The *naya* does not apply.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*viṭṭivittu*.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*nāṇkellai*, *puraiyiṭam*, *kārāṇmai viṣaiyattukku*.

(d) *Aṅgabhaṅga*: Instances—*viṣaiyattukku*. 'kku' is the suffix in this.

18. Record of Ravi Ravi Varma dated 548 M.E. (1373 A.D.)

(c) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*ceṇṇratu*, *vāṇtaruṭṭiṇṇa*, *maṇṇalattu*.

In the first two cases the *naya* does not apply. In the case of the last one the *naya* is borne in. The other five *nayas* are not available in this inscription.

19. The Aṅgūr inscription dated 571 M.E. (1396 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*ceṇṇratu*. The *naya* does not apply.

(b) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*kuṭṭiyiruttukaiyil*. Examples of the other four *nayas* are not available in this inscription.

20. The Tiruvidangodu inscription dated 628 M.E. (1453 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*naṇṇāka*.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*kalpiccu*, *piṭaiccavar*.

(c) *Khilōpasanṅraha*: Instances—*ṇāyiru* instead of *ṇayaṇu*.

21. The Suchīndram inscription of Vīra Rāma Rāma Varma, king of Vēṇāḍ, dated 646 M.E. (1471 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*ceṇṇa*, *cellāṇṇa*, *piṇanta*, *naṇantu*, *irun-naruṭṭiya*. In the first four cases the principle of nasal assimilation does not apply. In the word *irunnaruṭṭiya* the *naya* could be applied. The inscription is located in a predominantly Tamil speaking area.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*karpitta*.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*uṭaiyār*, *Umaiymmai*, *vāṭaikkāy*, *vakaikku ivvakai*.

22. The Quilon inscription dated 653 M.E. (1478 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*eṭuntaruṭṭi*, *iruntaruṭṭi*.

Examples of the other five *nayas* are not available.

23. The Tiruveṭunnannūr record of Vīra Koda Varma dated 711 M.E. (1536 A.D.)

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*irunnaruṭṭa*, *amainta*. Both forms are seen in the inscription.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*kalpiccu*.

(c) *Khilōpasanṅraha*: Instances—*puraiyaṭam* instead of *puraiyiṭam*.

24. The Tirukkodithanam inscription of the reign of Bhāskara Ravi Varma dated the 14th regnal year.

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*cellāṇṇa*, *pantirāmāṇḍu*, *vāṇtu*, *iṭṭāṇkalī*.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*amaiccu*.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*Vēṇāṭṭaiya*, *amaiccu*, *vāḷkkai*. The instances of other two *nayas* are not available.

25. The Perunna inscription of Bhāskara Ravi Varma, dated his 14th regnal year.

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*viyāḷanniṇṇa*, *ceṇṇa*, *kīḷkkuḷaṇṇarai*.

(b) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*māṇḍai*. The other four *nayas* are not available.

26. The Tirukkodithanam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi Varma.

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*cellāniṇṇa*, *viyāḷanniṇṇa*, *amaiṇṇa*, *paṇ-nirukaḷaṇṇu*.

(b) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*Paruṭaiyār*, *uḍaiya*, *avaraḷai*, *cittirai*.

(c) *Purushabhēdanirāsa*: Instances—*muṭṭikkavum peṇṇār*, *koḷḷapperṇār*, *vaikkap-perṇār*, *pāṭṭamāḷapperṇār*.

(d) *Khilōpasanḡraha*: Instances—*Paruṭaiyār*, instead of *Paraṭaiyār*.

(e) *Aṅgabhaṅga*: Instances—*kōppākkaraṇṇiravikku*.

27. The Tirukkakkarai inscription of Bhāskara Ravi Varma, dated his 24th regnal year.

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*cellāniṇṇa*, *ceṇṇa*, *kaḷaiṇṇu*.

(b) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*Tirukkākkarai*, *tirumaṭaippaḷḷi*.

(c) *Purushabhēdanirāsa*: Instances—*amaiccu*.

28. The Tirukkakkarai inscription of Bhāskara Ravi Varma, dated his 31st regnal year.

Nasal assimilation: Instances—*cellāniṇṇa*, *ceṇṇa*, *amaiṇṇān*, *ciṇkam*, *caṇṇaran*, *muṇṇiruntu*. Only this *naya* is justified.

29. The Tirumuḷikkuḷam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi Varma, dated his 49th regnal year.

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*cellāniṇṇa*, *iruntu*, *paṇaiṇṇāṭṭu*, *ceṇṇu*.

(b) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*Kōṭaiyur*, *Puḷai*, *paṇaiṇṇāṭṭu*, *kārāṇmai*.

The other *nayas* are ruled out.

30. The Koṭṭāyam plates of Sthāṇu Ravi.

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*aḷaniṇṇa*, *cellāniṇṇa*, *vāḷkiṇṇa*, *paṇṇiruvār*, *vantu*.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*vaittu*.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*maṇukutalai*, *yāṇḍaintu*, *puṇṇaittalaippatiyum*, *vaittu*, *talaiḱkāṇam*, *anaittum*.

(d) *Purushabhēdanirāsa*: Instances—*aṭṭikkūṭṭiṇṇa*, *āṇyintukoḷḷapperṇār*.

31. The Chokkūr inscription of Kodai Iravi.

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*cellāniṇṇa*, *pantirutūṇi*.

In the two words the *naya* does not apply.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*amaitta*.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*Kōtai*, *paṭṭaṇṇu*, *uṭaiya*, *iravai*, *puraiyitam*.

(d) *Purushabhēdanirāsa*: Instances—*koḷḷakkaṭavar*.

The other two *nayas* are not available.

32. The Tirupparangodu inscription of Kodai Iravi.

(a) Nasal assimilation: Instances—*cellāṇṇu*, *mūṇṇu*, *iruntu*, *amaiṇca*, *pantirukaḷaṇcu*.

(b) Palatalisation: Instances—*amaicca*, *uccavattai*, *piḷaiccū*.

The *naya* is justified.

(c) *Svarasamvaraṇa*: Instances—*Kōtai*, *māṇḍai*, *paraṭaimār*, *uṭaiya*, *tiruppukai*, *amaiṇca*, *cennatai*, *piṇṇai* etc.

(d) *Purushabhēdanirāsa*: Instances—*Koḷḷavumpeṭār*, *paṭakkaṭaviyar*, *ceyyavumpeṭār*.

(e) *Angabhaṅga*: Instances—*tiruccannaṇattinukku*, *tiruvīḷakkiṇukku ayyaṇukku*, *ittaṇaikkum* etc.

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SOUTH INDIAN COINS

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THE COINAGE OF SOUTH INDIA extends over a long period of time ranging from approximately the 3rd century B.C. to the 16th century A.D. i.e. from the early punch-marked series to the coinage of Vijayanagara. The area of their currency includes the present states of Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra. The currency systems of these states present a series of problems, giving a rather hazy picture of the economic background of the regions, in spite of the availability of a fairly large number of coins.

General surveys of these currencies have been made in a series of catalogues and research publications by pioneers such as Elliot,¹ Rapson,² Desikachari³ and Krishna.⁴ These are all mostly accounts of currencies in various regions and hardly represent an attempt to analyse the nature of these currencies, their patterns and changes, if any.

As a result, till about the forties, all the work that was done on Indian Numismatics in general, and South Indian coins in particular has been largely in the nature of classifications based on the dynastic issues. A fresh and more rewarding approach was for the first time made by D.D. Kosambi⁵ who took up a systematic study of the metrology of coins of one category, the punch-marked coins. He thus paved the way for a better understanding and utilisation of coins as an important category of source material for the study of history. His study included also the South Indian hoards of punch-marked coins, thereby emphasising the importance of and the need for, metrological studies as a necessary base for an analytical approach to currency systems. Following him, some others have made independent studies of coin-hoards with their weights etc., but without probing into the metrological aspects in the manner of Kosambi. These studies are again in the nature of catalogues and provide no background whatsoever of the economic conditions under which the coins were issued. Apart from this general lack of analytical study, these works also fail in many cases to provide the rationale for the basis of their identification of coins and hence their dynastic labels. Moreover they have also not been able to solve problems relating to the chronology of the different issues. The basic need in the study of South Indian coinage, therefore, would be the proper basis of identification and classification of all available coins (the number being considerable, though distributed in different Museums and private collections), to be followed by a study of their metric systems.

Problems of identification and classification are linked up with those of attribution and chronology which arise out of many factors. The absence of any legend on several types of coins, such as the early punch-marked coins, and other early South Indian coins like those of the early Pallavas is one such important factor. The former type of coins has only symbols on either side whereas, the early Pallava coins

contain no legends and their attribution depends mainly on the occurrence of the bull which is their *tānchhana*. Even in the case of the few Pallava coins with legends, there is in most of them no specific reference to the issuer or the dynasty but only the epithet of a ruler which is sometimes common to many, of the same dynasty, or even of different dynasties and so the attribution is either impossible or tentative.

Dynastic crests or emblems which appear on South Indian coins as well as seals, have been taken by Elliot as the chief basis for identification of coins. This method has brought in some satisfactory results but is beset with various limitations. Firstly, the coin devices used by a dynasty were not confined to the dynastic crest alone and secondly, the crest may also have been used by merchant guilds which issued coins. This method becomes particularly ineffective when contemporary dynasties ruling in adjacent areas adopt identical crests: e.g. the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Pallavas had the bull as their crests. But yet the crest devices are a useful pointer to identification and attribution. The problem here is whether one could rely upon dynastic crests as the only basis for attribution.

Similarly coin types based on style and technique cannot normally be used as a basis for determining chronological sequence for, both in North and in South India, different styles and techniques were prevalent at the same time. For instance, the punch-marking and the die-striking techniques, were in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era, in the period of the Śātavāhanas. The punch-making technique persisted well into medieval times, while the die-striking technique was used to a lesser degree as under the Chōlas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysalas and in some other areas. The latter technique, however, seems to have been less popular till the beginning of the Vijayanagara period.

Provenance of coin-finds is another interesting pointer to political and economic relations between different states and hence a careful recording of coin-finds is a necessary prerequisite to studies on coins. The importance of the provenance of coins in a study of South Indian coinage is particularly vindicated by the occurrence of imperial Chōla and Eastern Chālukyan coins at Daulēśvaram,⁶ East Godavari District, which confirms all the literary and epigraphic evidence on the political unification of the Chōla-Chālukya territories in the 11th century A.D. Furthermore, areas of circulation and periods of circulation of local coins are also indicated by provenance.

The study of currency systems of South India has also to be correlated with the evidence from the vast mass of South Indian literature and data from epigraphy. References to coins, their denominations and weights found in epigraphs are extremely useful for a comparative study, with available coin-types, although the number of coin-types mentioned in epigraphs far exceeds that of the extant specimens of coins. However, a general background of the currency of an area can be provided with the help of epigraphic material. In the light of this, the extant specimens can be studied with interesting results relating to the pattern of currency, and their interrelationships in different areas and in different periods.

Another important problem relating to the issue of money is whether the monetary system of a region was based on a fixed standard of denomination issued by a

legal authority pursuing a consistent currency or whether there were different issues within a region and what their interrelationships were. Such a situation can be seen in the existence of independent mints of rulers and their feudatories. This is made more complex by the fact that some well-established medieval commercial guilds also had the right to issue coins. It would therefore be more useful to try and establish the nature of the standard followed by them independently and their interrelationships.

The medieval mercantile communities had powerful organisations which are often referred to in South Indian and Ceylonese inscriptions. That they enjoyed the right of coinage may be inferred from several inscriptions. The Vahalkada inscription from Ceylon⁷ opens up a fresh line of enquiry regarding their right of coinage which cannot be overlooked. It refers to an associate of the *Aṣṣinūruvar* as "*Akka-chālaivikiramātitta*." It may mean either that he owned a mint or that he worked in a mint. In either case it may be taken to indicate that the minting of coins formed one of the activities of the mercantile communities. All this would seem to rule out the theory that the ruling dynasties alone enjoyed the right of minting and issuing coins. The prerogative of coinage rested with the ruler no doubt, and coins were stamped at the mint "*Achchinaṭaṅkasāla*",⁸ but the ruler had also allowed this right to other private or public agencies including temples.⁹

The study of the currencies of the South has all along been undertaken in isolation, without taking into account the impact and influence of foreign currencies, not only the Roman, but also the Ceylonese, the Chinese and Arab issues. A comprehensive survey of all these coinages, specimens of which are available in plenty, and their relationships to indigenous coins is very essential for a study of the economic history of South India.

Metals used

In the South Indian currency systems, gold and copper predominate, while silver currency is practically absent except for the early silver punch-marked coinage from the 2nd c. B.C. to 3rd c. A.D. and occasional silver mintages in late medieval period. It is significant that these periods witnessed intense trade activity between India and Central Asia and West Asian countries on the one hand, and between India and South-east Asian countries on the other.

Coins of gold and silver were perhaps used as a reserve or in major commercial transactions whereas for daily transactions of a minor nature, coinage of base metals was in vogue. Coins of lead, potin and copper met such requirements. The Andhras had used coins of lead and potin.

Metrology

A study of the weight standards of South Indian currencies has posed a number of problems, primarily owing to the absence of uniformity in weight systems. Different standards prevailed at different periods in different regions. Such attempts as have been made to evolve a process of analysing the different weight standards,

reconciling them with the various currency systems and working out their inter-relationships, have met with little or no success. Much of the ambiguity and tentativeness of the conclusions arrived at may be traced to the confusing array of inscriptional terms. The terms *kaṣaṇḍu* and *pon*, frequently met with particularly in inscriptions of the medieval period are in most cases vague and do not clearly indicate whether they are weight standards or measures of value; at times they may be interpreted to mean coins themselves. The basis of the standard being seminal exponents of value, the *kaṣaṇḍu* and the *maṇḍūdi* have only added to the problems of fixing weight standards.

Regarding the exchange ratio of gold, copper and silver, nothing can be said with certainty. The great diversity of weights found in the copper coins baffles attempts at correlating the theoretical systems of weights found in literature with the actual issues.¹⁰ Evidently standardisation was not in vogue.

Denominations of coins current in a particular region at a given period are not specified in epigraphs nor is there any mention of the value of a particular coin in relation to other types of coins obtaining in the area. The only information available from epigraphs relates to the names of various types and in rare cases their area of circulation.

Palaeography

Palaeography furnishes a useful guide to the periods of different coin issues. A chronological sequence can be evolved, with certain reservations, by the legends on the coins. This method has its own limitations, but a broad chronological framework can be attempted on the basis of the palaeography of the legends and contemporary inscriptions.

Technique

By about the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C., both the punch and the die-struck technique of striking coins were fairly well advanced in the South. But judging from the various categories of punched coins discovered in the South, it appears that the die-striking technique, the major coin-striking technique of the currencies of North India for some reason or the other, was in little vogue in the South. The punch system continued in the South throughout the currency history of the South to be replaced by the die-striking technique of Vijayanagara in the late 14-15th centuries. This preference for one technique against an otherwise popular method is intriguing and inexplicable.

The foregoing discussion of the problems involved in a study of South Indian coinage is intended as a general introduction to the trends in the studies on South Indian coinage and to the possibilities of further research. What follows is a regional and dynastic classification of coin-types available in South India, of the various dynasties upto the Vijayanagara period, which, it is hoped, would indicate the areas of study and aspects of research worth pursuing with considerable possibilities of fruitful research.

Punch-marked Coins

The currency patterns of early South India are to a certain extent comparable to those of the North. A uniform system of currency, i.e. punch-marked coinage, seems to have existed in the whole of India during the period circa 200 B.C.–300 A.D. The punch-marked coins discovered all over the South belong to the common punch-marked variety in silver, occurring all over India. They contain a group of five symbols generally on the obverse and usually a single symbol on the reverse and occasionally more than one on the reverse. Typologically these coins are similar, but there were local variations as for instance the Bōḍināyakanūr hoard of silver punch-marked coins which has been convincingly established as a “Pāṇḍyan issue of punch-marked *Purāṇas*”¹¹ The Andhra region provides yet another example of a local issue, in the Sīṅgavaram hoard of coins.¹²

The punch-marked coins being most probably the issues of mercantile communities, represent the only uniform currency of pre-dynastic issues in India. The rest of the coinage in South India belongs generally to the category of dynastic issues and hence has been classified under various dynastic heads in the following pages.

Sātavāhana

The Sātavāhana currency, the first well-attested dynastic issue of the South, ushers in a new phase in the evolution of South Indian coinage viz the die-struck coinage. The die-struck system is conspicuous by its absence in high value metals like gold whereas in metals like lead, potin and rarely silver, it has been found all over the Sātavāhana empire, in the Andhra area and also in Madhya Pradesh. Side by side the punch-marked coins continued to exist as currency. Perhaps the punch-marked series in silver, the Western Kshatrapa silver issues and the Roman gold and silver met the requirements of these Andhra Sātavāhanas for high value metallic currencies.

Andhra lead coins have been found exclusively in Cudappah and Anantapur Districts, and in Chitradurga and Kaiwar Districts, lead and potin coins in the Kolhapur area and potin coins in Chanda District.¹³ That a metal so brittle and liable to disintegration as lead which, according to Pliny, had to be imported in exchange for precious stones and pearls, was used as a metal for currency, is at once inexplicable and intriguing. Their limited silver currency of the portrait type—with portraits on one side and emblems on the other—with bilingual legends is very rare, forming a distinct series as against their lead and potin issues which are far more common. The purely indigenous coinage of the Sātavāhanas whatever may have, been its impact on the relative value of non-indigenous currencies like the Roman coins, had a significant role to play; set up the pattern of coinage for the subsequent Andhra dynasties, with little or no pretensions to artistic beauty. Dynastic names coupled with religious devices made up the pattern, perhaps for the first time expressing local tendencies in currency. The greatest merit of this currency is that it enables the reconstruction of their entire dynastic history from 2nd–1st c. B.C. to 2nd c. A.D.

Ikshvāku

The Ikshvākus, the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Krishna valley, between 225-300 A.D. issued a coinage in lead, similar in fabric to that of their predecessors. The Ikshvāku coins discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Nalgonda,¹⁴ Ongole, represent another important category of coins in the South Indian series.¹⁵ The elephant on the obverse and the so-called Ujjain symbol on the reverse, together with the fragmentary legends "*śrī Chāmṭa (mūla)*" "*śrī Vīra(purīsadatta)*" "*śrī Ehu(ṣa Chāmṭa mūla)*" on the obverse suggest their association with the well-known rulers of the Ikshvāku dynasty.

Śālaṅkāyana

The Śālaṅkāyana coins bear the device of a couchant bull, which is their dynastic crest, depicted on the seals of their copper-plate charters also.

The coin issues of only one ruler of this dynasty have come to light so far, and they are in copper and are of two types, one with a couchant bull on the obverse and legend "*śrī Chanda*" or "*śrī Chandava*" on the reverse¹⁶ and the other with a standing bull and uncertain legend on the reverse perhaps "*śrī Chandava*".¹⁷ The palaeography of these legends has generally served as a pointer to the date of the coins as 4th century A. D. and the dynastic crest has helped in their attribution to the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Yet their conjectural dating and attribution to the Śālaṅkāyanas has been questioned by D.C. Sircar who does not accept the similarity in palaeography of the legends on the coins and that of the charters.

Vishṇukunḍin

Two series of coins are attributed to the Vishṇukunḍins. A major group of them in base silver and copper, depict a stylised lion with upraised paw and uplifted tail and a vase flanked by two lamp-stands within a rayed circle.¹⁸ The basic argument for the attribution of the Vishṇukunḍin coins is the similarity between the lion motif on the coins and their copper-plate seals.

The second group of coins consists of those with a bull on the obverse and a spear and two crooked swords on the reverse with certain variations and some writers have stated that letters most possibly representing the name of the issuer occur on these specimens. The letters have been read as "*ka*" and "*ra*" on the coins published by Rama Rao, as "*kra*" and "*ma*" on those published by Subramaniyam.¹⁹ All of them take these letters to represent the name of Vikramēndravarmān, a ruler of the Vishṇukunḍin family, perhaps of 4th-5th c. A.D.

The lion type coins are found in the Masulipatam District; Tanigūr, Bhongir Taluk, and Yēśvaram, Devarkonda Taluk, Nalgonda District; Telkūṭa, Sultanaabad Taluk, Karimnagar District; Dharanikōṭa in Gudur District; Sankarām, Visakhapattanam District; Nagar, Bhandara District and Pavanar, Wardha District, Maharashtra.

The bull type coins have been reported from Gurzāla, Palnad Taluk, Guntur District, Koṇḍāpur, Medak District; Yēlēśvaram, Devarkonda Taluk, Nalgonda District; Prakash, Dhulia District, Maharashtra, etc.²⁰

In the case of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins provenance is one of the determining factors for attribution.

Chālukya of Bādāmi

The Chālukyas of Bādāmi ruled over extensive areas of Western Deccan from the latter half of the 6th century A.D. It is not certain whether this once powerful dynasty had issued any coins or not.

The Chālukyas had the boar as their crest device. But no inscribed coins of this dynasty which can be ascribed to any of the rulers of this family have come to light. Elliot and Krishna had attributed some uninscribed coins to Pulakṣī II but the attribution is very doubtful.

A type of coin which has in the centre a boar surrounded by punched symbols such as a conch, wheel, bow, two *śris* and some lines on the reverse, has been found in the Southern Maratha country and the Bellary District. Besides, from this area another type of coin was found with a boar on one side and a floral design on the other. They might have been struck by some rulers of the Bādāmi Chālukya line in the medieval period.²¹

Ramayya attributes some electrum and gold coins to Vikramāditya I (654-681 A.D.) They bear the figure of a boar and he reads a legend "*śrī Vikrama*" and "*śśrī Vikrama rāja*".²² It is a purely conjectural attribution and needs to be re-examined.

Eastern Chālukya

Two distinct phases mark the Eastern Chālukyan coinage. The first phase is marked by the issues of the early Eastern Chālukyas while the issues of later Eastern Chālukyas such as Śaktivarman I (1000-11 A.D.) marks the second phase.

The early Eastern Chālukyan coins of the 7th century A.D. in copper and a base metal were derived from the Viṣṇukuṇḍin type of coinage indicating that there is a conventionalised lion with a gaping mouth and tail uplifted on the obverse and a sceptre on the reverse. A second type has a "double trident" within a border of rays on the reverse instead of a sceptre. The legend "*Vishamasiddhi*" in Telugu on these coins, establishes the identity of the issuer, i.e. Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, the founder of the Eastern Chālukyan line. M. Rama Rao contends that the coins with the legend "*Vishamasiddhi*" were the issues of two different rulers of the Eastern Chālukyan line, as one set has the legend in square characters and another in round characters.²³ His attribution, on his ground, of these coins to Viṣṇuvardhana I (624-641 A.D.) and Viṣṇuvardhana II, his grandson (673-82), is convincing.

After a long gap, once again the Eastern Chālukyan currency history begins in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. To this period may be assigned large thin circular gold coins, with the central device of a boar with an umbrella above and a chauri on either side and the name of the king "*śrī Chālukyachandrasa*" punched

each letter separately and the regnal year inscribed in numerals. These coins are assigned to Śaktivarman I (1000-11 A.D.).

The Daulēśvaram hoard of coins contained a good number of coins of Rājarāja-narēndra 1018-22 A.D. and 1061 A.D. the Eastern Chālukyan ruler and coins of Rājēndra Kulōttuṅga (1070-1120 A.D.),²⁴ The coins of Rājarāja-narēndra are similar to those of Śaktivarman I, with the boar device in the centre and a legend "śrī Rājarājasa" each letter punched separately in Telugu-Kannada characters which are cup-shaped. Coins of Rājēndra Kulōttuṅga I, the Chōla ruler are derived from the Eastern Chālukyan type of coinage.

Rāshtrakūṭa

The Rāshtrakūṭa epigraphs speak of *dramma*, *suvarṇa*, *gadyāṇaka*, *kaḷaṅḡu*, *kāśu*, etc. but it is curious that no coin, definitely ascribable to any Rāshtrakūṭa monarch, has been found so far. Copper coins discovered at Maḷkhēḍ were erroneously attributed to the Rāshtrakūṭa king Karkka II, but later on were proved to be of the Kākatīyas.²⁵ Certain gold coins of a weight of 60 grains, having a floral design on one side and four lions punched around a tank with lotuses have been attributed to the Rāshtrakūṭas.²⁶ The attribution is conjectural as there is no legend on these coins.

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, one is forced to the inevitable conclusion that the Rāshtrakūṭas had no currency of their own. Currencies of other regions might have served their requirements as the inscriptional references would suggest.

Āḷupa

A gold pagōḍa (the highest denomination of gold coin) with the 'two fish' on the obverse and the legend "śrī Pāṇḍya Dhanāñjaya" either in Kannada or Nāgarī, were issued by the Āḷupa rulers during the 11-13th centuries A.D.²⁷ It was earlier believed that these coins were the issues of the Pāṇḍyas of the Tamil country, basing such a theory on the presence of the fish emblem. The fish emblem-the double fish-is one of the *ashṭamaṅgala* symbols the *mīnayugala* or the *mīnayugma*, and this perhaps accounts for their depiction on coins not only of the Pāṇḍyas of the Tamil region but also of the Āḷupas of Karnataka. The provenance of these gold pagōḍas, out of the political limits of the Pāṇḍya country, in South Kanara region and the absence of a single specimen from the Tamil country provides further proof to their Āḷupa origin. Besides, the Pāṇḍyas of the Tamil country never used this title *Pāṇḍya Dhanāñjaya* which the Āḷupas did, as is evident from their epigraphs.

To Udayādityēśvara of the 11th c. A.D. and śrī Gopāladēvarāyadēva mentioned in an inscription of 1332 A.D., M. M. Prabhu, assigned two different varieties of these gold 'Pāṇḍya Dhanāñjaya' coins. In addition, he has published a type, which has two fish on the obverse and the legend "Pāṇḍya Dhanāñjaya", typologically different from the other ones, and assigns them to the Baṅga chieftains who claimed direct descent from the Āḷupas.²⁸

The *paṇams*—(the lowest denomination of gold currency)—with a single Nāgarī letter “V” are assigned to Vīra Kulaśēkhara, and those with the letter “So” to Sōyidēva.

Sēuṇa

The *Padmaṭaṅkas* with an eight-petalled lotus in the centre, originally assigned to the Kadambas, have now, with a fair degree of certainty, been established as issues of the Sēuṇas. A continuity in the currency history of the Sēuṇas is noticeable in a series of gold issues available, of Bhīllama, Siṅghaṇa, Kanhara, Mahādēva and Rāmachandra.

Srinivasa Iyengar advances arguments in support of these *Padmaṭaṅka* varieties being Sēuṇa issues, by identifying the conch and sword-like objects appearing on them, as Sēuṇa emblems.²⁹

Another variety of punched coins are those with the lions and the legend “*śrī Singhanadeva*”.

The wide distribution of these coins, their availability in fairly large numbers and the fact that coins of practically all the Sēuṇa rulers known to history have been found,³⁰ would provide a definite basis for a study of the economic history of this once mighty kingdom.

Hoysaḷa

The beginnings of Hoysaḷa currency cannot be determined with precision. It had certainly come into circulation by the time of Bṛṭṭiga Viṣṇuvardhana. Attribution of gold coins with legends in Kannada “*śrī Tulakāḍuḡaṇḍa*” and “*śrī Noṇambavāḍiḡaṇḍa*”³¹ to Viṣṇuvardhana is specific, as his conquests of Talakāḍu and Noḷambavāḍi are well-known.

The gold coin with the legend “*śrī Malaparūḷuḡaṇḍa*”³² is certainly a Hoysaḷa issue, but its attribution can only be conjectural, as more than one ruler of the dynasty had the title. Yet another type of coin with the legend “*śrī Pratāpa Narasiṃha*” may be attributed to Narasiṃha I (1142-73 A.D.),³³ though the title seems to be misleading and is suggestive of a Vijayanagara origin.

Chālukya of Kalyāṇa

The coinage of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa is beset with as many problems as that of any other South Indian dynasty. Specific attribution to a particular ruler is also not possible in many cases.

Two coins with legends “*para*” and “*manu*” have been tentatively assigned to the Chālukya rulers Taila II (973-997 A.D.), Satyāśraya (997-1007) and Vikramāditya V (1007-15).³⁴ A certain type from the famous Kōḍūr treasure trove bearing the legend “*Dasavarman*” has also been attributed to these rulers.³⁵

Jayasimha II Jagadēkamalla (1015-42) is well represented by coins. A coin with the legend “*śrī Jayadēva*” published by Hultzsch and coins with the legend “*śrī Jagadēva*” are attributed to Jayasimha. Coins with the legend “*Jagadēkamalla*” are also issues of this ruler.

Two other types, one in gold and one in silver, are also taken to be the issues of Jayasimha Jagadēkamalla. The gold coin has a temple in the centre with a domed tower and *chakra* above it. Between the pillars of the temple is the Kannada legend in two lines (1) *śrī Jagadē*; (2) *kamalla*. The other coin in silver with the legend "*Rāyagajakēśari*" with the symbols of the lotus, Varāha or the boar and the legend in Kannada script, attributed to this ruler of the Western Chālukyan line may not be a Western Chālukyan issue after all. Hultsch published a coin with the legend "*Tre lo malle*" and suggested its attribution to Trailōkyamalla Sōmēśvara I (1041-68).³⁸ Krishna would assign many of the Kōḍūr treasure coins with the legend, "*Bhuvana*" or "*Bhavana*" to the later Chālukya rulers,³⁹ but it is doubtful whether they were issues of the Chālukyas, although they may have been in circulation during their period.

Kalachuri of Kalyāṇa

In the currency of the Kalachuris who supplanted the Chālukyas briefly at Kalyāṇa, there are certain similarities with that of the Chālukyas. They bear the same punched devices and are of a similar weight standard.

Die-struck gold coins with an anthropoid figure and a three line legend in old Kannada characters, "*Sava Murāri (Ka)ratara, Murāri Sava*" may be assigned to Sōvidēva.⁴⁰ Copper coins of the Kalachuris are very rare, yet a single type in copper with a man riding on an elephant and a Nāgarī legend "*śrī Rāyamurāri*," is assigned to the Kalachuris, probably Sōvideva.⁴¹

Western Gaṅga

In the present state of our knowledge of the currency of the Western Gaṅgas, specific attribution of coins to any ruler is impossible. Beautifully and artistically executed gold coins i.e. pagōḍas, with a caparisoned elephant on the obverse and a floral device on the reverse, are assigned to the Western Gaṅga dynasty, the basis of the attribution being that the elephant was their dynastic emblem, depicted also on their seals. Of all the contemporary powers, the Western Gaṅgas alone had the elephant as their crest. It is a very significant coincidence that the depiction of the elephant on their seals is very similar to the representation on these pagōḍas and hence their attribution to this dynasty.

Further, evidence for the circulation of this type of elephant pagōḍas in the Karnataka area, comes from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, which refers to king Harsha of Kashmir imitating this type in his coinage, with a similar obverse motif.⁴² This has helped to establish the period of circulation of these coins i.e. the latter part of the 11th century A.D. and thus correlating the currency with the period of the Western Gaṅgas.

The Kōḍūr hoard has a number of specimens of the elephant pagōḍas some of which bear a few letters which may be read as "*bhuja*". "*Bhuja*" is probably an abbreviated form of "*bhujabala*", a title in very common use during the medieval period.⁴³ Gaṅga rulers with the title *bhujabala* are well-known from Karnataka inscriptions.

M. H. Krishna would however associate some letters occurring on these pagōḍas with the names of Gaṅga rulers Rāchamalla and Hastimalla.⁴⁴ (He does not specify whether they come from the Kōḍūr hoard or from any other collection.) Since this identification would depend upon the correct reading of the letters on the coins and since M. H. Krishna's description is not accompanied by any illustration, it would be difficult to accept the identification without a proper examination of the coin legends.

Similar in type to the elephant pagōḍas in gold are a few copper coins, which may also be assigned to the Western Gaṅgas of the 11th-13th centuries A.D. M. H. Krishna assigned some of the copper issues to the early Gaṅgas (6th to 8th centuries A.D.) but without positive evidence.

Kadamba

Gold coins of the Kadamba chiefs of Goa have usually a lion in the centre with an upraised leg. The reverse has a legend in four or five lines giving the name of the king, who is described as the recipient of the favour of Saptakōṭīśvara—"śrī Saptakoṭīśalabdhavara". On the side where the lion is represented, the name of the cyclic year is given in either Nāgarī or Kannada characters, which helps in the specific attribution of these coins. Three rulers bearing the name Jayakēśi I (1052-98), Jayakēśi II (1119-47) and Jayakēśi III (1187-1210) A. D. are represented.⁴⁵ Coins are known of a son of Jayakēśi II, i.e. Śivachitta Permaḍi (1147-87) with a lion on one side, and also of one Sōyidēva.

Certain other gold coins with a lion on one side and legend in Nāgarī "śrī malaharamūri", or "Kamrāva Mūri", may be assigned to the Kadamba dynasty, but not specifically to any ruler of that dynasty.⁴⁶

On another variety of gold coins of the Kadambas is the figure of a Gajasimha, and the legend "śrī Malege-Bhairava".⁴⁷ These coins weigh between 60-65 grains.

It was believed earlier that the so-called "*Padmaṭaṅkas*" with an eight-petalled lotus and conventionalised lions punched on them were the early Kadamba issues of coinage, but on the basis of the occurrence of these *Padmaṭaṅkas* with a coin of Śrī Nigalarkamalla Daṇḍinagōva datable to the 12th century A.D., Dr. B. D. Chattopadhyaya would place the issue of the so-called *Padmaṭaṅkas* in the 10th-11th centuries A.D.⁴⁸ A coin of the Hānagal branch of the Kadambas which is punch-marked has a device in the centre punched in the fashion of the *Padmaṭaṅkas* and some punched letters. The Kadambas of Hānagal came into the picture at the close of the 10th century and the Kannada letters on these coins suggest a date not earlier than the 11th century. The technology of these coins is the same as that of the *Padmaṭaṅkas*.

Kākatīya

A few coins bearing fragmentary legends have been attributed to various Kākatīya rulers. These legends are in Telugu characters. Coins with the legends "*Balaya-*

śrī" and "Rudra", written in a circle, have been assigned to Rudra.⁴⁹ Another Kākatiya coin has the device of a bull and a fragmentary legend "śrīmat...kā...kati Pratāpa Ru[dra]...ya"⁵⁰ on the basis of which it was referred to Pratāparudradēva. The Kavaiyadavalli treasure trove brought to light a gold coin with a lion on its obverse and "[Ka]ti Gaṇa" in Telugu characters and has been attributed to Gaṇapati.⁵¹ Two types of coins in copper discovered more recently merit attention. They bear a legend in Nāgarī running continuously from one side to the other and are beyond doubt the issues of Pratāparudra and Gaṇapati.⁵²

Telugu-Chōḍa

The Telugu-Chōḍas of Rēnāṇḍu are known to South Indian history from the 7th century A.D. They claimed relationship with the Chōḷas of the Kaveri region, although the nature of the relationship is not clear. No coins, however, of the early Telugu-Chōḍas (7th-9th centuries A.D.), have so far come to light.

With their revival in about the 12th century, they seem to have become a powerful factor in South Indian politics and their coins have been found in considerable numbers in the Kōḍūr treasure trove. The majority of the gold coins from this hoard, which bear the legend "Bhuja" or "Bhujavīra", must be attributed, according to H. Krishna Sastri, to the Telugu-Chōḍas, who are known to have assumed this title.⁵³

The Telugu-Chōḍa inscriptions speak of various coins (e.g. *Gaṇḍagōpālan māḍai*). But the coin types of this dynasty known so far are very few. One of the types, published by R. S. Raghava Aiyangar, has the figure of a 'kneeling Garuḍa' on the obverse and a legend in Telugu-Kannada script in three lines "Dānava murāri Bantāra".⁵⁴ Aiyangar ascribes this type to the Telugu-Chōḍa ruler Allu Tirūkaḷatti-dēva also called Madurāntaka Pottapi Chōḷa and Rājagaṇḍagopāla, who was a staunch Vaishṇava. This type perhaps represents the *Gaṇḍagōpālan māḍai* referred to in contemporary epigraphs.

Miscellaneous

Along with the *Padmaṭaṅkas* of the Kadambas of Hānagal, a hitherto unknown coin series was discovered at Mudakavi near Ramdurg in Belgaum District. This series bears the figure of an armed warrior and Kannada legend "Niḡaḷaṅkamalla Daṇḍinagōva" in three lines.⁵⁵ In fabric and style somewhat similar to the Hoysaḷa die-struck coins, they have been rightly assigned to the close of the 12th century A.D. and to a ruler known as Barma. There are two Barmas (a popular form of Brahma) known from inscriptions at Toragale (1188 A.D.) and Ablūr belonging to the period of the last Chālukya ruler Sōmēśvara IV of Kalyāṇa, both of whom were great generals and were, in a way, instrumental in reestablishing Chālukya power after the Kalachuri interregnum.⁵⁶ Barma of this coin may have been the first Barma, who does not refer in his Toragale record to the Chālukya emperor and hence may be said to have behaved like an independent ruler.

Coinages of the Tamil Dynasties

Coinage in the Tamil country dates far back in antiquity presenting a picture of an almost continuous minting of currencies from the early centuries of the Christian era or even earlier with one significant break from the 5th to about the 7th century A.D. These earliest currencies of the Tamil country belong to the Śaṅgam period to the early centuries of the Christian era and one of the three ruling dynasties the Pāṇdyas issued an interesting series of coins while the other two dynasties the Chēra and the Chōḷa are not well-represented by any specific issues.

An attempt was made recently to assign a few varieties of copper coins of the early Chōḷas of the Śaṅgam period. These coins were picked up in the course of exploration in the Tanjore District from the coastal sites of Vanagiri and Neidavāśal, depicting a tiger standing on one side and an elephant or fish on the other.⁵⁷ The provenance of the coins may justify their attribution to the early Chōḷas but there is no find of comparable date on which the chronology of the coins could be worked out. The obverse figure on the coin is more like that of a lion and not a tiger with its tail uplifted as on Vishṇukunḍin and perhaps certain Pallava coins, and hence their attribution to the Chōḷas is far from certain.

The discovery of some Chōḷa square coins along with other antiquities of known date viz. the black and red ware pottery and the rouletted ware would place these coins in the 1st century A.D. at the least.⁵⁸ One of them was found in a stratified deposit in the wharf site at Kavēripaṭṭiṇam and these are perhaps the earliest datable Chōḷa coins.

While the Chēras of this period had no specific currency of their own, and the Chōḷas issued very few coins, the Pāṇḍya dynasty had a regular currency, judging from the finds of their punch-marked coins with a slightly different set of five symbols on the obverse and a stylised fish, on the reverse, typically local in character,⁵⁹ not conforming to the other usual punch-marked variety found all over the North and South. These punch-marked coins in silver, along with the well known series of die-struck rectangular copper coins, found in the Madura and Tinnevely area in fairly large numbers, formed the earliest currency of the early Pāṇdyas, and incidentally happen to be the earliest in the Tamil region. On some of the rectangular copper coins found in this region the elephant, horse etc. are depicted with a stylised fish on the reverse, in the same fashion, as it is depicted on the Pāṇḍyan punch-marked coins. It is very likely that these early silver and copper series are not imperial issues but those of merchant guilds or some such private agencies who were authorised by the state to issue them.

The Śaṅgam literature mentions indigenous coins of particular shapes, bearing particular names. Literary evidence is corroborated by a find in 1967 of one hundred forty three lead coins, circular, cast, attributed to the early centuries of the Christian era i.e. the 2-3rd century A.D. This find comes from Āṇḍippaṭṭi village, Chengam Taluk, North Arcot District. These coins have two wavy lines and a few triangular symbols on the obverse probably representing a river and mountain respectively and an anti-clock wise legend and an *aṅkuśa* on the reverse.⁶⁰ I. Mahadevan assigns them,

as coins to the 2nd-3rd c. A.D. on the palaeography of the Tamil-Brahmi legend, and reads it as "*Tinnan Eihirān Sendan*", a ruler of the Śaṅgam period.⁶¹

The Chengam hoard of coins has proved beyond doubt, that metallic currency was not unknown in the Śaṅgam period, in spite of the fact that barter was the prevalent method of exchange. Evidently the Andhra Sātavāhana currency and the Roman coins in circulation in the early Christian era inspired such a coinage.

That the Roman coins served as the currency of the early Tamil country and perhaps of the Deccan also during 1st-4th century A.D. is not unlikely. The Tamils exported their commodities to Rome in exchange for commodities as well as for Roman currency. The volume of trade was such that they even had a local mint in which they minted copper coins, different in fabric and weight, for local use by foreign merchants. A study of these small circular copper coins found in and around Madura and their interrelationships if any with the other local contemporary indigenous currencies should prove rewarding.

According to Warmington, the eastward movement of Roman money took place in two forms; merchants carrying on commercial transactions with foreign countries found gold coins a necessity for external commerce, and silver for small exchange. Much of the Roman coins was taken to India in order to buy in bulk certain luxury items. Besides, Warmington says⁶² that there was a deliberate exportation of Roman money to India to create a Roman currency there owing to the dearth of commercial coinage, and the Tamilians whose coins were of base metals allowed the Romans to introduce their own coinage of gold and silver, to facilitate their foreign trade. Balram Srivastava⁶³ feels that the Tamilians would not have imported an alien currency in their country for their currency requirements. According to him the traders of the Tamil region purchased Roman gold and silver coins as bullion, for their metallic value. It is also very unlikely, he says, that the State which had minting of coins under its control, would have imposed no restrictions on the import of this non-indigenous currency. That the government did resort to the mutilation of these coins is evident. But Srivastava has overlooked one significant point here and that is the role played by the merchant guilds in the country's economy. Well-organised merchant associations with wide powers existed in the first few centuries of the Christian era. It would not be surprising if they even occasionally minted coins with the permission of the state. These organisations probably had these non-indigenous coins imported for their commercial transactions—both internal and external, as high value currencies.

Pallava

Two types of coins were originally ascribed to the Pallavas, by Elliot. One type has the lion on the obverse and the vase on the reverse and the other the bull on the obverse and various other devices including the vase on the reverse. The lion type with a maned lion standing with its mouth open, with one of its paws raised and its tail looped above, occasionally with some symbols above and the vase with lamp-stands on the reverse, has now been proved beyond doubt to be the Vishnukūṇḍin coins and not of the Pallavas.

A few of the series of bull type of coins assigned to the Pallavas have been published from time to time but in most cases they are hypothetical. A review of the available material shows that a fresh scrutiny of all these coins is essential before any conclusions can be arrived at, regarding their Pallava origin.

Desikachari published a number of Pallava coins with device of the bull on many of them.⁶⁴ The dynastic crest of the bull is depicted also on their copper-plate charters from very early times. The figure of a lion also features on the seals of their charters and that perhaps explains the portrayal of the lion on their coins. Such lion type coins in copper have been derived in all probability from the Vishṇukunḍin proto-types.

Varieties of the bull type coin in copper, published by Desikachari, said to have been found in and around Mahābalipuram area, have the bull on the obverse and a number of devices on the reverse—the two masted ship, the *svastika*, the lamp, the *chakra*, the bow, the fish, the *chaitya*, etc. and other emblems—often occurring on the Andhra coinage, proving thereby the influence of Andhra coinage on the Pallava currency. Desikachari tentatively attributed some of these coins with the bull on the obverse and legends which he reads as “*śrī Bhara*” and “*śrī Nidhi*”, to two well known Pallava monarchs, Mahendravarman and Rājasimha respectively. A fresh scrutiny of the available material may prove rewarding and help to establish the authenticity of their Pallava origin.

Besides these, another type of a bull coin with a bull to right and legend “*Vabu*” in Pallava Grantha and tiger to right with fish and bow, is attributed to Mahēndravarmān.⁶⁵ The attribution is not at all convincing, but the type itself is of interest, as it is of great significance to a study of the coinages of the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas. The presence of the bull and the emblems of the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍyas—the tiger and the fish—cannot be overlooked as a mere coincidence. The reverse device may have provided the proto-type for the Chōḷa coins.

Excavations at Kāñchīpuram brought to light above the Sātavāhana phase some eight lead coins which are believed to be of the Pallavas. These coins feature the bull and Śīvatṣa or Nandipāda emblem on the top in a similar fashion as found on their copper-plate charter seals.⁶⁶ Ramayya dates these coins to 3rd c.A.D. to early years of the Pallava independence.

A coin with a couchant bull, reminiscent of the bull featured on the Śālaṅkāyana coins and a legend “*śrī śrī*” in Pallava Grantha characters is assigned to the 7th-8th centuries A.D.⁶⁷ The device on the obverse corresponds to the Pallava dynastic crest, but the legend is incomplete and hence specific attribution is not possible.

Chēras

No coinage which may be specifically attributed to the Chēras has come to light so far in spite of the Chēras having been a major power from very early times, in South India.

Several types of copper coins with an elephant on the obverse and the palmyra

tree on the reverse were assigned to the Chēras, but the chronology of these types is not certain.

Thirty one silver coins were found as treasure trove at Vaigaikulam village, in Sankarankoil Taluk of the Tinnevely District in 1944. These coins are double die-struck with a Nāgarī legend "*śrī Gaṇḍarāmkusāya*" and a *kumbha* or *kalāṣa* between the two lines of the legend and a crocodile or *makara* open mouthed between the two lines of the legend in Nāgarī "*śrī Vīra Kēraṣāya*". The coins are assignable on palaeographic grounds to the 11th or 12th century A.D. The title "*Vīra Keraṣa*" was assumed by many rulers of this region. Lakshminarayan Rao attributes these coins to Vīra Kēraṣavarman mentioned in the Chōḷapuram inscription at Nāgar-kōyil, dated Kollam 302 (1127 A.D.).⁶⁸ This attribution to Vīra Kēraṣavarman of this date, seems plausible in the absence of any evidence to the contrary.

Imperial Chōḷa

The imperial Chōḷas issued coins in gold, silver and copper. While gold and copper coins are more predominant in the early reigns, copper became the chief metal for currency in the later Chōḷa period. These coins invariably have the tiger, the dynastic emblem of the Chōḷas, in the centre mostly in association with the bow and fish representing the emblems of the Chēras and the Pāṇḍyas respectively. This grouping of emblems indicates Chōḷa authority over the Chēra and Pāṇḍya territories. Besides this there are legends either in Nāgarī or Grantha, giving either the name or the title of the ruler.

In addition to what may be termed the tiger device, is another type of Chōḷa issues, both in gold and in copper, which has representations of a crude standing figure on both sides of the coin with the legend giving the name of the ruler. Termed as the "Ceylon-man type" it served as a popular pattern for Chōḷa currency from the time of Rājārāja I (985-1014 A.D.).

The earliest Chōḷa coins, so far known, are those with the tiger device with fish and bow and the legend "*Uttama Chōḷa*" in Nāgarī on the reverse. Elliot published a gold coin, with a legend in Grantha characters "*Uttama Sōḷan*." They have been ascribed to Uttama Chōḷa (973-985 A.D.).⁶⁹ Some writers are inclined to assign varieties of this Uttama Chōḷa coins to Rājēndra Chōḷa I. These coins are in silver and copper.

The next series in the Chōḷa coinage are those of Rājārāja the great (985-1014). A number of coins in gold, silver and copper are assigned to this monarch. Some of them have the tiger, fish and bow devices with a legend "*śrī Rājārāja*" in Nāgarī script. It is in his series of coins that the so called Ceylon-man type, with a crude standing figure on one side and a seated figure with the Nāgarī legend "*śrī Rājārāja*" is adopted for the first time. Most of his gold, silver and copper coins portray these figures. The origin of this so-called Ceylon-man type and its adoption by Rājārāja I on his coinage are highly controversial. Whether it was imported from Ceylon, or from somewhere in the North India or it was purely a Chōḷa innovation is hard to say. The highly stylistic figures on these coins and their portrayal for the first time

perhaps during the time of this Chōḷa monarch need to be studied more closely in relation to contemporary coinages, particularly of medieval Ceylon. The copper coins of the Ceylon-man type with legend "*Rājarāja*" are found in the Chōḷa area in thousands but it is just possible that they are not all of one and the same monarch with the name Rājarāja. This currency was perhaps followed by subsequent rulers as well. Those coins of the Ceylon-man type in inferior gold with legends "*Rājarāja*" and "*śrī Laṅkeśvara*" are undoubtedly the issues of Rājarāja.⁷⁰

To Rājendra Chōḷa, the son and successor of Rājarāja I (1014-44), are attributed the silver, copper and inferior gold coins with the seated tiger, fish and bow on both sides with Nāgarī legends "*Gaṅgaikonda Chōḷa*" and "*śrī Rājendra*". A rare type of coin of this ruler is an inferior gold issue with a standing figure on one side and seated figure on the other, with the tiger, and the legend "*śrī Rājendrah*".

Typologically similar to the Chōḷa coins with the depiction of the tiger, bow and the fish, are the gold *paṇams* with the legend "*Yuddhamalla*" in Nāgarī. Biddulph associates this coin with Rājendra Chōḷa. It is however doubtful whether this type can be ascribed to Rājendra, in spite of Biddulph's ingenious theory regarding its attribution, although the coin definitely shows early Chōḷa affiliations.⁷¹

A type of coin in gold with a standing figure and the legend "*śrī Rājādhirāja*" on the obverse, and a seated figure facing a seated tiger on the reverse, similar to a coin of Rājendra, is attributed to Rājādhirāja who ruled conjointly with Rājendra Chōḷa (1018-44 A.D.), in the Chōḷa region.⁷² The silver coins, discovered at Kartoka in North Kanara⁷³ with a lion on one side (identified incorrectly as tiger) and legend "*śrī Rājādhirāja*" in Nāgarī, and attributed to this ruler, may not be a Chōḷa imperial issue. A rare coin with the legend "*śrī Rājarājendra*" may be attributed to Virarājendra, who possessed this title.

Coins of Kulōttunga I (1070-1118) have been found with a tiger and a legend "*śrī Chōḷanārāyaṇa*" and one with the legend "*śrī Chalukarāyaṇa*".⁷⁴ Two new types of coins of this monarch, along with coins of the Eastern Chālukya monarch Rājarāja were found in Daulēśvaram in the East Godavari District.

The Daulēśvaram Chōḷa coins of Kulōttunga I have in the centre the device common on Chōḷa coins—the tiger, the fish and the bow. The legend on these coins consists of punched letters in Grantha script. The legends read as "*Malainādu-kondasōḷaṇ*" on one and "*Kaṭaikaṇḍa Chōḷaṇ*" on the other, both types representing the issues of Kulōttunga I who bore these titles. Balakrishna Nayar has convincingly established that it is incorrect to assign these types to Rājendra and Rājādhirāja and quotes epigraphical sources in support of his argument.⁷⁵ In type and fabric they are similar to the Chōḷanārāyaṇa and Chalukarāyaṇa types. An interesting feature of these coins is that they bear the regnal year in numerical figures.

Certain light-weight coins in gold found at Kaviyadarali, Atmakur Taluk, Nellore District, are also assigned to Kulōttunga I. On the obverse is the tiger device, bow and fish and the reverse has a Tamil legend "*Suṅ*", a shortened form of the title *Kulōttunga Sungantaviritta Chōḷaṇ*, or "abolisher of tolls".⁷⁶ The numerals on these coins also refer to the reign of Kulōttunga.

After the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, the Chōḷa currency consists mostly of copper coins with legends in many cases very short, of varieties of the Ceylon-man type and bow bull type coins, with single letter inscriptions. They may be assigned to the 12th-13th centuries A.D.

Pāṇḍya

Two distinct phases mark the currency history of the Pāṇḍyas. The first phase introduces the coinage of the early Pāṇḍyas of the Śaṅgam period, which has been discussed earlier.

To the second phase of Pāṇḍyan currency may be assigned a rare gold coin of Varaguṇa II (862-88 A.D.), and certain copper pieces with the fish and bull series of perhaps the 9th-11th centuries A.D.

The gold coin of Varaguṇa II, the earliest inscribed gold coin of South India, so far known, features "the double carp" on the obverse and the legend "śrī Varaguṇa" in Grantha characters of the 9th century A.D.⁷⁷

Gold currency of the Pāṇḍyas is extremely rare. Except for the rare issue in gold by Varaguṇa II, no other gold specimen is known. The Pāṇḍya Dhanañjaya gold coins earlier assigned to the medieval Pāṇḍyas, are proved to be Ālupa issues and not Pāṇḍya. The absence of a Pāṇḍya silver currency is equally remarkable.

By far the most interesting issues of the Pāṇḍya dynasty are in copper which seem to have been struck in such profusion that they are still available in plenty after the lapse of several centuries in the Madura country.

Biddulph and Tracy believe that the bull and fish copper series of coins started from the middle of the 9th century A.D. after the Pāṇḍyan invasion of Ceylon, where similar coins have been found.⁷⁸

Another type of coins was equally popular from the 9th century onwards. Coins of this type, the so-called Ceylon-man type, with a standing figure on one side and a seated figure on the other, with legends giving titles of Pāṇḍya rulers, served as currency of the Pāṇḍyas of the medieval period, with occasional variants until the 13th-14th centuries A.D.

On coins of the fish series, bearing the Pāṇḍyan emblem of either the single or the double fish are legends in Tamil giving either the name or titles of the ruler; Avanipa Śegaran, Avanipēndran, Kōḍaṇḍarāman, Sundara Pāṇḍyan, Kachi Vaḷangum Perumāḷ. *Avanipasegaram* and *Avanipēndrau* were perhaps the titles of Sundara Pāṇḍya. The Pāṇḍyan emblem of the fish is replaced by the boar on another series of copper coins with the legend "*Sundara*". This legend is not confined only to the coins bearing the fish and bow emblem but is found also on the Ceylon-man series. The varieties of coins bearing the legend "*Sundara*" differing typologically and in fabric from one another, indicate that they were the issues of not one but many Sundara Pāṇḍyas. Pāṇḍyan epigraphs refer to many Sundara Pāṇḍyas of the medieval period 11th-13th centuries A.D.⁷⁹

The impact of Chōḷa currency is noticeable on certain categories of Pāṇḍyan

coins bearing the "Ceylon-man". The name "*Vīra Pāṇḍya*" on these coins suggests that it was a Pāṇḍya issue modelled on a Chōḷa type.

Coins with the legends "*Bhūṭala Vīra*", "*Ellamtalaiyanān*", "*Chōṇāḍu koṇḍān*", "*Chēra nāḍukoṇḍān*" also feature the Ceylon-man on the obverse.⁸⁰ These legends do not indicate any particular sovereign in whose reign they were issued but merely their titles. The coins of Ellamtalaiyanān bear on some of them the syllable "*Ṣu*", probably indicating a Sundara Pāṇḍya perhaps of a later date i.e. 13th c.A.D. In fact any specific attribution of these coins to various Pāṇḍyan rulers can be made only on a conjectural basis.

The coins found in Madura are generally of a different fabric from those of the Tinnevely series, which are thicker in size, and invariably bear the "Ceylon-man" on the obverse, associated with a battle-axe. Sole legends such as Sundara Pāṇḍya, Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya are found occasionally on this series.

Yet other titles found on another category of copper coins perhaps of a later date i.e. the 14th century A.D. are *Samarakōlāhalan*, *Kōṇērīrāyan* and *Bhuvanēka-vīra*. The bull emblem is depicted on the Kōṇērīrāyan coins, the Garuḍa on the Samara Kōlāhalan series. They are also assignable to a later date (14th century) on the basis of the palaeography of the letters.

The above series do not specify the issuer of the coin but they clearly represent the latest series of Pāṇḍyan currency, circulating until the Pāṇḍyan power came to an end in the 14th century, when the Muslim Sultanate of Malabar established political suzerainty in the region around Madura and began issuing their own currency on the pattern of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Chinese and Arab Coins

The epigraphs of the 10th-13th centuries refer to *pon*, *kāṇam*, *paṇam* etc. and in addition to *Chīnakkāsu* and *dīnārs*. Evidently there were other non-indigenous coins in use and the numerous hoards of Chinese copper coins and Arab *dīnārs* in the Chōḷa region would testify to the commercial contacts the Chōḷas had with the Chinese and the Arabs. Hoards of Chinese copper coins have come to light in the Tanjore District⁸¹ while stray finds have been reported from Kamataka and Madhya Pradesh. Reference to Chinese coins in epigraphs, coupled with their discovery in the Tanjore region testifies to the flexibility of the local currency system with reference to the foreign currencies. Three hoards of Chinese coins were found from the Tanjore District. It is again in the Tanjore area and in the western coast, hoards of Arab coins of the Abbasid and Ummayid Caliphate have come to light. It is obvious that the Arab *dīnārs* had circulated freely in the Tamil area in the early and late medieval period.⁸² It is well known that Arab horses were imported in large numbers from very early times.

Vijayanagara

The rulers of Vijayanagara issued coins in gold and copper in large numbers and great variety. A few silver specimens are attributed to Dēvarāya, but it is not certain whether they are genuine.

Almost all the Vijayanagara rulers have issued coins. Harihara, Vīra Bhūpati, Vijaya Bukka, Mallikāṛjuna, Dēvarāya, Kṛishṇadēvarāya, Achyutarāya, Rāmarāya are among the Rāyas of Vijayanagara whose reigns are represented by their coins. Among these coins the copper issues of Dēvarāya bearing the bull on the obverse and the Kannada legend "Dēvarāya" on the reverse are the most numerous. The gold pagōḍas of almost all the rulers are fairly common and some of them with their fractions are still found.⁸³

The earlier issues of Vijayanagara currency bear distinctly figures of Saivite deities such as Śiva and Pārvati with the names of the rulers inscribed in Kannada on them. On the later issues of the 15th-16th century A.D. the figures of Vaishnavite deities, and legends in Nāgaṇi are found.

Gold pagōḍas of Harihara and Dēvarāya I portray Śiva and Pārvati, replaced by the bull on those of Vijaya Bukkarāya and Dēvarāya. The figures of Viṣṇu and his two consorts are represented on the later Vijayanagara issues, the Gaṇḍa-bhēruṇḍa a mythical two-headed eagle on those of Achyutarāya, a figure of Hanu-mān on the coins of Bhūpatirāya and Garuḍa and Bālakṛishṇa on those of Kṛishṇa-dēvarāya. The Vijayanagara coinage served as currency in South India until the advent of the Europeans in the 17th c. A.D.

The foregoing survey of South Indian coins is intended as a preliminary probe into the nature and scope of the study of South Indian coins, highlighting the various problems involved in identification, attribution and the processes of analysis essential for a study of the economic aspects of coinage.

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The discovery of a huge treasure-trove of gold coins at Kōḍūr in the Nellore district marks an epoch in the history of South Indian Numismatics. The coins almost all of them are round, of the punch-marked variety, with Telugu Kannada, Nagari or Tamil, or Tamil Grantha legends belonging to different dynasties. This discovery of over 16,000 gold coins, has created a number of problems relating to identification and attribution on account of numerous titles found as legends, on these coins. The provenance of the hoard and the date 11th-13th century assigned to this hoard, coincide with the area and the period of the Telugu-Chōḷas, about whom no authoritative account has so far been written.

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Society : Interaction

TAMIL SOCIETY IN THE EARLY AND MEDIEVAL PERIODS

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THE EARLIEST GLIMPSE OF Tamil society is gleaned from the Śaṅgam classics. It is still a subject of controversy as to when these classics were composed. According to the views advanced by scholars, the dates range from about 500 B.C. to 600 A.D.¹

In the absence of direct mention of chronology in the Śaṅgam works, reliance has to be placed on the indirect references. Mention of commercial relationship with the West, particularly with Greece and Rome is made in certain Śaṅgam classics.² The trade of the Tamils with the Yavanas, which name was first applied to the Greeks, then to the Romans and in due course to all foreigners, is reflected not only in some of the Śaṅgam classics, but is corroborated by the description provided by the Greek and Roman writers and geographers of the first and second centuries A.D.

Strabo says in 25 B.C. that he saw about 120 ships sailing from Hormuz to India.³ Strabo also speaks of two Pāṇḍyan embassies to the emperor Augustus. The anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, as well as Pliny, both assignable to the 1st century A.D. as also Ptolemy of the succeeding century, describe the ports of South India and the commercial relationship that they had with the Western countries.⁴ This coincidence of the accounts of the foreign writers of the first and second centuries A.D. with the references in the Śaṅgam classics indicate that these literary works belong more or less to this epoch. Moreover, the hoards of Roman coins unearthed in South India indicate the period when Roman commerce reached its zenith. By far the largest number of these coins belong to Augustus and Tiberius.⁵ It is remarkable that there is a scarcity of Roman coins subsequent to the reign of Tiberius (13-37 A.D.). After the 2nd century A.D. the Romans traded more with the north-western region of India than with the Tamil country.

Perhaps the most decisive piece of evidence regarding the date of the Roman trade and thereby supporting the references in the Tamil classics to the commercial relationship is provided by the recently discovered finds at Arikamēḍu. The excavations have revealed that Arikamēḍu was not only an ancient town and port, evidently identifiable with the 'Poduke' of Ptolemy, but also a centre of trade with Graeco-Roman world. The unique value of the discoveries lies in the fact that they enable us to date the culture of the region almost precisely. On the basis of internal and external evidence, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler concludes that the pottery and the Arretine ware and amphorae imported from Italy can be dated to 20-50 A.D. "From a convergence of evidence it is here inferred," he says, "that the sites were first occupied at the end of the first century B.C. or beginning of the first century A.D. with an inclination towards the later date."⁶ Sometime in the second century A.D. the warehouse in Arikamēḍu appears to have been deserted; the glorious

epoch of Arikamēdu's industrial and commercial activity ranged about the first two centuries of the Christian era. Thus the testimony provided by Arikamēdu confirms the evidence furnished by the European writers on the one hand and by that of the Śaṅgam classics on the other. From these it follows that the Śaṅgam age flourished in the second century A.D. Therefore, it is not improbable that the Śaṅgam (probably what is known as the third Śaṅgam) existed between the first and third centuries A.D. This is the basic substratum of the chronology of the early Tamils.

Regarding the post-Śaṅgam and medieval periods of the social history of the Tamils the sources of information are inscriptions, literature and notices by foreigners. Inscriptions on stone provide valuable data, though they are of greater help for political history. Incidental references are however found throwing light on the social and economic conditions of the people. But a tendency to overassess the credibility of the epigraphic data in comparison with the literary evidence is often noticed, which is not justifiable. Later literary works and religious treatises like the *Dēvāram* hymns, the *Nālāyiraprabandham*, the *Jīvakachintāmaṇi* and *Periyapurāṇam* are of considerable value, to be used however, with care and discrimination. Foreign evidence, except for stray references by Hiuen Tsang, and the later Muslim and European visitors, is not of great value. With the aid of the available sources the social history of the Tamils can be reconstructed. Here the development of the prominent factors, like the caste system, education and position of women can be considered.

Caste System

It is generally believed that the institution of caste, the typical Hindu social organisation, was a creation of the Aryans and that it was introduced by them into the Tamil country also. The Aryan influence had penetrated into Tamīlagam as early as the Śaṅgam age itself, for we find references to the four-fold caste system in the Śaṅgam literature. For instance, the poet-king Āryappaḍaikaḍanda Neḍuñcheḷiyan clearly speaks of the four-fold division based on birth.⁷

A more comprehensive, though enigmatic, description of the caste system of the Tamils is found in the *Tolkāppiyam*. Tolkāppiyar speaks of the four castes of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, though he employs appellations in terms of the Tamil language prevalent in the Tamil country. Thus he equates Brahmins with Antanar, Kshatriyas with Araśar, the Vaiśyas without any modification and the Śūdras with Veḷḷālas. The implied identification of the Śūdras with the Veḷḷālas is inexplicable because, then, as ever afterwards, the Veḷḷālas have constituted only one section of the so-called Śūdras. In fact, there were several other groups included under the Aryan subdivision of the Śūdras.

Besides, there are certain other deviations on the part of Tolkāppiyar from the theoretical prescriptions of the Aryans. For instance, though warfare is the traditional avocation of the Kshatriyas, Tolkāppiyar lays down different prescriptions at various places of his work. In one place he states that the weapons of war can be

handled by Kshatriyas as well as Vaiśyas;⁸ in another context he says that Veļļālas too, if ordered by kings, were entitled to use weapons of war.⁹ In fact, the position of the Kshatriyas is not clearly stated by Tolkāppiyar. It must be remembered that he permitted the Kshatriyas marrying women of the Vēļir or higher Veļļāla caste. Again, Tolkāppiyar holds that Brahmins, too, could become kings at times.¹⁰

Moreover, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas were considered by Tolkāppiyar as *dvijas* and as such were entitled to wear the sacred thread; on the other hand, no reference is found in any of the Śāṅgam works to people of any non-Brahmin caste wearing it. Besides, several Brahmins took to secular occupations. The most prominent instance is that of Nakkīrar, the *Vēļāppārpān*¹¹ who earned his livelihood by carving conch-shells into bracelets.

Thus we find that though the idea of hereditary caste based on birth had appeared even in the Śāṅgam age, it was not exactly identical with the system in vogue in north India. One reason for this variation was that the incoming Aryans did not have at first the political power of enforcing their system throughout the country including Tamilnadu. It was a case of peaceful introduction of their social classification on the basis of self-assumed spiritual authority.

A far more important reason for the slow and rather haphazard introduction of the Aryan institution of caste is to be found in the strength of the indigenous pattern of social organisation prevalent in the Tamil country before the advent of Aryans. Here, in early times social organisation arose on the basis of occupation and not on that of birth. It has been rightly said that 'the spirit of Dravidian culture was castelessness'.¹² We find from the Śāṅgam classics that the Tamil society existed on the physiographic basis of the regions: *kuṟiñchi*, the hill country, *mullai*, the pastoral region, *neydal*, the coastal tract, *marudam*, the land of agricultural plains and *pālai*, the sandy region or desert. It is important to remember that the migration of persons from one region to another was not impossible. In fact, the Kuṟava from the *kuṟiñchi* territory could settle in the *mullai* region and become an *iḍaiya* or cowherd; if he moved on to the *marudam* and took to farming he would become a *veļļālan*. Where specialised skill was needed there must have been a tendency for people to stick to their occupation and the region originally occupied by them. This must have been largely the case in respect of the fishermen of the *neydal* region. But in the generality of cases people could migrate to other regions and take to new occupations. To thrust the *chāturvarṇya* system into the Tamil structure, which was organised on an occupational and physiographic basis was not an easy affair. Naturally the resulting fusion was of a loose and flexible character, with several anomalies.

In the Śāṅgam age, after the coalescence of the Aryan pattern with the indigenous system in a rough and ready manner, most of the people in the *kuṟiñchi*, *mullai*, *marudam* and *neydal* must have been grouped miscellaneously as Veļļālar, according to Tolkāppiyar.¹³ Brahmins must have lived mostly in the *marudam* and in a few towns. The practice of Brahmins residing in separate quarters had arisen as early as the Śāṅgam age. The quarters where the Brahmins lived were known as

pārpanachchēri. In certain villages, there were streets where Brahmins alone resided. The *Kuṟuntogai* speaks of the Brahmin street as *āṣil teruv*.¹⁴ Āmūr was a predominantly Brahmin village in Oymānādu.¹⁵ Again, the *Perumpāṇṭṟuppaḍai* speaks of a village on the way to Kāfichi as *Maṟai Kāppālar Ūṟaipati*.¹⁶

It is significant that there were no separate *chēris* or suburbs exclusively set apart for the Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas or Veļļālar. The difference is due to the circumstance that many Brahmins had come from outside and were settled in separate villages or streets. But it is wrong to think that all Brahmins had come from outside. The appellations *vaḍama brihatcharaṇam* and *aṣṭasaahasram* indicate that while many had come from the north, others were probably raised to the position of Brahminhood from among the indigenous people.¹⁷

The idea of superiority on the basis of caste had appeared even in the Śaṅgam age; Tolkāppiyar speaks of the *uṟandōr*—the superior class and the *pinnōr*—the lower or the backward class. It may be added that the Veļļālar, who were generally *pinnōr* in relation to other communities, were themselves subdivided into superior and inferior sections. The superiors were the landowners, and it is important to remember in this connection that the superior Veļļālas enjoyed *jus connubium* with the Araśar, and some of these Veļļālas were actually chieftains ruling in certain parts of Tamizhagam.

Untouchability

The question is frequently asked whether untouchability had appeared among the Tamils of the Śaṅgam age. It is difficult to give a definite answer to this question. There are no doubt references in some of the Śaṅgam classics to the low birth of persons of certain groups. The appellations of *iḷipirappālan* and *iḷichinan*, applied to people of low-born castes are expressive of contempt for persons of low birth.¹⁸ Another poem in the *Puṟaṇānūru*¹⁹ speaks of the *kaḍalsiyar* referring to women of the lowest class. From the context it appears that this reference is to women of the agricultural labouring class. But while all these references indicate the rather contemptuous position of certain low classes of people, positive evidence regarding the practice of untouchability in the Śaṅgam age is lacking. It seems that though the germs of untouchability were there in the Śaṅgam age itself, the full-fledged untouchability came to take shape in the Pallava and Chōḷa epochs.

The *Dēvārams* which are mostly assignable to the epoch of the great Pallavas, reveal that untouchability had clearly developed. It appeared primarily in relation to entry into temples and by the time of the Imperial Chōḷas it became elaborately systematised. The extent upto which the different categories of persons could enter the various parts of the temple was systematically worked out by the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. This was the period when the rituals and ceremonies of the temples increased in number and prominence. The temples themselves became more numerous during this epoch. The rules and regulations in respect of the temples had their reflection in the day-to-day social life of the people. In fact, the multiplication of sub-castes in the age of the Imperial Chōḷas was not a little due to the privileges enjoyed by people of various castes in temples.

Diet

One basis for the development of untouchability in the post-Śaṅgam age was the habit of eating animal food. Did all classes of people use meat and fish as part of their diet in the Śaṅgam age? From certain references in *Perumpāṇāṟuppaḍai* it is clear that generally Brahmins were scrupulous vegetarians. The description appearing in the *Perumpāṇāṟuppaḍai*²⁰ of a Brahmin house shows that animals except cows were not to desecrate the vicinity of Brahmin houses. Dogs and hens were not allowed to enter the houses of Brahmins. These facts indicate that animal food was eschewed by them. The *Perumpāṇāṟuppaḍai* describes in another place²¹ the items of the dietary, presumably common among the Brahmins of those times. In addition to rice, which was the principal item, there was a preparation made out of the pomegranate fruit mixed with chully powder and a pickle prepared out of mangoes. There is no mention of meat or fish, and the omission does not seem to have been accidental. Again, we have in the *Kuruntogai*,²² Kūḍalūr Kijār's description apparently of a Brahmin lady serving food to her husband. The details found in the description of the food show that it was purely vegetarian.

But those who hold that in the Śaṅgam age the Brahmins had not taken to an exclusive vegetarian diet point out that Brahmins of the Vedic and the immediately succeeding periods were accustomed to eating meat and that the same custom was continued in the south during the Śaṅgam age. More important is the oft-repeated description of Kapilar, who proclaims himself a Brahmin, of the excellence of meat and drink with a personal relish.²³

The real position seems to be that in the beginning, all the Tamils, irrespective of caste, were non-vegetarians, and that as a result of the increasing influence of the Jain and Buddhist creeds in the land there appeared an opposition to the use of animal food.²⁴ Though it is difficult to determine the date of the change, it is clear that it must have appeared but gradually. Therefore, it is possible that during the Śaṅgam age, some including Brahmins, continued the old habit, while others changed over to a complete vegetarian diet.

Caste in the age of the Pallavas

During the period of Kaḷabhra invasions, roughly ranging from the 4th to 6th centuries A.D. there was confusion in the Tamil country and the social organisation too, was upset. The Kaḷabhras were either Buddhists or Jains who were all opposed to the Hindu faith and the *varṇāśrama-dharma*. With the overthrow of the Kaḷabhras by the end of the 6th century A.D. there was a reaction in favour of Hinduism, particularly Brahminism, and it continued throughout the age of the powerful Pallavas. Whether the Pallavas were Brahmins or Kshatriyas has been a disputed question. It is likely that they were Kshatriyas, as may be inferred from Kākutstha-varman's Tāḷagunda inscription. But they assumed the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, probably that of their preceptors, and in any case the Pallavas were ardent supporters of Brahminism.

Under the Pallavas there seems to have been a vast influx of Brahmins from the north. Groups of Brahmins were welcomed and settled in different villages and were

helped by munificent grants of land and gifts. Inscriptions show how several *ghaṭīkas* or sacred schools of learning under the patronage of Brahmins were established in the Pallava and Pāṇḍya territories.

This was also the time when numerous temples of stone were erected. And it need hardly be repeated that the temples were the citadels of the orthodox caste system and the supremacy of the Brahmin hierarchy. In the religious and social spheres the supremacy of the Brahmins was established. The kings patronised the Brahmins and supported them in their move for exalting Brahmins. Around the temples there appeared settlements of *agrahāras* containing the residences for scholars devoted to the study and teaching of the Vēdas.

The rules prescribing the privileges of the various castes with reference particularly to the temples were formulated. It is well known that Mahēndravarmān II professed himself to be the champion of the *varṇāśrama-dharma*.²⁵ Further, according to the Kaśākuḍi plates, the Pallava rulers, in general, are said to have enforced the special rules of all castes and orders. With the systematisation of the four castes, their duties and rights, the tendency for the growth of sub-castes appeared. In particular, numerous small groups appeared among the Śūdras. Intermarriages among them were not allowed.

The age of the Great Pallavas marked the heyday of the Bhakti movement in Tamilnadu.²⁶ This encouraged devotion to temples and to rituals. No doubt, the hymnists of the Bhakti movement were drawn from various castes; but a large number of them belonged to the higher castes. The patronising attitude of the higher sections towards sincere devotees of the lower order like Nandanār and Toṇḍarāḍi-ṭoḍi-ālvār only brings to the fore the increasing hold of casteism on the people of the age. Among the 63 Nāyanmārs, besides Brahmins and Araśar, there were Vaṇigar, Veḷḷālas, Idaiyar, Kuyavar, Pāṇar, Vēḍar, Śāṇār, Śāliyar, Śekkar (oilmonger), Vannār (washerman) and Pulaiyar. Among the Ālvārs of about the same epoch, along with Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Veḷḷālas and Maṇavas, there were some like Toṇḍarāḍi-ṭoḍi, Tīruppān-ālvār, not born in any of the four principal castes. It is significant that Tīrumaḷśaiyār, though of a high caste, states in one of his hymns that he did not belong to any caste.

In one sense the Bhakti movement registered a protest against caste. Sincere devotion to God irrespective of the differences of caste received the greatest emphasis.

Caste in the age of the Imperial Chōlas

During the period of the Imperial Chōlas the social disparities which had appeared in the earlier epoch of the Pallavas continued in an accentuated form. Temples increased, and with them the rituals and ceremonies in temples increased. Caste regulations in respect of temples became rigorous. Untouchability and unapproachability developed. The number of sub-castes multiplied.

New *brahmadēyas* appeared, and more Brahmins from the north were invited to settle down in new villages. *Ghaṭīkas* and Vedic centres of learning increased in number. They promoted the study of the Vedas and of Sanskrit. For example,

Kāmappullūr in North Arcot District, Aṇiyūr in Chingleput District, Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in South Arcot District, Tribhuvani, Tirumukkūḍai, Tiruvāḍuṭurai, Peruvelūr and Tiruvorriyūr were some of the centres of Vedic learning. But in none of these were Tamil language and literature taught.

True, several *maṭhas* arose attached to the temples. They promoted the study and recitation of *tiruppadyams* and *prabandhas* which, too, were of a spiritual character. The language of these religious works was of a Maṇipravāḷam style. Nor were the *maṭhas* thrown open to all; they were the close preserves of the higher castes. The *maḍattu śaiṭa perumukkaḷ*, mentioned in Nṛipatungavarman's inscription, dated in his 25th year, referred to the group of scholars in the *maṭha* and not to the people at large. This restriction continued in the days of the Imperial Chōḷas. The same social setup continued in the 16th-17th centuries. During this period when the Vijayanagara empire expanded into the Tamil country, several new castes appeared on account of the inflow of Telugu and Kannaḍiga settlers in the Tamil country. Under the Nāyaks of Madurai and Tañjāvūr they increased. These new castes included those of the Nāyakkar, Nāyudus, Redḍis and Chakkiliyas. Several families of Telugus and a few of Kannaḍigas also came and permanently settled down in the Tamil country. While they acquired a knowledge of Tamil and often became proficient in it, they spoke their mother tongue at home.

The Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai

A peculiar social division prevalent in Tamiḷagam from the 11th century down to the beginning of the present century was that of the *valaṅgai* (right hand) and *iḍaṅgai* (left hand) castes. An inscription in Tiruvaraṅgam, belonging to the 11th year of Kulōttuṅga I speaks of a conflict between the *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* castes in the 2nd year of his reign i.e. in 1072 A.D. Thus this social division had appeared in or before the 11th century A.D.

The genesis of the Right and Left Hand castes is a mystery. Various legends have appeared attempting to explain their origin. But none of them is trustworthy. A study of the inscriptions and later facts known about these castes suggest that the division emerged originally on the basis of recruitment to the royal army. It is learnt that there were in the Chōḷa army some sections known as *valaṅgai paḷam paḍai-kaḷilār*, *perundānattu valaṅgaippaḍaigaḷ*, *Aḷagiya Chōḷattirunda valaṅgai vēḷaikkārapaḍaigaḷ* and so on. An inscription of the 3rd year of Kulōttuṅga I in the Mysore territory²⁷ speaks of the *valaṅgai mahāsēnai* of the Chōḷas. Certain sections of the army were designated as having belonged to the *valaṅgai* caste in the time of Rājarāja I, the Chōḷa emperor.²⁸ This is confirmed by an inscription of Tiruvisailūr, which speaks of a *valaṅgai* army.²⁹ There are references to *valaṅgai* army in Pāṇḍyan inscriptions as well.

It was the practice in medieval times to entrust the management of gifts given to temples to certain sections of the royal army. For example, in the time of Kulōttuṅga I, some endowments to a temple were entrusted to *mūnru kai mahāsēnai*. In Peruṅguḷam of the Pāṇḍināḍu, the *valaṅgai mahāsēnai* are said to have sold some lands to the Kuṇṇameṇḍa Piḷḷaiyār shrine.

Thus there is every likelihood that the distinction between the *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* castes arose on the basis of recruitment to the army. To start with, the army was drawn from certain castes and this was considered a privilege of those castes only. They were considered as the right hand castes, probably indicative of their great value to the king and his army. Later, when recruitment had to be made from other castes and from outsiders, they were all considered as belonging to the left hand castes. In this connection it may be noticed that thirtyone *valaṅgai* regiments of the Chōḷas were described as *valaṅgai paḷam paḍaiṅai*.³⁰ This shows that there were new regiments, apparently belonging to the *iḍaṅgai*. In fact, Rājārāja I and Rājendra I recruited soldiers from the conquered regions. Thus, the Bēḍars of the Canarese country, the Paḷḷans of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, the Māḍigas and the Chakkiliyas of the Kalinga region were, after their recruitment into the Chōḷa force, placed in the left hand category.

Though recruitment to the army was the original cause of the division, in due course it became an artificial basis of social gradation. It is significant to note that while the men of the Chakkiliya caste were included in the *iḍaṅgai* group, the women of the same caste were considered as belonging to the *valaṅgai* category. The Chakkiliya women denied their husbands even conjugal rights till the fighting was over.³¹ Similarly the men of the Paḷḷi caste were of the left hand section while their women were of the right hand. This suggests that the division had assumed a conventional pattern in later times and also that intermarriages took place between people of the *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* castes.

People of those castes recruited to the *valaṅgai* army claimed superiority and held that they alone were entitled to enjoy certain privileges which were denied to the *iḍaṅgai* castes. By the time of Kulōttuṅga III the social distinctions and the consequent hostility between the groups became remarkably pronounced.

When outsiders came into Tamilnadu they were denied the privileges of the *valaṅgai* castes. They were not allowed entry into temples and public roads. An instance of this is found in the history of Iḍarāyakkuḍi in Nāñchināḍu. The inhabitants of Paraśurāma Perunteru in Iḍarāyakkuḍi were known as Paṭṭunūlkārar. They were weavers and dyers of silk and cloth. They had come from outside, probably following the Vijayanagara army. The Brahmins and the Veḷḷāḷas of the place assigned them to the Left Hand group and denied them the privileges of the higher classes. The Brahmins and Veḷḷāḷas were outside the pale of the *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* castes.

During the long period, ranging from the 11th to the 20th century, there were fierce disputes between the *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* sections, often resulting in bloodshed. The *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* each consisted of 98 castes. How this exact number arose, it is not known. It is also difficult to explain how some castes like the Paṇaiyans were included in the Right Hand category. However, from the time of the Imperial Chōḷas there was acute hostility between the Paṇaiyas and Kammāḷas, the former of the Right Hand group and the latter of the Left Hand. It is interesting to note that the Kammāḷas have always claimed themselves as Brahmins or rather as Viśva Brahmins.

Aryanisation and Sanskritisation

The age of the Pallavas witnessed a large increase in the inflow of Brahmins from north and central India into Tamilagam. Since the Kaḷabhras were either Jains or Buddhists, the orthodox Hindus in the north were actively interested in checking their growing influence in the south and in strengthening Hinduism. Simultaneously the kings of South India, particularly the Pallavas, welcomed groups of Brahmins from the north to engage themselves in the strengthening and popularisation of the Hindu faith. As noticed earlier, several *agrahāras* and *brahmadēyas* were established in the Tamil country. Gradually other rulers like the Pāṇḍyas, Chēras and the Imperial Chōḷas followed the same policy and an immediate consequence of this large immigration was the inflow of Sanskrit language and literature, along with Vedic and Puranic lore. This led in due course to the Sanskritisation of the local languages and ways of life.

The names of kings and other persons as well as of institutions were Sanskritised. The names of the Pallava kings were all Sanskrit names.³² Among the great Pallavas, Simhavishṇu, Mahēndravarman, Narasimhavarman, for example, were Sanskrit names. It is surprising that from about the 8th century A.D. the names of the Pāṇḍya kings underwent a conspicuous change. While earlier names of the Śaṅgam age were pure Tamil names like Muḍattirumāran, Madivāṇan, Poraippāṇḍiyan, Aṟivuḍai Nambi and Neḍuñcheḷiyan, from the 7th century onwards Sanskrit names appear like Arikēsari Māravarman, Rājasimha, Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, Varaguṇavarman and Parāntaka Viraṇārāyaṇa. It is striking that some kings of the 6th and 7th centuries adopted pure Tamil names like Kaḍuṅgōn and Kōchchaḍaiyar. Some names like Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan show the combination of Tamil and Sanskrit names. Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (c. 756-815) had a number of surnames like Śivaran, Śinamandharan, Vīda Kanmashan and so on. It is striking that the Pāṇḍyas of the earlier period, who zealously adopted pure Tamil names, now took a remarkable fancy for Sanskrit names.

The Chēra kings of the Śaṅgam age had names like Udiyan Chēralādan, Palyānai Śel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan, Nārmuḍi Chēral, Vēl Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan, Śelvakaḍuṅkō Vāliātan and Perum Chēral Irumpoṟai, all of which were pure Tamil names. The influence of Sanskrit was found in the names of Kēraḷa kings from the 9th century onwards. Thus we hear of Kulaśēkharavarman, Rājaśēkharavarman, Sthāṇu Ravi, Gōḍa Ravivarma, Bhāskara Ravivarma, Vira Kēraḷa and so on.

The Āy kings who earlier bore names like Antiran and Titiyan assumed in the 9th century names like Vikramāditya Varaguṇa. Among the Chōḷas, after Karikāla, Neḍuñkiḷḷi, Kiḷḷivaḷavan and Perunarkiḷḷi of the Śaṅgam age, we find from the 9th century onwards names like Vijavālaya, Parāntaka, Gaṇḍarāditya, Madhurāntaka and Sundara Parāntaka.

This Sanskritisation, beginning from the Pallava period gained strength in Tamilnadu with years. It influenced the people in the royal courts and penetrated the higher sections of Tamil society. Names apart, the language and literature of the Tamils began to come under the spell of the new influence. A Maṇipravāḷam

style appeared in literature. Aryan ideas, Purāṇas and spiritual themes also spread fast. A new language, Malayālam, emerged from about the 9th century A.D. in Kerala which was part of Tamiḷagam earlier.

Education

What was the position of education in the Śaṅgam age? There is no doubt that the Brahmins engaged themselves in the study of the Vēdas and sacred literature. But these did not influence the other classes of people in any perceptible measure. True, the rulers, who posed themselves as Kshatriyas, sought the aid of the learned Brahmins in the conduct of the yāgas, which, thanks to the Brahmin preceptors, had assumed great importance. Some ideas concerning Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas must have become popular in the courts. But Sanskrit education remained a monopoly of the Brahmins for ages.

The rulers were initiated into the martial arts like horse-riding, wrestling and target-practice. They must have learnt the three R's as well. Besides, following the precepts of the illustrious Tīruvaḷḷuvar, they must have acquired considerable knowledge by listening to the learned.

Regarding the education of the common people in the Śaṅgam age, precise information is not available. We come across the designations of teachers, like āṣiriyar, uvārttiyāyar and kaṇakkāyar. In all likelihood the villages of Tamiḷagam provided some general education through the aid of village teachers. The importance of this was realised, and the *Tirikaḍugam*, which belongs to a slightly later time than the age of the Śaṅgam classics, urges that a village without a kaṇakkāyar would get ruined.³³ In the Śaṅgam age itself Tīruvaḷḷuvar had stressed the importance of education in thirty of his verses.³⁴ He held that 'learning is the only imperishable wealth' (*Kuṟaḷ*: 400) and that 'the learned are honoured not only in their own native land, but all over the world' (*Kuṟaḷ*: 397). The importance of imbibing knowledge through listening to the learned is stressed by Tīruvaḷḷuvar. 'Though devoid of learning, let one fill one's ear with knowledge; it is one's support in one's hour of gloom' (*Kuṟaḷ*: 414).

While these maxims indicate Tīruvaḷḷuvar's awareness of the importance of learning and knowledge for all people, Parimēlaḷagar, the well-known commentator of the *Kuṟaḷ* imagined that these prescriptions were meant only for kings. This view is untenable. Vaḷḷuvar's propositions regarding education are obviously of general application, as much to kings as to the common people. Vaḷḷuvar's contention that 'even the high-born, if they are ignorant, sink low in the scale, while the learned, even of humble birth are exalted' (*Kuṟaḷ*: 409), shows clearly that the author's prescriptions on education were applicable to all, and not intended for kings alone.

The large body of poems included in the Śaṅgam literature and the vast number of poets, belonging to different classes show that general education in Tamil must have developed considerably. Some of the *Padineṅkalkkaṇakku* works like the *Nālaḍi Nānūru*, *Nānmaṇikkadigai*, *Ēlūdi*, *Tirikaḍugam* and *Śirupaṇchamūlam* of the

post-Śaṅgam age have laid down prescriptions on the subjects to be taught, qualifications of teachers and other details.

The traditional pial schools, called *paḷḷis* were conducted invariably by individual teachers. The pial was the *tiṇṇai* or the verandah of a house. In certain cases, sheds or covered shelters were set up near the teacher's house. We hear of some pupils having lived in public rest-houses like the *manrams* which seem to have also served as schools.³⁵

But it can by no means be held that all people in Tamiḷagam received education during the Śaṅgam and post-Śaṅgam ages. Information regarding the number of schools in each village or the number of pupils who attended each school is lacking. It is not likely that schools existed in all the different physiographic regions of Tamiḷagam. The *kūḷiñchi*, the hilly region, the *pālai*, the desert, and the *neydal*, the coastal tract could not have had many schools, if there were any at all. In all probability, many of the people in the *marudam* and a lesser number in the *mullai* sent their children to the pial schools. From the indirect references found in the Śaṅgam literature one may conclude that the Brahmins, kings, members of the royal family, Vaiśyas and the higher sections among the Veḷḷāḷas generally received education.

It is not at all likely that the so-called lower sections (now called backward classes and scheduled castes) received any education.³⁶ Even among the professional workmen, carpenters, smiths and artisans, only training in their respective arts and crafts seems to have been provided by the members at home.

With the growing rigidity of the *chāturvarṇya* system, the privileges of education of the common people were severely restricted; in the Pallava and Chōḷa times education of the masses was of a limited character. It remained static and did not progress with the times or with growing knowledge. In the name of religion most of the non-Brahmin classes were denied the higher patterns of education. This was an injustice to people of the later generations, too, because intelligence and memory were not developed among the non-Brahmin classes, as would have been the case otherwise. This was an unfortunate piece of social injustice perpetrated over the ages.

Women's education

In the sphere of secular education, women of the Śaṅgam age seem to have made some progress. The number of poets during the period attests it. The Kuṇava ladies, Iḷaveyini and Kuri Eyini, Veṇṇi Kuyatti, Kākkai Pāḍini and Māsātti are some of the poetesses belonging to the Kuṇava or Vēḍa castes and the like. Auvaīyār and Nachellaiyār were outstanding poetesses of the Śaṅgam age, and they, too, did not belong to the higher castes.

The education of women seems to have received a setback with the stabilisation of the *varṇāśrama-dharma*, beginning from the days of Pallava supremacy. Child marriage which came into force beginning from this epoch was an essential factor which aimed at strengthening the *varṇāśrama-dharma*. The real objective of child marriage was to prevent a low caste man from loving a highborn maid. It is notable

that neither Tolkāppiyar nor the Śaṅgam poets mention child marriage. Only Nachchinārkinīyar of about the 12th century A.D. imagines that the bride's age was 12 and the bridegroom's was 16 during the Śaṅgam period. In reality this reduction in the age limit must have appeared a virtual restriction on women's education. When the *chāturvarṇya* system became strongly entrenched, it was accepted that the duty of the woman was to serve her husband and attend to the responsibilities of the kitchen. The freedom of women and the scope of their education became vastly restricted.

In spite of poetesses having appeared in the Śaṅgam age, the general status of women was not very high, though several modern writers have indulged in sentimental praise of women's position having been high. Tiruvaḷḷuvar spoke contemptuously of listening to women's advice. The *Śilappadikāram* repeats the same dictum.³⁷ No doubt, during the days of the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa empires some queens were reputed as patrons of literature, temples and art, but they are not to be taken as representatives of the common masses.

No doubt, in the ages of the Imperial Chōḷas and the subsequent rulers, the domestic life of the villagers was generally one of contentment and happiness. The family was the basis of social organisation. It is a disputed question whether women enjoyed that right of owning property in the age of the Imperial Chōḷas. Certain sources indicate that some women did enjoy the right.³⁸ Several of the queens of Tamiḷagam are known to have made endowments to temples.³⁹

Polygamy was adopted by some kings and chiefs. But the common people were generally monogamous. *Sati* was a rare practice; some instances of *sati*, however, have come to our notice.⁴⁰

Dēvadāsi system

The class of female attendants of temples rose to prominence in the age of the Imperial Chōḷas. No doubt, the practice of employing women in temples emerged earlier, most probably in the period of the Great Pallavas. But the *dēvadāsi* system became very conspicuous from about the 11th century A.D. Originally the *dēvadāsis* were employed in the temples for cleaning the premises, washing the vessels, preparing the flower garlands and doing other odd jobs. But in due course they took to dancing and music. There is no doubt that in medieval times the *dēvaraḍṭiyār*, as they have been described in inscriptions, were talented persons in the field of fine arts. It is notable that down to about the 16th century A.D. degeneracy in moral standards had not set in among the *dēvaraḍṭiyār*. Many of them married and led chaste lives.

Dowry

In respect of girls belonging to the rich and middle classes lands were given as dowries on the occasions of marriage. This is learnt from inscriptional evidence.⁴¹ The dowry settled on a girl was not, however, to be spent away by the husband as he liked. An inscription states that in the time of Vikrama Chōḷa, one Aganāṅga-

rāyan of Maṅgainallūr had to give his wife some of his own property for having spent away the proceeds of the dowry which he had received.⁴²

By the 13th century the practice of giving bride-price too had appeared among Brahmins. Protesting against this practice the Brahmins of a locality, including Tamils, Kannaḍigas, Telugus and Lāṭas entered into an agreement among themselves, by which the acceptance or giving of bride-price was to be declared illegal.⁴³

Marriage

By the 11th century A.D. the marriageable age of girls was fixed at 12.⁴⁴ The wedding was accompanied by the fire rite. We hear of a marriage in the Śaṅgam age without the mention of the fire rite, while another is found associated with it. Apparently through the influence of Brahmins the fire rite came to be adopted in the later Śaṅgam age, from which time Brahmins conducted the marriage ceremony.⁴⁵ The bridegroom, holding the left hand of the bride, used to circumambulate the fire and eventually both sat on planks of wood. The bride and bridegroom had cotton thread tied around their hands. The bride's father used to pour water on the hand of the bridegroom, symbolising the giving away of the daughter to him in marriage. The lighting of the *hōma* fire, throwing flakes of fried rice on the fire, stepping on the grindstone and professing to see Arundhatī, which had all come into vogue since the later part of the Śaṅgam age, were well established by the 11th century A.D. The bride's feet were washed with milk.⁴⁶ The practice of tying the *tāli* to the bride might have appeared about the time of Rājarāja I, because we find inscriptional evidence of *tāli* being tied to images of goddesses in the temple.⁴⁷

Status of Women

There has appeared an exaggerated view about the equality of women with men during the Śaṅgam age. Though women were much more free and unconventional than later, the inferiority of women was accepted as fact. Men had greater physical strength and the capacity to afford protection for women. However, when marriage resulted from *kaḷavu* or love, the position of equality was more tacitly recognized. After *karaṇam* or marriage settled by elders came to be adopted, the inferior position of women was more avowedly acknowledged.

As time passed on, the inflow of Aryan ideas into Tamiḷagam resulted in a further deterioration of the position of women. True, the Aryans had accorded a respectable status to woman in the Vedic age; but, during the later period (ranging roughly from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D.) there appeared a conspicuous degeneration.⁴⁸

The decline in the status of women is clearly reflected in some of the *Padinenkīl-kkaṇakku* works, which appeared about the period ranging between the 5th-7th centuries A.D. The *Tirikaḍugam*, for instance, pronounces itself against the practice of the husband thrashing the wife.⁴⁹ The same treatise despises the wife who disobeys her husband.⁵⁰ These indicate that such practices were not unknown.

The increased subordination of the wife to the husband is also seen from the *Śirupañchamūlam* another of the *Padinenkīl-kkaṇakku* works. It contains prescrip-

tions for the household women, which included implicit obedience to the husband even if he is oppressive, and the partaking of the remnants of food left over by the husband.⁵¹ Woman was sometimes looked down upon almost as venom. This is seen from the ethical work, *Iniyavai Nārpadu*.⁵²

Apart from the influence of the northern Hinduism, the increased popularity of Jainism and Buddhism also contributed to the deterioration of the position of women. The leaders of both these religions imagined that woman was a source of distraction from piety and renunciation. Both Jainism and Buddhism were ascetic religions, and their leaders shared the contempt of women which is almost universal among the advocates of the ascetic ideal.

On the other hand, there is evidence to show that there occurred a fall in the standard of behaviour on the part of women in the medieval period. Certain instances of overbearing nature and quarrelsome tendencies on the part of women are known. Some men were afraid of their domineering wives and consequently led a despicable life.⁵³ Moral lapses on the part of women were condemned.⁵⁴ The tendency on the part of women to quarrel with their husbands and with other women was reprimanded.⁵⁵ These admonitions indicate that such lapses were not unknown in that period.

Notes and References

1. For the different views see K. K. Pillay: *A Social History of the Tamils*, Part I (1969), pp. 88 ff. The arguments in favour of sixth and seventh century A.D. advanced by Elankulam Kunjan Pillai in his *Studies in Kerala History*, pp. 125-35 are not convincing.
2. For e.g.: *Ahanānūru*: 149, *Puranānūru*: 56 and *Paṭṭinappālai*: 185-93.
3. Mc Crindle: *Ancient India*, p. 6.
4. Strabo: *Geography*, XIV 4 and 73; R. Sewell: 'Roman Coins found in India', *JRAS.*, (1904), pp. 200 ff.
5. *Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 24.
6. op. cit., pp. 24-25.
7. *Puranānūru*: 183.
8. *Tolkāppiyam*: *Marappiyal* 631.
9. *ibid*: 636.
10. *ibid*: 637. (*Pāṇāriyam*). It may be mentioned in this connection that the Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings of old, who had a long ancestry, seem to have belonged to a non-Kshatriya category. Later, some of them, eager to be ranked as Kshatriyas, performed the *hiraṇyagarbha* ceremony.
11. *Ahanānūru*: 24.
12. Elankulam Kunjan Pillai: op. cit., p. 103.
13. Tolkāppiyar speaks of the *āyar* (shepherds and cowherds) and the *veṭṭuvār* (hunters), but does not include them among the castes.
14. *Kurunogai*: 277. See U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's Commentary.
15. *Śirupāṇḍarupadai*: 187-8.
16. *Perumpāṇḍarupadai*: 301.
17. In all likelihood the more advanced section of the Tamils was absorbed into the Brahmin caste. A fanciful view advanced (Kunjan Pillai: *Studies in Kerala History*, pp. 113 ff.) that many Pāṇḍya were promoted as Brahmins is unacceptable, because the Pāṇḍya, despite their skill in music and the fine arts, were not otherwise advanced.

18. *Puranānūru*: 82:3; 170:5; 287:2 and 289: 10.
19. *ibid*: 61: 1.
20. *Perumpāṇḍruppāḍai*: 299.
21. *ibid*: 306-10.
22. *Kuruntōḍai*: 167. See U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's Commentary.
23. *Puranānūru*: 113 and 119. Some hold that Kapilar is concerned in these poems only with the description of the most favourite dishes common in the land of Pāri. But the personal touch in the description disproves that contention. Nor is this Kapilar identical with his namesake, the author of *Innā Nārpadu* which condemns meat and drink.
24. Tiruvaḷḷuvar's emphasis on abstinence from meat is well known. He speaks of it as the crown of all virtues (*Kuraḷ*: 323). The later works, the *Maṇimākalai* and *Silappadikāram*, too, reflect their aversion to non-vegetarian food.
25. Kūram Plates, line 17, of *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates*, p. 47 (Tamil History Academy).
26. The view of Dr. B.G.L. Swami that the Bhakti movement was later in date does not seem to be acceptable.
27. *ARSIE.*, 464 of 1911.
28. *SII.*, Vol. II, Introduction, p. 10.
29. *ARSIE.*, 341 of 1907.
30. *SII.*, Vol. II, Introduction p. 9.
31. Nelson: *Madura Manual*, part II, Ch. I, p. 5.
32. So far as the Pallavas were concerned, Sanskrit names appeared as early as the 3rd century A.D. Simhavarman (c. 275-300 A.D.) was probably the earliest. Others like Śivaskandavarman, Buddhavarman, Buddhyaṅkura and Kumāravishṇu followed.
33. *Tirikaḍugam*: 10.
34. *Kuraḷ*: Chapters 40 to 43.
35. *Kuruntogai*: 33.
36. Tōlkāppiyar held that the 'higher ones' alone should learn (*Poruḷadhikāram*: 26). Iḷampūraṇar, in his commentary on *Sūtra* 26 of the *Poruḷadhikāram* states that the 'higher ones' include only the Brahmins and Kshatriyas. But commenting on *Sūtra* 36, he states that only the Brahmins were 'high-born'.
37. *Kuraḷ*: 908 and 909; *Silappadikāram* XXI: 24.
38. See for example *SII.*, Vol. III, No. 210; *ibid*, Vol. XI, No. 20; *ARSIE.*, 31 of 1898.
39. The most prominent of the queens who made endowments was Śembiyan Mahācēvi.
40. *ARSIE.*, 156 of 1906.
41. *ibid.*, 354 of 1909.
42. *ibid.*, 39 of 1925.
43. *SII.*, Vol. I, No. 56.
44. *Jivakachintāmaṇi*: 1459, 1978.
45. *ibid.*, 2469.
46. Compare the accounts of the marriage described in the *Aḥanānūru* 86 and 136 with *Kalittogai*: 69.
47. *SII.*, Vol. II, No. 144.
48. A. S. Altekar: *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation* (1938), pp. 415-26.
49. *Tirikaḍugam*: 3.
50. *ibid.*, 67.
51. *Śirupañchanūlam*: 53.
52. *Iniyavai Nārpadu*: 37.
53. *Tirikaḍugam*: 79.
54. *ibid.*, 73. Society has been unfair; it demands absolute chastity of the woman, but fails to do so for the man.
55. *ibid.*, 71.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ANDHRA

B. R. SUBRAHMANYAM

ANDHRA PRADESH COMPRISING all the Telugu speaking areas is a present day creation. But the Andhras as a tribe or cultural entity, existed in the Brahmanical period. In the *Aitar̥ya Brāhmaṇa*, they were listed as a non-Aryan tribe along with such others as Puṇḍras, Śavaras, Pulindas and Mutibas. From very early times, it appears that the Andhras have been occupying the lower courses of the Godavari and the Krishna together with the adjoining areas.

Not much, however, is known about the socio-economic life of the Andhras during the pre-literate times. Archaeological evidence shows that settled habitation and agricultural activity started in the area around the middle of 3rd millennium B.C. as elsewhere in southern Deccan. For the next fifteen hundred years or more, these early farming communities, steadily progressed increasing in size and multiplying in numbers, as fresh areas were brought under cultivation. There is much in common between these communities and their counterparts in Karnataka. Low granatoid or gneissic hills, flat topped and terraced at the sides, were the favoured locale of these people. The settlements were small and consisted of huts mostly circular on plan. Livelihood was based on cultivating millets and gram and rearing cattle, sheep and goats, supplemented by fishing and hunting. Making pots, stone tools and beads were among the other important occupations of the people. The dead were buried, but the mode of burial was different for adults and infants. The former were packed into urns and buried beneath house floors, while the latter were buried in pots dug for the purpose.

Some of the coastal settlements, principally those to the north of the Krishna river seem to have had direct links with the early farming communities of Maharashtra, Central India and Orissa. Evidence to this effect has been furnished by the excavations at Kēsrapalle and Jāmi, in Krishna and Visakhapatnam Districts respectively. Even at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Guntur District, there are in evidence certain burial practices, parallel to those known from excavations in the Jalgaon District in Maharashtra.

It is not clearly known when the Andhras passed into the fold of Aryan culture; but it must have happened long before the foundation of the Mauryan empire. Aryanisation must have brought with it Vedic ritualism and caste-system into this non-Aryan tribal society. Apastambha, one of the *sūtrakāras* is believed to have hailed from Āndhra-dēśa. The society shed off its tribal character, was reconstructed and given a new shape—'a shape cast in the Aryan mould'. In the new set up, each of the four traditional classes had clearly defined roles to fulfil, in which that of a Kshatriya was to protect and rule. Surely, the essentials of an urban society—institutionalised social inequalities, division of labour, social surplus, and at least a

rudimentary form of government—were satisfied. Megasthenes shows that the Andhras were an important power in the 4th century B.C. with thirty walled towns and numerous villages in their possession. Each of these urban units together with certain villages must have been held by a chieftain. But the southward expansion of the Mauryan empire amalgamated them all and absorbed them in its political framework.

With the collapse of the Mauryan power in the Deccan, after the death of Aśōka, the Sātavāhanas filled the political vacuum by establishing an independent rule. The period of four centuries and a half for which the Sātavāhanas ruled constitutes a bright chapter in the long history of the Andhras. In spite of the many conflicts they had with the Western Kshatrapas, the Sātavāhanas were able to assure material prosperity and political stability to the inhabitants of vast areas in the Deccan. *Periplus* testified to the material wellbeing of the people (Schoff. Sec. 50) and the contemporary inscriptions fully bear out the testimony.

But the society of the time of the Sātavāhanas was less homogeneous than before, the influx of new religious and racial elements having contributed to this effect. One of the effects of the Mauryan rule was the steady infiltration of the two heterodox faiths—Jainism and Buddhism into the Deccan. Of the two, the latter was more active and commanded a larger following. All along the coastal stretch in Andhra Pradesh, remains of ancient Buddhist establishments have come to light, the more important among them being Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Jaggayyapēṭa, Ghaṇṭasāla, Śaṅkaram and Śālihūḍam. All these were flourishing centres of Buddhism in Sātavāhana times and some had their origin even earlier. Jainism was, perhaps, less active than the other, but there can be little doubt that it had also a sizable following. Robert Sewell has noticed vestiges of Jainism in several of the districts of Andhra Pradesh and possibly some of them were of pre-and-early Christian times. The recent discovery of a Jaina inscription of Khāravēla at Guṇṭupalle in West Godavari District justifies this possibility.

The new religions received liberal patronage from both kings and commoners. At Amarāvati, for instance, have been found about 145 epigraphs recording donations to the Buddhist *saṅgha*. The benefactions were in the nature of donations of money, cultivable plots of land and even villages for the upkeep of the *saṅgha*.

Buddhism and Jainism must have exercised a deleterious effect on the firm hold the Vedic religion had on the society and so did the influx of new racial elements. Ever since 3rd century B.C., there was an inflow of foreigners into this country, either as conquerors or traders. Alexander's invasion made the Greeks 'a factor' in Indian history and the Greeks were soon followed on the Indian scene by the Śakas, Pahlavas and Kushāṇas. Historical forces brought the Śakas and Sātavāhanas into a protracted struggle against one another, in which people and places changed hands many a time. This apart, there was in the early centuries of the Christian era a flourishing trade between India and Rome. We learn from Ptolemy that Kaṇṭakassyla, Koḍḍoira and Allosygne were important sea-ports in the Maisolia region on the eastern sea-board. Foreign merchants must have regularly stayed at the places

mentioned. Thus for different reasons, the native and foreign societies came into close contact with one another with consequences affecting both of them. The foreigners soon lost their identity and were absorbed into the indigenous fold, but the absorption could take place only with the relaxation of some of the traditional rules governing the indigenous society.

A logical corollary of the influx of non-orthodox religious faiths and alien races was the relaxation of caste rules to facilitate the assimilation of new elements into the society. The miscegenation of different caste groups must have assumed such great proportions that Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi was constrained to assume the role of a protector of the four-fold caste system.

Agriculture was the most important occupation of the people, but in an urban society, there is both need and scope for other professions to flourish. Inscriptions of the Śātavāhana times speak of *hālīkas* (cultivators), *kulārikas* (potters), *kōllīkas* (weavers), *kamaras* (smiths), *kasakaras* (braziers), *vasakaras* (bamboo-workers), *tilapisakas* (oil-mongers), *vadhakis* (carpenters), *seṭhis* (merchants), *odayantrikas* (boatmen) etc. It appears that these professions were not the monopoly of one particular caste, although according to Vedic injunctions, Vaiśyas were to be the tradesmen of the society. We hear from inscriptions of the instance of a Kshatriya who took up the merchantile profession. The Śātavāhanas were Brahmins by caste but became a ruling family. The professional groups in the society functioned as corporate bodies, each with its own bye-laws. The corporate bodies functioned even as banks, receiving monetary deposits and disposing of the interest accruing therefrom in the manner specified by the depositor. We learn from a Nāsik inscription that Ushavadatta deposited two thousand *kahūpanas* with a guild of silk weavers at Gōvaśhana and the interest payable at the rate of one percent per month was to be spent as cloth money for the monks spending the *vassa* season in the cave.

Commerce was one of the important organised professions of the time. The volume of trade must have been quite considerable judged from the evidence of foreign accounts and epigraphic records. There was trade between different parts of the empire. It was carried on even with such distant lands as Rome and Malay Archipelago. Roman coins, art pieces and pottery found at a number of places all along the east coast are a clear testimony to the flourishing trade activity between India and Rome. Again, as a result of trade and cultural interaction, some place-names of Andhra origin found their way to Southeast Asia. Perhaps as a memento to these mercantile relations, Yajña Śātakarṇi issued coins marked with a sailship. We learn from *Periplus* that the traded articles included cotton, silks, precious stones, ivory, wines, spices etc. Busy caravans must have brought merchandise from places inland for export purposes. Dubreuil has shown that the Buddhists had some of their monastic establishments built on these caravan routes. Caravanserais must have existed at frequent intervals to provide amenities to the merchants. The kings also took an active interest in promoting trade as Ushavadatta did by constructing rest-houses, wells etc. on well-frequented caravan routes.

The society of the Śātavāhana times must have been fairly affluent, for without

an economic surplus, it would not have been possible to found and maintain many religious establishments or engage on a large-scale mercantile activity with far-off lands. Nevertheless, economic disparities within the society are clearly reflected by the brick-built houses and thatched huts which the rich and the poor constructed to live in. There are sculptural representations from Amarāvati and other sites depicting the dwelling houses of the times while actual remains of the same may be witnessed from excavated sites. From the sculptures again we learn that both men and women loved to wear ornaments. Scant dress, abundance of ornaments and elaborate headgear seem to be the fashion of the times. From the sculptural reliefs of the time one gets the impression that women moved about without any inhibitions, freely participated in social and religious activities and associated themselves with their husbands in benefactions to religious creeds or pious individuals.

With the end of the Śātavāhana rule, perhaps, passed the meridian of the glory of Buddhism in Andhra. The religion, however, continued to receive patronage from both the rulers and the commoners. Several of the Ikshvāku inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa record donations to the Buddhist *saṃgha*, the donors being mostly the female members of the royal family. The Mahāchaitya of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa seems to have been renovated in the sixth year of Virapurishadatta's rule and princesses of royal blood like Chātiśrī, Aḍavi Chātiśrī, Chulu Chātiśrī, Bapisirinikā and Rudrabhaṭṭārikā donated each an *āyaka* pillar. Bodhiśrī, a lay disciple, built Kulahavihāra and Sihala-vihāra in the fourteenth year of Virapurishadatta's rule. In the second year of the reign of Chāntamūla II, Mahādēvi Bhaṭṭidēvā constructed a monastery by name Dēvi-vihāra. Instances like these of the Ikshvāku period can easily be multiplied and epigraphic records show that patronage to Buddhism continued even in the post-Ikshvāku period. The Ānandagōtra king Dāmōdaravarman and the Vishṇukunḍin rulers Gōvindavarman and Vikramēndrarvarman were all devotees of lord Buddha. Nevertheless the fact remains that not many new centres of Buddhism were founded in the post-Śātavāhana period. The reasons are not far to seek. A powerful revival of Brahmanism was the keynote of the society in Andhra ever since 3rd century A.D. Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Chāntamūla's performance of Vedic sacrifices like *Aśvamēdha*, *Agnishṭōma* and *Vājapēya* signalled this change in the religious outlook of the people.

Chāntamūla I appears to be an ardent devotee of Svāmi Mahāsēna, the Virūpākshapati. The cult of Mahāsēna became increasingly popular under the succeeding generations of Ikshvāku rulers. In the sixteenth year of Chāntamūla II's rule, a temple was erected at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa for lord Pushpabhadrasvāmi. It is a well-known fact that the consecration of the temple to lord Aṣṭabhujaśvāmi was a significant event in the Ikshvāku capital. The early Pallava rulers as well were the professed followers of the Vedic *dharma*. Śivakandavarman performed *Aśvamēdha*, *Agnishṭōma* and *Vājapēya* sacrifices and his Mayidavōlu inscription records a gift of the village Virapara to two Brahmins. Attivarman, the Ānandagōtra ruler was a devotee of god Śarabhu and donated to a Brahmin eight hundred *nivartanas* of land in Tanukoṇḍa-vishaya together with the village Antakkura. We learn from the Koṇḍamuḍi plates that the Brīhatpalāyana ruler Jayavarman was a worshipper of Mahāśvara.

The Śālikāyana rulers again were the followers of Hindu sects. Vijayādēvavarman was a *paramamāhēśvara* and an *Aśvamēdhayājñin*. Nandivarman's inscriptions record donations to pious Brahmins. The Viṣṇukunḍins were devotees of Śrīparvata-svāmi and Mādhavavarma of the dynasty performed a thousand *kratus* including eleven *Aśvamēdhas*, *Puṇḍarīka*, *Vājrapēya*, *Rājāsūya* etc. The patronage to Hindu religious sects and Brahmins very much continued under the Eastern Chālukyas. Vijayāditya II was credited to have built one hundred and eight Śiva temples called Narēndrēśvaras and Chālukya Bhīma I built temples at Bhīmāvaram and Drākshārāma in the Godavari District. Some of the Eastern Chālukya rulers like Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana and Amma II, however, made the Jains a factor in the religious life of the people. The former's queen, Ayyaṇa Mahādēvi constructed a shrine called Nadumbi-vasti for the Jaina monks at Bezawada. The epigraphs of Amma II record his construction of and liberal grants to *jinālayas* called *Sarvalōkāsraya* and *Kaṭakābharaṇa*. Vimalāditya is believed to have been a convert to the doctrine of Mahāvīra.

An interesting feature of the religious history of early Āndhra-dēśa was the liberal patronage extended to Buddhism and Jainism by the adherents of Vedic *dharma*. Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi could assume the role of a defender of the four-fold caste system and at the same time grant and liberally provide for monastic retreats of the Buddhist monks. Siri Chāntamūla could permit donations to the Buddhist *saṅgha* by the female members of his family while he himself performed Vedic sacrifices. The rulers of the time did not find contradiction in providing for religious faiths other than their own. This liberal outlook was perhaps a potent cause for the disappearance of Buddhism as a separate religious entity and for its absorption into the Hindu fold, the Buddha himself being considered as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. When Yuwan Chwang visited Andhra in the 7th century A.D. Buddhism was already a moribund faith, surviving only in a few isolated pockets.

In consonance with the revival of Brahminism and the rise of Hindu religious sects, we find an unprecedented activity of temple construction. The temples were liberally provided with tax-free lands and other pecuniary benefits. Along with the gods, the Brahmins also were the chief beneficiaries as a result of the changed spirit of the times. Many of the copper-plate inscriptions of the post-Sātavāhana and of the Eastern Chālukyan times were records of gifts of lands and villages to the learned members of the community so that they might devote themselves to the performance of the six traditional *karmas*—*yajana*, *yājana*, *adhyayana*, *adhyāpana*, *dāna* and *pratilābha* enjoined upon them. These *agrahāras* or lands and villages given over to Vaidic Brahmins must have enjoyed a great measure of autonomy in their governance. An *agrahāra* may be described a more or less self-governing corporation of learned Brahmins devoted to their traditional vocation. Other vocational groups in the society must have also organised themselves as self-governing corporations, although expressive epigraphic references to their activities are not found till 1000 A.D. or later. It is important to note that each of these corporations functioned as a socio-economic unit, membership of the corporation being determined not only by the sameness of occupation, but to a large extent by the accident of birth as well.

In course of time, these vocational groups crystallised as so many sub-castes or *jātis*, which were a constituent element of the society in medieval Andhra.

In Andhra, as elsewhere in South India, the society of the medieval times was dominated by the temple and the so-called caste-guilds. A medieval temple was not merely a religious entity, but a powerful centre of social and economic activity. It was a landlord *par excellence*, a largescale consumer, creator of employment for many, patron of education and liberal arts and occasionally even functioned as a military garrison. Numerous inscriptions of the medieval period record gifts to temples by both kings and commoners. The gifts consisted of lands, tanks, duties leviable on sales and purchases, milch cattle, oxen, sheep, goats, and trusts for the perpetual maintenance of lamps etc. As the riches increased, the ritual became elaborate, the temple grew in size and the management became more complex. Some of the important temples like Sirhāchalam, Drākshārāma, Tripurāntakam, Śrīśailam, and Tirupati had each of them several scores of functionaries in its establishment. An idea can be had of the numbers of functionaries by reference to certain donations to the Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple, Chēbrolu, which were placed under the custody of the *sthānapati*, three hundred *ayyalu*, and three hundred *sāmis*. Besides the administrative (*sthānapati*, *bhaṇḍāri* etc.) and the ritualistic (*archakas*, *parichārakas*) functionaries, the major temple establishments consisted of a host of musicians, dancers, potters, washermen, braziers, carpenters and goldsmiths. Abdur Razaak rightly observed that whole villages depended on temples for livelihood.

In the precincts of the important temples of the times, *maṭhas* were established for the propagation of their respective scriptural lores and as a part of the propagation encouraged learning and patronised men of letters. There used to exist five Śaiva *maṭhas* at Śrīśailam during the Kākatiya period. The famous Gōlakī-maṭha with its branches at Mandāram, Pushpagiri, and Tripurāntakam did much to propagate Śaivism in Andhra during the Kākatiya period. The great Mādhva saint Naraharī-tīrtha established a *maṭha* early in the 14th century at Simhāchalam.

The Śiva and Vishṇu temples apart, there were in the medieval period, shrines to serve communal interests. Vāsavi-kanyakā was the tutelary deity of the Vaiśyas. Even the horse-dealers had their own goddess-Gurrāla Paramēśvari. Worship of heroes and hero-stones, observance of *vratas* and practising *dāna* were features of the popular religion of the times.

The basic division of the society as usual was into the four traditional castes. But the different professional groups already functioning as self-governing units led to further diversification of the society in the form of sub-castes or *jātis*. For instance the Brahmins were divided into two major sects-*vaiddikas* and *niyōgis*, the former devoted to Vedic learning, while the latter distinguished themselves in state service as ministers, *durgādhipatis*, *daṇḍanāyakas*, *rāyasams* (writers) etc. Although there are references to terms like *niyōgika-vallabha* in the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions of 8th century A.D., the term *niyōgi* does not appear to have attained a sectarian significance before the 13th century. We have inscriptional references to show

that the *vaidika* Brahmins of the medieval period organised themselves as self-governing units called *mahājānalu*, each with its own administrative assembly. Understandably, the *agrahāra* villages functioned as corporate entities and provided from among themselves the necessary administrative machinery in the form of assemblies. But inscriptions also attest to the functioning of Caidi Brahmins as distinctive sectarian units in villages other than *agrahāras*. Although inscriptional evidence is by no means clear, to a certain extent the same is true of *karaṇḍu*, a synonym of *niyōgi* Brahmins.

Brahmins apart, other vocational groups as well of the medieval times formed themselves into self-governing corporate units. Well-known among these are the *pañchānamvāru*—corporation of artisans, *vīrabhaṭṭas*—confederation of trading units, *teliki-vēvuru*—corporation of oil-mongers with headquarters at Bezawada and *nakaramu*—corporation of Vaiśya trading community with headquarters at Penu-gonḍa in the West Godavari District. These corporate units were similar to the ancient guilds, but vastly more complex in organisational set up and had powers of social and economic regulation over their members. They strove to preserve their integrity and social identification by enunciating a *samaya dharma*—code of conduct—which the members were zealously enjoined to follow. The *samaya dharma* prescribes a particular deity for worship and firm attachment to a particular *sthāla* which the community believed was their original home. The learned commentator Vijñānēśvara rules that the injunctions of the corporate bodies have as much legal sanction as the laws of a ruler provided they do not come into clash with the established traditions of the land.

Some of these communities, especially the *vīrabhaṭṭas vaiśyas* and the *telikis* grew so rich that the kings had to respect and acknowledge their wealth and social importance. They demanded and obtained from kings certain social honours like privileges to use five musical instruments, possess a banner, even wear a crown studded with diamonds and ride on a golden palanquin (*SH.*, Vol. VI, No. 209). If a chief of the *vīrabhaṭṭa* community or *nagaramu* went on tour, he enjoyed the privilege of being received by local authorities and presented with betel leaves, food, dress etc. While the rulers courted the mercantile and artisan communities for their support, the latter in turn served the rulers for their own well-being. From the *prastāvi* of the *telikis*, we learn that they were the mainstay of the Chālukyan kingdom (*Chālukyamūlastambhāyamānu*). One possible way of serving the king was by providing him with contingents of *samayasēna*—guild armies—in times of need. *Śrēṇīvalas* or *samayasēna* constituted one of the six *aṅgas* of the Vijayanagara army, which under Dēvarāya I fought against the Muslims. Thus the rulers and the corporate bodies entered into a sort of symbiotic relationship in which one derived benefit from the other.

As shown above, profession was a basis for social subdivision in medieval Andhra. And yet another basis was of territorial origin. Each of the four traditional castes subdivided itself into compact groups formed after the geo-political units of the Andhra country. The sub-sects among the Brahmins—the *Vēṅkaṭas*, *Vēṅka-*

ḍus, *Kammanāḍus*, *Pākanāḍus*, *Mulikināḍus*, *Telagāṇyas* etc.—are a precise example for social exclusiveness based on territorial considerations. Terms like *Kamma-kulaja* (Brahmin of Kammanāḍu), *Kamma-kōmaṭi* (Vaiśya of Kammanāḍu), *Paṇṭakāpu* (Śūdra of Paṇṭarāshṭra) are a frequent occurrence in inscriptions and literature of the medieval period.

With the society divided into a number of self-functioning units, the state had only very little responsibility in the form of social regulation. In the political atmosphere of the medieval times surcharged with strife and uncertainty, self-regulating social units were perhaps the best stratagem that the Andhras could devise for the smooth functioning of the social system.

One of the principal preoccupations of the medieval state was the realisation of state revenue. From contemporary texts like *Sakalanītisammataṃ* by Siṅgana, we learn that there were eight sources of revenue for the state—taxes on agriculture, pasture lands, trade, industries, tolls, (*suṅkam*), tributes and other customary fees (*kappam*). There can be little doubt that tax on agriculture was the most important source of revenue for the state. Agricultural land was divided into three categories—*nīrunḍa* (wet land), *velichēnu* (dry land) and *iṇṭabhūmi* (gardens). Inscriptional evidence shows that on wet lands, the tax (*puṭṭikoluchu* or *melvāram*) was payable in kind and the produce thus collected was stored in royal granaries located in villages. On dry lands, the tax—*puṭṭipahiṇḍi* or *paṅgamu* was collected in specie. According to the Vilasa grant of Prolaya-nāyaka, the king's share was one-sixth of an individual's income; but at the same time, the term *paṅgamu* used in the Kākatiya epigraphs means one-fourth. It is possible that the rate of assessment varied from time to time and according to the category of the land being assessed. There was tax on houses (*illari*) and on pastures a grazing tax (*pullari*) was collected. A bamboo pole (*daṇḍaka* or *kēsaripāṭigeḍa*) thirty-two cubits long was the most popular linear measure used for surveying agricultural lands. For the sake of public convenience, standard units of the linear measure were etched out on temple pillars and they may be seen even today at villages Moparru, Pratiṇḍu and Nandivelugu. Wet land measurements were reckoned in terms of *marutus* and for dry lands *puṭṭi* or *khaṇḍuva* were the terms used. Early in 14th century, a *khaṇḍuva* of land in the present day East Godavari District was priced at forty *ṭaṅkas*. Inscriptions also refer to a number of units for measuring grain and liquids.

There seem to have been two harvesting seasons in a year. One in Kārttika (October-November) and the other in Vaiśākha (April-May). Paddy was raised on wet lands, while jowar, grams, millets etc. were the crops grown on the dry. Inscriptions and literature mention different varieties of paddy such as *adi*, *śāli*, *kalama* and *paṭaṅga*.

Artificial irrigation for agricultural fields was provided by wells, tanks and canals. Huge stepped wells of medieval times, holding six to twelve feet of water can even now be seen in certain parts of the East Godavari District. Irrigation tanks were classed as one of the *saptasatānas* progeny for the perpetuation of one's name and fame. Particularly from the Kākatiya times, both rulers and private

individuals religiously exerted themselves in the construction of tanks for irrigation purposes. Bēta II is credited with the construction of two tanks, Sethikeṇṇa and Kēsarīsamudra and the installation of an image of Varuṇa, the rain-god. Some of the well-known tanks in Telāṅgāṇa like Gaṇapasamudram and Eḡrasamudram owed their origin to the Malyāla and Rēcherla chiefs. The famous Santānātāgara inscription at Phirāṅgipuram in Guntur District records the construction of an irrigation tank by Sūrāmbikā, the queen of Pedakōmaṣi Vēmāreḍḍi. Many times, the construction and maintenance of irrigation tanks were entrusted to private enterprise and rewarded with one-tenth of the area (*daśabanddha mānyam*) irrigated by the tank.

Villages differed in terms of ownership of the village land. Villages where the land was collectively held by all were known as *sāmuḍāyikagrāmas* and those with private holdings were called *vārapaṭṭagrāmas*. Villages given over tax-free to officers in reward for state service were known as *umbaḷikas* and if such were granted to Brahmins devoted to Vedic studies, they became *agrahāras*. The medieval villages had each of them consisted of a number of servants (*āyagārs* or *grāmabhaṭas*) to look after the needs and protection of the villagers. The remuneration for the *āyagārs* was in the form of land grants called *bhaṭavṛttimānyams*. *Reḍḍi* or *grāmakūṭa*, the village headman, acting as the king's representative collected the state revenues and exercised magisterial powers. It was the duty of the *karaṇam* to prepare records of land holdings, compute the state's share on incomes and properly maintain accounts. *Talāri* was the village policeman to maintain law and order. There was *bārikāpu*, the village watchman, whose duty it was to drive off wild beasts and announce the approach of any hostile bands. The *purōhita* advised the villagers on auspicious moments, significance of omens and such other matters. There were also washerman, barber, goldsmith, carpenter, blacksmith, potter to attend to the needs of the village community. The usual number of *āyagārs* in a village was twelve, but their number varied according to the resident population of the villages. With their normal needs thus attended to, the medieval villages functioned as self-sustained economic units. The villagers mostly managed their own affairs and only rarely had occasions to seek state interference.

The normal dress for men consisted of cotton or silk *dhovati* and *uttariyam* while women were *chītra* (saree) and *raika* (blouse). coloured cloth—scarlet, pink, saffron or red—found much favour. The courtiers wore turban and *mahākurpāsam* (long coat). Shepherds put on turbans adorned with feathers (*pīlipāgalu*) and wrapped themselves around with rugs hanging from shoulders. Both men and women loved to have long hair. Women had their tresses either plaited or twisted into knots. The people had a taste for ornaments and Abdur Razaak observed that both the rich and the poor wore pearls and precious stones on ears, neck, arms and fingers. Contemporary texts vividly describe the varieties of ornaments worn by the people.

Saivism and Vaishnavism were the two dominant religions of the medieval times. The life of an individual was conditioned and disciplined by the observance of formalities such as fasting and keeping holy vigil and performance of *vānas* and

vratas, prescribed by one's personal religion. Some of the practices in vogue like piercing one's own body with iron spikes for purposes of divine invocation, however, appear bizarre to present day understanding. The extreme form of propitiating the deity was self-immolation by chopping off one's won head or by falling under the wheels of the chariot-car of the deity. In the courtyard of the Śrīśailam temple, there was a *vīraśirōmaṇṭapa*, where people fulfilled their vows of self-immolation. People who thus sacrificed their lives, were worshipped as heroes and hero-stones or *vīrakals* were erected in their honour in temple precincts. At Mācherla in Guntur District, an inscription of Kākatīya Pratāparudradēva registers a grant of wetland for the worship of *vīrapurushulu* (heroes). The cult of hero worship was in existence in Andhra from the Kākatīya times. Another form of self-sacrifice attested by contemporary records was *sati* self-immolation of wife on the funeral pyre of the husband.

But life was not all wilful suffering and self-sacrifice in the name of religion. There were occasions of festivity and rejoicing. In the 14th and 15th centuries, for instance, *vasantamahōtsava*—the spring festival—was a great carnival attended by fun and frolic, sport and amusement, dance and music. We learn that "men and women, old and young, rich and poor, husbands and wives, prostitutes and paramours" all freely participated in its celebration by sprinkling on one another all sorts of perfumes, coloured waters and powders. The Nadupur grant metaphorically says that Anavēma Reddī "caused not only earth, but also the sky scented with musk, camphor and sandal scattered in the spring festival". Other important festivals of the time were *davanapūrṇima* in the month of Chaitra, *śrījayanti*, *śrāvaṇapūrṇima*, *dīpāvalī*, and *kārtīkapūrṇima*. Marriages were also occasions for festivity and enjoyment. They were usually contracted within the same subcastes, but princely marriages, dictated by political expediency constituted a departure from this general rule. For instance, the Eastern Gaṅga ruler, Vīra Narasimhadēva, a Kshatriya of the lunar family, gave his daughter in marriage to the Rēcherla prince Kumāra Anavōṭa of the *Chaturthakula*.

The people of medieval Andhra were mostly agriculturists by profession. Other important professions were various industries, arts and trade. Cloth, jewellery and metalware, the requirements of the general public apart, must have been in large scale demand by the royal and temple establishments which provided the necessary impetus for those industries to flourish. Cotton must have been extensively grown in black-soil areas; and at many places, spinning and weaving must have been practised as a household industry. The weavers of Āndhra-dēśa enjoyed high reputation for producing fabrics of very fine quality. Some of the varieties of cloth such as *Sūravarams* and *Kāmavarams*, were known after the places where they were manufactured. The Venitian traveller Marcopolo marvelling at the fineness of the fabrics produced here remarked that they looked like the 'tissue of spider's web'. Copper is available in plenty at Agniṅḍāla in Vinukōṇḍa Taluk of Guntur District. Large heaps of slag spread over the area suggest that it was a centre of metallurgical activity in former times. Several medieval inscriptions record donations of jewellery and metalware to deities and incidentally furnish us with an impressive inventory

of such articles in the possession of the temple establishments. Other professions attested by historical records include, masonry, wood-work, ivory-work salt manufacture, and diamond mining. There are inscriptional references to salt-pans at Pedda Gañjām, Chinna Gañjām, Uppugundūru and other coastal villages in Guntur and Prakasam Districts of today. Kollūru, in Sattenapalle Taluk of Guntur District appears to have been formerly an important centre for diamond mining.

In medieval Andhra, towns of considerable size must have been only few and far between. Rajamahēndravaram, Ōrugallu, Koṇḍaviḍu, Mōṭupallī, Addaṅki, Chandragiri, and Penugonḍa were among the important towns of the medieval period. Each of the towns must have been a flourishing centre of trade as well; and so were the pilgrim centres like Simhāchalam, Drākshārāma, Tripurāntakam, Kājahasti and Tirupati. A 13th century literary work refers to a main route connecting Ōrugallu with Kāñchi. We learn of another route connecting Udayagiri with Penugonḍa. There must have been likewise routes for various places of pilgrimage. The major routes under reference must have been at best cart-tracks and served as arteries for caravan traffic. Mules, buffaloes and oxen, either as pack (*perikes*) or draught animals were used for transporting goods from place to place. Major rivers like the Godavari, the Krishna and the Tungabhadra must have constituted effective impediments for caravan traffic, but regular ferry services were provided at well-frequented spots along such rivers. Medieval writers inform that these ferry-boats (*puṭṭis*) were circular and basket-like and highly dependable. Inland waterways do not seem to have played a major role in the transportation of goods. Inscriptions refer to weekly markets (*pēṭalu*) where merchants brought and traded their wares. Taxes, excise duties and tolls on industrial arts and inland trade constituted an important source of revenue for the state. *Suika* was the term used to denote various taxes and duties levied on industrial and commercial activities. In Kākatīya inscriptions, the officers employed to collect these levies were called *suikādhikārulu*. Sometimes these taxes were framed out to a person or group of persons and such were called *suikaguttakāṇḍru*. Tolls or transit duties were called *mārga suikamu* and tolls at ferry points were *puṭṭiga mūlavisālu*. Duties on sales were termed *ammubadi suikamu*. *Perike-eḍla-suikamu* was the duty on pack animals. Registration fee for oil-mills was termed *gānuvula-mudra-suikamu* and *gānuvula-ari-suikamu* was the periodical tax payable by the mill-owners. The registration fee for shops was *aṅgaḍi-mudra-suikamu*. The payments by merchant bodies for religious functions in a locality were known as *magamu*.

Medieval ruling dynasties like the Kākatīyas and the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu did much to promote trade with foreign lands by pursuing liberal taxation policies and by offering protection to foreign merchants visiting their kingdoms. Foreign trade had received state encouragement under the Śātavāhanas and the Eastern Chālukyas. Coins of the Eastern Chālukya ruler Śaktivarman I were discovered in Burma and Siam. But with the end of the Eastern Chālukya rule the sea-borne trade fell on evil days. Pirates infested the coastal waters rendering it unsafe for the merchantmen to sail across. Even worse were the high-handed measures such as unjust levies and compulsions, which the foreigners were subjected to by the *māndallikas* (feudal

chiefs). It was not until Kākatiya Gaṇapatiḍēva conquered coastal Andhra and proclaimed freedom from oppressive taxation by an *abhayaśāsana* at Mōṭupalli that the sea-borne trade revived. Owing largely to the imaginative measures taken by the Kākatiya rulers, Mōṭupalli, the foremost among the medieval ports (*kara-paṭṇas*) in Āndhra-dēśa, was in a flourishing state in 13th century when Marcopolo visited the place and attested to the great volume of trade being transacted there. Afterwards, the Redḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu, following the example set by their illustrious for bears the Kākatiyas, renovated Mōṭupalli and issued a charter of concessions for foreign merchants. The charter granted abolition of forced imposts like *aputrika-daṇḍam* and *kaḍḍīyam* on foreign merchants; remission duties on gold and silver and reduction of import duty on sandal. The charter further clearly fixed import and export duties and granted the foreign merchants liberty to sell their commodities at any place of their choice. An account of foreign trade in medieval Āndhra-dēśa will not be complete without reference to the great Avachi family of the Vaiśya community. Members of this wealthy family specialised in sea-borne trade and Avachi Tippaya-śeṭṭi, a contemporary of Kumāragiri Redḍi, used to supply all the fragrant substances needed for the annual spring festival at Koṇḍavīḍu.

The above survey purports to present the growing complexity of the social and economic institutions in Andhra during the period under survey. Into a socially undivided community that the Andhras had been in pre-Aryan times, heirarchical grouping based on occupational differences was ushered in by the Aryans as an attendant measure of urbanism. But the influence of new-religious and ethnic elements in pre-and-early Christian times tended to weaken the Vedic fold, but only for a time, till the Vedic religion revived and worked up its way to regain the position of preeminence. Soon, however, the stage was set for another social split based on occupational specialisation within each caste group. These new social sub-divisions did not show up fully in crystallised form till after 12th century A.D. The changes visualised were all processual and subtle and happened on a plane outside the sphere of state action.

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ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN KARNATAKA UPTO 1600 A.D.

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AN ATTEMPT IS MADE here to make a brief survey of the economic conditions that prevailed in Karnataka upto 1600 A.D. in the light of contemporary evidence, both epigraphical and literary.

Land and Agriculture

India has been, through the centuries, primarily an agricultural country with a rural economy. Land was the major means of production and the majority of the people then, as now, lived in villages and earned their living directly from land. Karnataka formed no exception to this general rule. Indeed, land played a prominent part in the socio-economic life of the people in ways more than one. Inscriptions as well as literary works extol the merits of land gifts; and the land-grant to gods, Brāhmaṇas, educational and charitable institutions was the order of the day. Moreover, the possession of land gave the owner a status in society and enabled him to meet all wants of household economy, directly or indirectly. Land was thus the chief source of economic wealth. Further, persons serving the State as well as institutions like temples etc., were often paid by assignments of land, in lieu of salary or remuneration. Land thus served as a means of exchange, i.e. as a means of clearing some obligations.

Contemporary sources, both literary and epigraphical, make it clear that there existed private ownership of land; and, through the centuries, a clear distinction was maintained between the king's own land and that of private individuals. Further, epigraphs of the period refer to joint tenures of land (*gaṇavṛtti*), more particularly, in the case of the *mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* villages.¹ Moreover, the power of disposing of the lands that were held jointly was vested in the joint body.²

Lands were often gifted to the pious and learned Brāhmaṇas as also to the temples, with a view to attaining heaven (*dānāt svargam=avāpnōti*); and such land grants gave rise to special tenures of land, namely, *brahmadēyas* and *dēvadānas* respectively. They were purely religious in character.

Remunerations to persons serving the State village bodies as well as temples etc., were often paid through land assignments rather than in cash. This practice gave rise to different kinds of land-tenures, which may be called service tenures, such as *urbaḷi*, *koḷige* and the like.

Contemporary evidence makes it clear that agriculture was well cared for, and its vital role in the life of the people well realised. The cultivators (*okkala-makkaḷu*) as a community were held in regard and were looked upon as the givers of food to the society as a whole. They are often referred to with words of affection and admiration.

Many were the agricultural crops that were raised, both edible and non-edible. Rice was an important crop cultivated in the wet-lands (*gadde*) on a large scale, wherever there was fertile soil and plentiful supply of water. Many varieties were cultivated. The lands, particularly, on the sides of the route from Bhaṭkal to Vijaya nagara through Honāvar and Baṅkāpur were cultivated with plenty of rice, as observed by Barbosa. The Kanara coast, according to the same authority, contained many farmsteads, where rice was grown in plenty and exported to countries like Malabar and Ormuz.³ Wheat (*gōḍuve*), many kinds of millets—great millet (*jōḷa*), finger millet (*rāgi*), Indian millet (*kaṅgu*), common millet (*baragu*), etc.—were some others that are often referred to in our sources.

Mention may be made of many pulses that were grown such as red-gram (*toḡari*), bengal-gram (*kaḍale*), green-gram (*hesaru*), black-gram (*uddu*), horse-gram (*koḷḷu*), etc. Sesamum (*eḷḷu*), castor (*haraḷu*) were among the oil-seeds; cotton and hemp were the important fibres.

Many kinds of spices were grown such as cumin (*jīrege*), coriander (*kottam-bari*), pepper (*menasu*), cardamum (*ēlakki*) ginger (*śuṇṭhi*) and the like. Pepper, especially was cultivated on a large scale in Mangalore and other centres, as is testified to by the Arab geographers.⁴

Sugarcane, a crop of much commercial value, was cultivated wherever there was a plentiful supply of water and suitable soil for its growth. We often meet with fine descriptions of sugarcane crop standing in the fields, in the epigraphs and literary works of the period.⁵ Ibn Battūta tells us that in Bārakūr (Fāknūr), the ancient traditional capital of Tuḷuva, there were large quantities of sugarcane which were "unexcelled in the rest of the country." The canes were usually cut during summer, as observed by the royal author, Kṛishṇadēvarāya.⁶

Among the various garden crops, mention may be made of plantations of banana, cocoanuts, betelnuts etc., grown especially in the coastal regions. Many kinds and varieties of vegetables, fruits and flowers were grown.

Besides these agricultural crops, there were a few forest-products—non-edible products of great commercial value like sandal, teak, bamboo, etc. Karnataka, indeed, yielded large quantities of sandal, teak and ebony woods that were exported to Western Asia from very early times.⁷

Vast tracts of land seem to have been under cultivation. Fresh lands, however, were often reclaimed with a view to bringing more land under the plough. Epigraphy of the period gives us the unmistakable proof of the planned efforts made by the State as well as other local bodies in this direction. Land was reclaimed by cutting down forest tracts, and cultivation extended by constructing tanks and wells. Such efforts of the people were often rewarded by way of land grants and concessions in taxes.

Contemporary literary evidence,⁸ to some extent helps us to understand the various processes of cultivation, from tillage to storage. Indeed, the methods and techniques of cultivation have hardly undergone any change through the centuries. Before the actual sowing of the seeds, fields were properly ploughed, with the help of oxen

in pairs. The stumps were weeded out. Manure was applied to the fields. Thus properly filled and prepared, the seeds were then sown. It is worth noting here that the royal author Sōmēśvara, has certain interesting observations to make⁹ on the treatment of seeds, before they are actually sown, particularly those of fruit-trees and flower-plants.

The growing plants were then fed with water, supplied from canals and wells. The fields were properly hedged with fencing to protect the standing crops from the marauding activities of robbers and wild animals. When the crop ripened, it was cut (*koylu*) and stored on the threshing floor (*kaḷa*), where the corn was separated from the plants (*okkana*). Having cleared it of chaff, dust, etc. (*iluru*), it was heaped up (*rāṣi*) in the farmyard. It was then stored in the granaries. The rotation of crops seems to have been practised, as indicated by the *Mitākshara*.¹⁰

As far as rice was concerned, a more common practice was to raise two harvests in an year. We get the contemporary description by Barbosa of the cultivation of rice in the empire of Vijayanagara.¹¹

The vital importance of making provision for the supply of water for purposes of irrigation was always recognised. The cultivated fields were distinguished under two categories, in accordance with the source of water-supply:¹² (1) *dēvamātṛika* i.e. fields entirely dependent on rainfall and (2) *naḍimātṛika*, those deriving water-supply from rivers, through canals or channels. The latter clearly refers to the fields under irrigation.

Works of irrigation comprised mainly canals, drawn from rivers, as also tanks and wells. The prosperity of a State, observes Kṛishṇadēvarāya, would increase only when tanks and irrigation canals are constructed. Moreover, construction of an irrigational work like a tank, was-regarded as an act of great religious merit; and would even please the gods themselves.

Canal irrigation was generally practised on river banks. If the inscriptions¹³ are to be trusted, there was an embankment (*mahāśētu*) on the Varada; and the waters of the Kaveri were made to flow through sluices into the channels dug for the purpose. The Munirābad inscription¹⁴ of Vikramāditya VI tells us how one Ādi-tyabhaṭṭa surveyed the banks of the Tungabhadra and founded a canal there which he presented to the people. Moreover, the record refers to the lower-level channel (*paḷḷa-vāykalu*) and the higher-level channel (*uddiya-kālu*), among the boundaries of the gifted land.

Excepting in valleys and deltas of the rivers, where the fields derived water supply from the channels dug from the rivers, the rest of the country depended largely on storage tanks, and on wells sunk deep into the earth. Tank-irrigation finds the most frequent reference in the epigraphs of the period relating to this subject. The main feature of the system was the existence of a network of tanks or reservoirs, in which the rain water was caught and stored for purposes of irrigation. In 1186 A.D. Viradandanāyaka caused to be constructed in Viraballāpura four tanks, named Rudrasamudra, Gaṅgāsamudra, Acyutasamudra and Virāsamudra.¹⁵

The big tank constructed by Kṛṣṇadēvārāya near his capital to provide irrigation to the fields and to supply water to the new city of Nāgalāpura founded by him, finds mention in the accounts of Paes and Nuniz.¹⁶ A big tank was formed in 1533 from the Arkavati,¹⁷ which is still serving as a source of water-supply to Bangalore city. What is more, if any private lands came in the way of such irrigation works, such lands were relinquished, and some other fields were taken up in lieu thereof.¹⁸ Due attention was paid to the proper maintenance of these irrigation works. In short, it amounts to works of conservation and preservation, such as preventing damages to tanks and sluices, repairing the damaged ones, building tank bunds, removing silt and such other works. Any wanton attempt to damage irrigation works was a crime, which would be punished with death.¹⁹

When the dam of a tank at Bisavalli (Dharwar District) gave way, it was duly repaired and restored; and proper arrangements were made for its upkeep by way of an endowment of wet-land.²⁰ In 1243 A.D. an arrangement was made for the maintenance of a cart and its driver, by an endowment of land, apparently to remove the silt in the tank.²¹

The financial help to meet the expenses incurred in maintaining such irrigational works, came from different sources, i.e. private charity, State help as well as contributions by public bodies. Grants of land called *bittuvaṭṭa*²² were often made, for the maintenance of tanks and the like. Besides, there were many water-cess and other taxes levied, such as *kaṭṭe*, *kāluve*, *keṛe*, *nīru-kūli*, *hoḷeya-suṅka* etc. which were often earmarked for the maintenance of irrigation works.

From reservoirs or tanks, water usually flowed through canals and channels by gravity to irrigate the fields. Small channels were often numbered as at Sōmānāthapur. In the case of well or lift-irrigation, water had to be lifted to the surface by some mechanical device, powered by men or bullocks, like *ṛta*, *kapile*, *ghaṭṭi-yantra* and others.²³

Industries

Wealth of a country is largely dependent on its industries and trade both of which are inter-dependant. We may refer here only to a few important industries of the period.

Textiles

Textile industry has been one of the ancient and important Indian industries. This was a flourishing industry in Karnataka during the period under review. Reference is made to the guild of weavers in *Mitākshara* as well as by some epigraphs. Sōmēśvara, in his historical *chariṭa*, *ū. Vikramāṅkābhīyudayam*, describes the finest and most delicate fabrics available in the bazaar of Kalyāṇa, which reminds us of a similar description by the "Prince of medieval travellers", Marco Polo.

Around Goa, and in other parts of the country, much cotton was grown out of which very fine cloth was made. Under the Bahamanids,²⁴ Bijapur was a noted textile centre, and its principal varieties were calicos and muslins. It had a flourish-

ing trade in this commodity with Persia, Arabia and East Africa. The Portuguese traders visited Bijapur and other centres regularly to effect purchases. Again, Gulbarga produced good silken cloth that was available at low prices. The *pagadis* of Raichur were in great demand among the *amirs* of the State. In the region round Būdhāl, in Chitradurga District, linen was produced.²⁵

Similarly, many varieties of woollen cloth were produced. *Rōmabaddha*²⁶ was the woollen cloth that was used as an upper garment. Woollen blankets—the *kutapa* of *Mitākshara* and the *kambāḥi* of the epigraphs—were produced and some places, like Dāvanagere and Doddaballāpura, seem to have been noted for this production. Many varieties were apparently known.

Certain taxes were levied on this craft, like tax on yarn (*nūludēre*) and tax on loom (*maggadēre*), though sometimes exemptions were given just to encourage the industry.

In the process of dyeing various fabrics of cotton, silk etc. some herbal colours, like those of red flowers, indigo and others, were employed. Reference is found to some tax on safflowers (*kusuhba*, *carthamus tinctorius*), as also on this craft (*baṇṇa*).²⁷

The embroidering and designing of cloth was well-known, as referred to by Vijñānēśvara, Sōmēśvara, Harihara and others. On some cloths could be seen the figures of *svastika*, wheel, elephants, horses, chariots, lions, deer, swans, creepers etc., besides various floral and geometrical designs such as flowerbuds, straight and curved lines, circles, squares and the like. Some pieces of cloth looked like books, with many letters stamped thereon (*pustakairiva sāksharaiḥ*).²⁸

It may be added here that the tailoring industry seems to have developed as a skilled art during that period. The tailors had a guild of their own (*chippiga gottāḷi*). The tailors of Dōrasamudra, we are told, were producers of ornamental dresses and skilled in the art of embellishing with many pieces of cloth (*anēka-vastra-khaṇḍita-śringāra-vidyā-pravīṇa*).²⁹

Oil production was another widespread industry often referred to in the records. Oil was extracted from oil-seeds such as sesamum, castor and the like, as also from cocoanuts. There is reason to believe that some kind of perfumed oil was also produced. The oilmen (*telligar* < Skt. *tailika*) were easily one of the most important industrial communities of the period, the *telliga-nakhara* being their guild. The oil-mill was evidently of stone (*kallu-gāṇa*). Three types of oil-mill were distinguished: (1) *kai-gāṇa*, worked by hands; (2) *meṭṭu-gāṇa* or the tread-oil-mill; and (3) *ettu-gāṇa*, worked by oxen.

Handicrafts

There flourished during this period many handicrafts like wood-work, leather-work, pottery and so on. Wood was largely used in the construction of carts or carriages, boats and ships, litters and palanquins; besides, it was in great demand to be used in the buildings, domestic and otherwise, in the form of furniture of many kinds, as also of agricultural accessories. The carpenter (*baḍagi* < Skt. *vardhakti*), who worked on wood and produced many articles, was an important servant of the village community.

Leather was employed in producing various articles such as foot-ware, bags and ropes. The tanning industry must have been wide spread, for *Mitākshara* refers for a guild of shoe-makers. The cobblers (*sammagāra*==*chammāra*<Skt. *charma-kāra*) produced leather shoes and sandals of various colours.³⁰

Leather-bags (*dṛiti*) were made to hold or carry water. Some sort of cloth was made from hides (*charma*) of goats and the like.³¹

The potter (*kumbāra*<Skt. *kumbhakāra*) was also an important servant of the village community, who received, in lieu of remuneration for his services, land-grants or a fixed proportion of the crop of each farmer of the village. The potter's industry seems to have been a largely rural but widespread one, especially in the rural parts and among the poorer classes. A tax *kumbāradege* was levied on this industry. During the medieval periods, Bidar was a noted centre of pot manufactures. The *bidri* work was famous in India as well as abroad.

Mining and Metallurgy

The mineral wealth is one of the major factors in a country's economic life. Mining for metals like iron, gold etc., was a well known industry in Karnataka from quite early times. In places like Hungunda, Honnāli, Honnāvara etc. for instance, traces of ancient gold works have been found.³² Primary deposits of gold are found in reefs of quartz in regions consisting of Dharwar schists, and traces of such occurrences have been found in almost all the districts of the State. Indeed, right from Mysore upto the northern limits of Hyderabad, through the whole extent from north to south, there runs a belt of gold-bearing quartz, which had been extensively worked up during the early periods. Indeed, the early European prospectors were attracted to the Kolar Gold Fields by the existence of such ancient works.

When the mining operations were recently renewed in the gold mines at Kolar and Haṭṭi, there were found pieces of pottery, wooden logs³³ etc., evidently used by the ancient miners. References often do occur in literary works of the period, though by way of simile and analogy, to the extraction of reef gold.

Further, it has been pointed out that active mining for reef gold was going on in many of the gold fields of South India during the days of Vijayanagara empire.

Iron, one of the commonest ores in the earth's crust, had been mined from quite early periods. The Saṇḍūr hills (Bellary District) are said to be rich in unlimited heads of haematite, which are rich in iron, "perhaps the richest in all India". An early iron-smelting factory existed in or near Kuḍitini in Bellary District.

In the later periods, there was a flourishing iron mining industry, in various parts of the State. Reference is found to the tax, *karbunada-sunka*, which was apparently levied on this industry. The ore was obtained by digging into the ground; in some cases, it was collected by working the black sand brought down by torrents. "The ore so collected was smelted in a kind of furnace or a large fire stand called *hommāl*." During the Vijayanagara days, the iron produced in the empire seems to have been enough for all the demand for it, internal as well as foreign. Indeed, many ship-loads of iron were exported from Bhaṭkal to countries like Ormuz.³⁴

Traces of extensive working of copper mines have been found in the districts like of Bellary, Bijapur and Dharwar and some of these mines are known to have been worked down to the time of Hyder Ali. Copper, however, was an article of import during the period under review.

A word about precious stones. We may as well refer here to Punnāṭa, an ancient kingdom situated in the south of Mysore, which has figured in the Greek and Roman accounts. Indeed, Ptolemy refers to this land 'Pounnāṭa', where beryls were found. This region, we are told, had a prosperous trade in beryls with distant countries like Rome.³⁵

The mines of precious stones seem to have been worked with profit. The Bellary District is said to have yielded rich harvests in diamond. Nikitin refers to diamonds of Raichur. The epigraphs often describe the merchants of Baḷḷigāve, Bēlūru, Dōḷa-samudra etc., as trading in many such precious stones.

Contemporary sources often refer to numerous articles, both of necessity and luxury, made out of different metals like gold, silver, copper, bronze etc. The production was marked not only by a large variety, but also by artistic skill. Broadly speaking, the metal works consisted in the production of jewellery, household articles, weapons of war and the like. Metals were largely used, however, in the minting of coins also.

There is reason to believe that the craft of jewellers had reached a high state of perfection. The braziers had attained mastery in the art of manufacturing alloys and casting them into elaborate and graceful forms.³⁶ Indeed, reference is found in epigraphs to the guide of braziers (*bōgārā mahā-nakharahgaḷu*).³⁷

Trade and Commerce

Trade is the natural corollary of industry and an index to the economic prosperity of a country. Contemporary sources clearly testify to the vigorous trade that Karnataka continued to enjoy during this period.

Karnataka had maintained, through the centuries, trade relations across the sea with many countries of the western and eastern worlds. Her coast-line boasted of many good harbours, often referred to by classical writers. The foreign trade may be studied under two heads, viz., exports and imports.

Many were the agricultural products that were on the export-list. Special mention may be made of pepper, the spice that was in great demand in the west as well as east during the Middle Ages. Indeed, it was the monopoly of the Western coast.

Yāqūt (1179-1229 A.D.) observes that Mangalore (Mañjarūr) and Bārakūr (Fāknūr) were the chief centres for the export of pepper. Again, Dimishqi (1325 A.D.) refers to the large quantity of pepper available at Mangalore. Ibn Battuta testifies to the enormous quantities of pepper and ginger that were exported from the port of Mangalore in 14th century A.D.³⁸ That ginger was shipped from Mangalore to countries like Persia and Yemen is attested by Barbosa also.

During the Vijayanagara days, the ports of Mangalore, Goa and Bhaṭkal used to export rice to many countries across the sea. Further, Bhaṭkal was a noted centre for the export of powdered sugar. It also exported cocoanuts—the Indian nuts as known to the Arab and other medieval writers—to countries like Ormuz and Aden.

Among other articles of export that served some medicinal purposes, particular mention may be made of aloes. Both Yāqūt and Quzwīnī tell us that the noted Saimūri aloes had been named after the city of Saimūr (Śīrūr, near Bārakūr, South Kanara). But, Yāqūt makes it clear that aloes did not actually grow there. "Generally, aloes came from islands situated beyond the equator". It thus becomes clear that aloes were imported from the Far Eastern islands into Saimūr, from where they were re-exported to other countries.³⁹

Some dye-stuffs were also exported, such as henna and myrobalan. Henna is said to have been a speciality of Saimūr, whereas large quantities of myrobalan were available at Bhaṭkal. Incense and perfumes formed other important articles of export. Idrīsī tells us that Saimūr produced many aromatic plants that were "exported to all the countries". Besides, sandalwood and teakwood, both as wood and plank, were exported to foreign countries.

Iron was the important metal exported from the port of Bhaṭkal to countries like Ormuz as observed by Barbosa. During the earlier periods, as noted above, beryls were exported to western countries like Rome.

Among various perfumes and incense that were imported, special mention may be made of camphor (*karpūra*). We are told that it was available in two varieties, viz., Malayan and Chinese; the former, found mainly in Borneo and Sumatra, was much more valuable than the latter.

Metals formed another important article of import across the sea during this period. Gold, silver and copper were imported into the country through the port of Ṭhāṇā, as testified to by Marco Polo. Particularly, gold is said to have been imported from the island of Sumatra.

Many textile products were imported among which the Chinese silk deserves special mention. This has no doubt to be identified with the *Mahāchīna-bhaya* of Sōmēśvara, the *Chīna*, *Mahāchīna* of Nayasēna, Harihara and others. It may be recalled here that Karnataka had commercial intercourse with China during this period; Mangalore and Honnāvar, indeed, maintained trade contacts with China till the early 15th century A.D.⁴⁰ A Mūḍabidare record (South Kanara District) of 1429 A.D., for instance, refers to the sale and purchase of the Chinese fabrics (*Chīnārbhara vikraya-krajīkarum*).⁴¹

Animals like elephants and horses in the main, intended to meet the needs of the State figured prominently in the list of imports. These animals were in great demand under the military system of those days. An epigraph⁴² of 1188 A.D. from Arasikere, for instance, refers to a merchant prince, Kammaṭa Chaṭṭi-seṭṭi, who used to import elephants by sea and sell them to kings. During the Middle Ages, we are told, the main sources of supply of elephants were Pegu and Ceylon.

In the history of commerce of the Middle Ages, we are told, the import trade in horses had quite a prominent role to play. Indeed, it is described as the most costly and wasteful of India's imports during those days. Both Marco Polo and Wassāf have very interesting observations to make on this subject.

The indigenous horses were weak and unable to bear fatigue; and, therefore, the rulers were eager to have a regular supply of foreign horses of good breed. Nuniz indeed, tells us that Sāluva Narasimha "took them dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardaos*, and of those that died at sea, they brought him the tail only of which he paid as if it had been alive".⁴³

Precious gems and stones of various kinds, such as pearl, emerald, sapphire and the like, seem to have been imported from countries like Ceylon, Persia, etc. The merchants of Karnataka are described in many epigraphs as dealing in such articles.

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TEMPLES AS CULTURAL CENTRES

A. V. JEYECANDRUN

TEMPLES IN ALL COUNTRIES and at all times have exercised great influence over the minds of the people. In India it has helped in the preservation of all the best of Hindu traditions, in moulding the lives of the people and in keeping the bond of unity in a country where there is a wide variation of climatic conditions and where there is a bewildering diversity of customs, dress and languages. Under the roof of the temple, architecture and art evolved creatively, handicrafts flourished, newer methods of enriching society both mentally and spiritually were discovered. As an establisher of the rights of its votaries, preserver of life through hospitals, through relief measures in times of famine, floods, wars and fiscal crises there is no parallel institution. As a keeper of peace and one that helped in the ultimate attainment of spiritual bliss, the temple has been a unique institution. The temple has also helped in the introduction of newer traditions by the annihilation of antiquated and age-worn systems and beliefs. It has dispelled ignorance and lit up the torch of learning.¹

From a modest beginning in the early Christian era to its fuller evolution during the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, the temple grew, in architectural munificence, artistic embellishments, ritualistic details and above all in its manifold functions carried out in close collaboration with the reigning monarch for the welfare of the people. The earliest non-Indian scholar to discover this interconnection between the king and the temple and record its healthy impact on the society was Alberuni of the eleventh century. He felt that "this new form of state or society rests in some degree in religion, these twins, state and religion, are in perfect harmony, and their union represents the highest development of human society, all that men can possibly desire."²

Temple and Society

The temple became the centre of social life. From the early hours of the morning to the late hours of the night, *pūjas*, festivals and special gatherings attracted the people, it held them in its fold, heightened their sensory appreciation by the sweet rendering of *thrupadiyam* by trained singers, and music by the temple musicians, by the exotic colour of the paintings, by the scented perfumes lingering around the place of worship, by the tasty offerings (*prasādam*) distributed. Verily all the five senses became cultivated in their fullness in a temple. Visits to the temple developed 'regularities in the behaviour,' external in the beginning but eventually, getting steeped in the temple lore and through it comprehending the uniqueness of the religious life, developed 'regularities in the behaviour internally' as well. In the development of temple many 'patterned repetitive elements' and their highest intelligible aspects have made the temples a vibrant living force even to this day. Above all, the temple became a cultural institution of great eminence because of the values it had set

before itself to be achieved, namely all round development of man and his environs through good education, assured health and freedom from penury.

No wonder therefore, possessing all these elements the temples by and large were real cultural institutions which helped in integrating the people into a well-knit society with hopes and aspirations. This was possible by the network of relations developed by the temple between the members of the village. The priests and the Vedic brahmins acted as the brain. They were given munificent donations which released them from the necessity of either bothering about their bread or wasting their time in manual labour. Most of the time they spent in the temple attending to the details of the worship, fully charging the deity by incantations so as to make the sanctum a place of peace and bliss for the devotees. The Smṛitis enjoined on the brahmins to pray always for the welfare of the people and even in Āgamic texts the *pūjas* in the temples were always *parārtha*—for the universe, *vis a vis* the *pūja* done every day by the individual in the house being *ātmārtha*—for oneself. With the mind tuned with God and full of concern for universal welfare, the priests acted as counsellors to the society. Sitting on a pial either in a *maṇḍapa*, or in their own house provided by the temple, many of them acted as their judges and provided the much needed solace to the weary and careworn people. In the evenings they taught them the three R's and expounded the Purāṇas, Itihāsas and the temple lore.

The rigid caste system which seemed to have been the bane of Hindu society during the later days did not create any problem in a temple. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in the 16th century declared that there was no question of untouchability in the Kāśī Viśvanātha temple. 'In the Kali age, all demerits that may arise from touching untouchable objects were removed by Lord Śiva himself who, in His mercy, took a daily bath at Maṇikarnikā in the early hours of the day for the benefit of humanity.'³

People from different communities attended to various types of work in the temple. The *piṭṭhais* looked after the gathering of flowers, the *dēśikars* acted as singers, the blacksmiths attended to the repair of the temple car, the carpenters were busy preparing new *vāhanas* to replace old ones, the goldsmiths the ornaments, others drew the temple cars, lifted *vāhanas* or were engaged in the chores of temple duties.

No other institution in India created this perfect and harmonious relationship between the varying types of people in a village as the temple had done. Even in the country, the temple culture ensured national integration. The people of North India considered it their religious duty to visit Rāmēśvaram, Madurai, Bālāji of Tirupati and the people of the South were enjoined to visit Kāśī, Badrināth, Kēdār-nāth, Amarnāth and other sacred shrines of North India. There was a constant stream of pilgrims travelling throughout the length and breadth of the country at all times of the year ensuring an intermixture of cultural ethos that marked each of these regions. Today it has increased manifold owing to better travel facilities keeping alive the traditions that temple culture had introduced thousands of years ago, when travel was arduous.

In the achievement of this temple culture, the role played by monarchs was significant. As Alberuni had rightly noted it was this basic interlink between the Ruler and the Temple that provided the *primum mobile*. Once the ruler realised the positive role the temple had played, the temple had assumed political functions as well. During certain periods, the temple gained importance through the patronage of a king and in some other times the king for securing himself a place amongst his people used the spiritual symbol of a temple as a power factor. Rājarāja I, whatever be his achievement, is today remembered as the builder of the big temple at Tañjāvūr and founder of many others. Inscriptions speak of his munificent donations for various purposes and his creative approach to the manysidedness of temple functions. Tirumala Nayaka carved for himself a niche in the hearts of the Tamil speaking Madurai citizens, though he was a Telugu monarch, only because of the festivals he introduced and the great renovation work he carried out in the Mīnākshi temple. In the temples the king had a seat where during his visit he sat and gave audience. At Mīnākshi temple, Madurai the seat known as *karuṅgaḷ śadukkam* was used by the Nayak kings. Every Friday the Lord with his consort sat in the evening and gave *darshan*. The Pāṇdyas took as the symbol of sovereignty the fish, inspired by the goddess Mīnākshi, the fish eyed. The fish as symbol of sovereignty continued even during the rule of the Nayaks. This close connection between the king and the temple and the consequent assumption of political functions by the temple continued till about the end of the eighteenth century, when the British took over the reins of administration. From then on sovereignty did not find it necessary to link itself with the temples to derive the support of the people. After independence, the traditional interests of politicians reverted to the temple, more for the funds in their possession which they sought to use for secular purposes, like Education and health. These twin welfare programmes have been for ages the forte of the temple, as part of its activities.

Besides these, the temples also served to the social and economic needs. It is through the authority it derived from the twin aspects, religious and political, that the southern temple carried out its numerous social and cultural functions, and enabled it to keep society intact and make it live in assured peace and enjoy the fruits of civilization. The social achievements were possible by the temple because of the temple committees.

The Temple Committee

The affairs of the temple were managed by this committee, the composition of which varied from place to place and from temple to temple. These bodies managing the temples, were named differently. During the Pallava period a committee called *amṛitaganaṭṭār* managed the temple at Tīruvōḡṟiyūr.⁴ They were perhaps the same as *ganap-perumakkaḷ*.⁵ It is not known whether this committee was different from the village committee which came to be known as *āluiganāṭṭār*. The members of the managing committee of the temple were also known as *śrī kārīyam seyyum perumakkaḷ*.⁶ *Stānikar*, *unaḷigai*, *sabhaiyār*⁷ were perhaps smaller groups

of them functioning in small temples. There were also *akanalikai*, *śivabrāhmaṇar*, *patipātamūlatiār*, *tirunāḷikaik-kaṇap-perumakkaḷ*.⁸

These committees virtually enjoyed a great degree of autonomy. Nevertheless, the king, believed to be the manifestation of God on earth, was the lord in temporal matters as well. This dual authority, firstly by the members who were elected through a peculiar system in vogue and secondly by the king, was accepted by the people. The trustees were elected by the system known as *kuḍavōlai* where the names of all the members eligible were written and placed in a pot and a child was asked to pick up names.

The kings took enormous interest in these temples and desired that these committees be above corruption.⁹ The king in discharge of his responsibility arranged for the periodical audit of these temples and investigation of complaints.¹⁰ While Chōḷa Rājarāja III was camping at Jayañkoṇḍachōḷapuram, he enquired into the complaint about the misappropriation in the temple and rendered justice.

Education

The temple gave great importance to education particularly Vedic education. Inscriptions provide considerable information as to the position of Vedic studies and spread of Vedic culture in South India. Most of the *brahmadēyas* created in the South were for housing the brahmins well-versed in Vēdas and Smṛitis. The Tandān-tōṭṭam plates, though incomplete, mention the gift made by a chief known as Dayā-mukha who after obtaining due permission from Nandi-varman Pallavamalla, renamed the village as Dayāmukhamangalam and gave it to 308 brahmin scholars among whom there were *chaturvēdins* (well versed in four Vēdas), *tri-vēdins* (versed in three Vēdas), *shadaṅgavids* and *krama-vids*.¹¹ From the end of the 6th century to the end of the 13th century numerous *chaturvēdimaṅgalams* of this type were created and there was allround progress in Vedic culture. The numerical strength of the Vedic exegeses increased. At Uttaramallur a *vr̥tti* was created for the propagation of Vedic culture. The conditions of the *vr̥tti* were that the beneficiary must have no share in the village, must be well versed in at least one of the Vēdas, in the *vyākaraṇas*, two *darśanas* of Mīmāṃsa as well as *nṛitta* (Nirukta), Bhāṣhya and that he must be capable of expounding the *vyākaraṇa*, *nyāya-bhāṣhya* with *vārttika* and *vaśīṣhika* with *ṭikā*. The beneficiary must live in a *maṭha*. This inscription also speaks of an examination to be conducted at the end of a course of three years.¹²

These endowments very clearly indicated that these scholars so housed in the villages must be well versed in both *śāstras* and Vēdas. The statement in the inscriptions like *Vēdamum śāstranum poy vyākhyātakkalāy irukkum* indicated that the intention of the donor was that the gift should benefit only those who were well versed in *śāstras* and Vēdas, knowing their entire meaning and also the exegeses.

Provision was also made for expounding the *Prabhākara* at Tirugōshṭiyur.¹³ At Tirunāḷēsvaram an endowment was made for expounding *śivādharma* in the assembly hall of the local temple. *Bhārata-vr̥tti*, tax free, was made by Rājendra II at Puḷḷatūr for the exposition of *Bhāratam*, *Rāmāyaṇam* and other Purāṇas in the

temple of Tiruyoti.¹⁴ A *bhāṣhyavṛtti* was created at Kañchīpuram by Kulōttuṅga III for expounding regularly *Rāmānuja-bhāṣyam* by a competent person. At Tiruveñkāḍu, payment was made for the recitation of Vēdas in front of the deity.¹⁵

Temples also served as teaching institutions and several *ghaṭikas* were in existence. The Tālagunda inscription of the Kadamba Kākusthavarman mentions that Mayūrasārman went to Kāñchi along with his *guru*, Virasārman to complete his Vedic studies and entered the *ghaṭikā* to master the Vēdas.

A *ghaṭikā* was functioning at Sholingar, Vembarrūr, (Tirunelveli District) and Tirukachchiyur (Chingleput District).¹⁶

Jaṭavarma Sundarapāṇḍya who is spoken of as '*ellām talaiyana perumāḷ*', created a *chaturvēdimāṅgalam* for the settlement of 108 brahmins donating them lands, for their maintenance. In all 147½ *vēlis* of land in Rājāsikāmaṇinallūr and Puliyāṅguḍi were acquired. 3 *vēlis* were allotted to the teachers of Vēdas, 1 *vēli* to the teacher of Sūtra, 1½ for the two dancers, ½ *vēli* each to the *ambaḍaiyan* and village accountant, ½ *vēli* each to the drummer and blacksmith, ½ *vēli* to the carpenter, ½ *vēli* to goldsmith, ¾ each to *irakkolli* and barber, ¼ for washerman, ¾ for village watchman, ¼ for *vaṭṭayan*; ¾ of the *nattam* land outside the brahmin quarters was allotted to *vellānikāṇiyālar* and the rest of the land to others.¹⁷

At Nāgāi in Gulbarga District, Karnataka, there was a provision for 200 Vedic students and 50 students of the *sāstras*. It was entrusted to the care of teachers and a librarian. A sizable *vidyā-sthāna* functioned at Bāhūr between Pondicherry and Cuddalore. It was a residential college and consisted of 14 *gaṇas*. The institution was controlled and maintained by the learned of the village. The subjects taught were 4 Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Purāṇas, Mīmāṃsa, Nyāya system of philosophy and Dharma-sāstras. Similarly, the *sabhā* of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam (South Arcot District) was running a college, feeding the pupils and remunerating the teachers. There were 340 students of whom 270 were juniors and 70 seniors. Fourteen teachers taught at the institution. Forty *brahmachāris* studied the elements of grammar according to *Rūpavatāra*, 75 learnt the Ṛig-vēda and 75 Yajur by rote, 20 were devoted to Vājasaneyya, 20 learnt Chhandōga, 20 Thalavakara Sāma, 10 learnt Atharvaṇa Vēda and 10 studied Baudhāyana Gṛhya-kalpa and *Gaṇa-sūtras*. Among the seniors 25 were learning *vyākaraṇa*, 35 *Prabhākara-mīmāṃsa* and 10 *Vēdānta*. Each junior was allotted six *nālis* of paddy per day and seniors 10 *nālis*.¹⁸

The provision for the school and hospital from the temple funds at Tirumakūdal made by Vira Rājendra furnished perhaps the fullest account available on such donations. The income of the temple rounded to 3243 and odd *kalam* of paddy and 216½ *kāsu* and 2 *mā* of money and was annually spent for meeting the various expenses of the temple, for the maintenance of the Vedic school with hostel and for the upkeep of the hospital. The provisions made for the school and hostel deserve a closer scrutiny. There was a teacher each for Ṛig-vēda and Yajur-vēda; one, *bhaṭṭar* expounding *vyākaraṇa* and *Rūpavatāra*.

A hostel for 60 persons was maintained and in this hostel 20 brahmins were studying Ṛig-vēda and Yajur-vēda, 20 brahmins were engaged in the study of *vyā-*

karaṇa and *Rūpavatāra*, 10 students in *Mahāpañcharātra*, 3 Śivabrāhmaṇas and 6 Vaikhāṇasas. The name of the last one is lost in the inscription. The feeding expenses in the hostel included cost of mats for all these students, cost of oil lamps lit up in the night, oil served to the scholars for bathing on 51 Saturdays, besides wages for cooks and maid servants.¹⁹

Temples served as libraries which came to be known as *Sarasvatī-bhaṇḍāraṃs*. A Pallavādhirāya organised a library at Chidambaram and expended it during later days. Twenty profound scholars in different branches of learning were employed to check, copy down and compare Sanskrit and other Tamil works.²⁰ The temple was a great educative agency. It was the centre for an allround culture and in its complex, architects, sculptors, painters, dancers, musicians, philosophers, religious men, *paurāṇikas* and poets found vocation.

Fine Arts and Performing Arts

Fine arts and performing arts received the utmost attention. Śiva was considered as the embodiment of *nāda*. Special provisions were made for the recitation of *tirupadiyam*, the sacred songs of the Āḷvars and Nāyanārs, sacred Tamil saints of the Hindu fold. Land was granted by a local assembly for singing *tirupadiyam* with *uḍukkai* and *tāḷam* as accompaniments at the temple of Tiruvarambūr. During the period of Rājarāja, provision was made for the singing of *tēvāram* in several temples in the Chōḷa territory. *Tiruvembāvai* was also sung in the temples. Particular mention must be made of an endowment in the twelfth century by a Pāṇḍya for the recitation of *sātārippan*, before the processional deity at Mīnākshi temple.

Several temples had their own traditions in music and dance. In Madurai temple there is a sculpture on the notations of 35 *tāḷas* (*saptasūādi tāḷa*) and also notations of the Simhanandana. Musical instruments have been played solo and also as accompaniments. At Tiruvārūr five musicians beat *tirupparai* at the flag-hoisting ceremony and as many drummers announced the procession.²² *Tēvāram* was recited by 48 *oduvars* at Tañjāvūr to the accompaniment of one *koṭṭimattāḷam* and one *uḍukkai*.²³ A land grant, known as *vīṇaikkāṇi*, was given to a Śivabrāhmaṇa for his proficiency in lute played at the temple.²⁴ The pipers were rewarded at Tiruvāḍutturai and this tradition continues even today.²⁵ A Madurai inscription refers to the use of 11 musicians, the instrument like *vīramaddalam*, *timilai*, *samaṇkalam*, *kāṣai* and *tiruchchinnam*.²⁶

Musicians took part in the festivals and rituals at several temples. Music, three times a day, during worship was played at Sīdhalingamaḍam.²⁷ Once Rājarāja III attended a singing party at Tiruvorriyūr temple.²⁸ By and large, the dance tradition in South Indian temples was carried on continuously down to the 19th century when it was banned by the government. The girls dedicated to the temple carried over this tradition hereditarily. This community still in existence, though the dedication to temples of girls has ceased, is known as *Īsaivēḷāḷar* in Tamilnadu. Originally during the medieval period even in the beginnings of the Vijayanagara period, dedicating women to temple service was considered respectable. It was not an act of

degradation. Ladies of rank were offered to the temple service. There have been no doubt abuses of this custom but they were few and far between.

At Tiruvalam, a captain in the regiment of *Irumuḍi śōlatterinda-villigaḷ* of Bāṇapuram dedicated certain women of his family as temple servants (*dēvaraḍiyār*) to the temple of Tiruvallam,²⁹ after branding them with trident (*śūla*) mark. Kulōttuṅga-chōḷa transferred to the service of the temple at Tirukaḷatti (Kāḷahasti) girls from his own service,³⁰ who had been forced into the royal household by erasing his *illa-chinnai* and re-branding them with *iriśūla* (trident).

Dance tradition upto the medieval period appealed to the higher nature of men. These dances had a profound effect on the people and were free from commercial or mercenary motives. To the dancers, a performance meant an opportunity for expressing a soulful experience of the highest feelings that man is capable of in the innermost recesses of his heart. An Eastern Gaṅga princess did not feel it demeaning to appear in the temple and give a performance of dance. Many enlisted themselves as temple dancers and were called *talaikkōḷi* and *paṭṭini*. They remained maidens for life. They were taught by expert dance teachers called *naṭṭuvans*, who enjoyed munificent land donations called *naṭṭuvan kāṇi*. The dance halls where these performances were held was called *araṅgam* or *araṅga-maṇḍalam*.

The entire door jamb at the eastern *gōpuram* at Chidambaram contained *karaṇas* and dance poses. The first floor of the Big Temple at Tañjāvūr contains 84 of the 108 *karaṇas* of lord Śiva. These indicated the sanctity attached to dance as a performing art.

Emoluments were paid to the temple dancers and their descendants. The *śrī rudras* of the temple of Munai Vāliśvaramuḍaiya-nāyanār agreed to provide two *nāḷis* of paddy per head every day (1) to the dancers (*tiruvarāṅgil viruda penḍugaḷ*) having no male issue (2) to the daughters of these women and (3) to those who had gone out of the village after marriage. If they were unable to do so, they were to give instead 1½ *mā* of wet land per head, from the lands set apart for this purpose. If the daughters were married they had to give up their claims for paddy. If sons predeceased the dancer, the performer of the funeral rites inherited lands.³¹ A *naṭṭuvan* by name Kulōttuṅga-chōḷa Nirittapperaiyan purchased a *nāṭṭuvakāṇi* and gave it to his daughter as *śrīdana*, acquiring which her husband obtained the right of doing service as other *patiḷḷar*, receiving also other privileges.

Special performances were arranged in temples. *Sāntikūttu* was arranged at Attūr, Tiruveṅgaivāsal; *āryakūttu* at Tiruvīḍaimarudur, Tiruvāḍuturai; *sakkai-kūttu* at Kilappaḷuvūr and *tamiḷakkūttu* at Mānambāḍi.³²

Rājarāja housed 400 dancers around the Great Temple at Tañjāvūr and narrated their names in the inscriptions.³³ The *dēvaraḍiyārs* of Karuvūr enjoyed along with some other temple servants the privilege of hoisting the flag of Rājādhirājan, to ride a horse, to sound drums when they went out on processions.³⁴ Aṇukkyyār Nakkan Paravai Nāṅgaiyār, a dancer of Tiruvārūr accompanied king Rājāndra I to the shrine of Tiruvārūr and offered worship. In memory of this visit a brass lamp (*kūṭṭuvilakku*) was donated to be lit up at the place where the king and the great dancer stood during

their worship at the temple.³⁵ The king named a village as Paravaipuram and a temple as Paravai Īśvaram after her.³⁶ It is evident that this contact at a personal level of the dancer with the great Rājendra was possible by the depth of scholarship and other accomplishments the lady might have possessed.

Dramas were performed in the temples. A drama (*nāṭaka*) was performed at the temple of Āttūr near Tirunelveli and the hall went by the name Aḷagiyapāṇḍya-kūḍam.³⁷ There was also a *nāṭakaśālai maṇḍapam* at Tiruvadi (South Arcot District).³⁸ *Rājarājēśvara Nāṭaka* was performed at Tañjāvūr by a troupe of actors during *Vaikāśi* feast.³⁹

Welfare of the People

The sick were taken care of in the hospitals maintained by the temples. Inscriptions provide details of these temple hospitals. At Tirumukkūḍal a full fledged hospital functioned treating students in the temple hostel and the sick servants of the temple. There were fifteen beds in it under the charge of two medical officers a physician and a surgeon. The assistants were: 2 assistants to fetch medicinal herbs and to prepare medicines, 2 nurses and 1 barber, evidently besides his professional work, to assist the surgeon in his operation theatre. The wages for these medical men were in kind and in *kūṣu* (gold coin). The highest paid was the physician who obtained annually 90 *kalams* of paddy and 8 *kūṣu*, the lowest paid was the barber who earned 15 *kalams* of paddy only. Perhaps he received payment separately for his professional work in the village. The sick too obtained a ration of 1 *nāḷi* of rice per head per day. The medicine stocked included: *Brāhmyam-kadumbūri*, *Vāsā-harītaki*, *Gōmūta-harītaki*, *Bhullātaka-harītaki*, *Gundira*, *Bālākīranda-taila*, *Pañchāka-taila*, *Laṣunadyērinda-taila*, *Uttamakaraṇādi-taila*, *Bilvādi-ghṛita*, *Mandūrkara-vatika*, *Drāvatti*, and *Vimala*.

Hospitals were functioning at places like Kōrattur,⁴¹ the physician in which place was named Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa Maṅgalādhirāja Sīrajan who received a *vaidyak-kāṇi*. He had many attributes *kaṭakameḍutta kuttapirān*, *Śivakīrtti*, *Śaivaśikhāmaṇi*. The name of the physician in charge of Tirumukkūḍal hospital known as Sundarachōḷa-viṇṇagara Atulaśālai is Kōḍaṇḍarāman Aśvatthāmaabhaṭṭan.

Fiscal Role of Temple

The temple was a great employer and a number of persons known as *talip-parivāram*, *kōvil-parivāram*⁴² from *archaku*. Those who picked flowers lived around it. Rājarāja I employed as many as 609 persons for doing different kinds of work in the Great Temple at Tañjāvūr.⁴³ They were all granted land for their maintenance. Among the important servants in the temple were, besides the priests, *tiruppadiyam pāḍuvar uvachchar*, carpenter, watchmen, *pañchāchārya*, *naṭṭuvan*, and *kaṇakku-kāṇi* (accountants). Sometimes the village assembly itself was made responsible for selecting the temple officials like *śrīkāriyam kaḍaik-kāṇbar*, watchman and accountants.

The city of Kāñchipuram had a strong guild of merchants *nagarattār*. This guild was given full liberty to supervise the proper management of the temple business to appoint the watchman and clerks of the temple and to exempt these latter from payment of taxes. The temple priests, who were called *kulan-kīṭar*⁴⁴ seemed to have had always a say in the committee's decisions. The duties of the priests were concerned with the worship and other allied matters in the sanctum, but they performed other functions as well. They were also in charge of temple repairs and sometimes they maintained the temple treasury. The gifts received by them from the devotees were known as *archanā-bhōgas*. A Pallava inscription⁴⁵ states that these priests held office hereditarily. These temple committees were very powerful and in one instance, they objected to the erection of a statue of a king at Śrīrangam.⁴⁶

The temple was a great landlord in the sense that the distribution for cultivation amongst the tillers and the actual enjoyment of the produce, vested with it. In big temples, a separate committee was formed for looking after the properties. At Śrīrangam a committee was formed consisting of 23 members to look after the temple properties. Paleographically the inscription is assigned to the 14th century and the composition of the committee was as follows: 10 to be selected from the *kottu* of the temple; 4 from the *sanyāsin* and *dēśantaris*; 5 representing the 18 *maṇḍalas*; 4 to represent the Chēra, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and the Kshatriyas of the North. The appointment of *sanyāsin* in the Vaishṇava temples is a noteworthy feature. It was not easy to manage property and tackle problems of encroachments etc. and hence a striking force—an armed squad called *vēḷaikkārars*—was placed at their disposal to help them in the discharge of their duties.

The temple attended to the administration of all lands in the village and also to the law relating to it. Generally donations of land made to Śiva temples were known as *dēvadānas* and to Viṣṇu temple *tiruvīdaiyāṭṭam*, to Jain and Buddha temples *pallichchandam*, to brahmins *brahmadēyam*, *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti*, to the learned as *pulavar muttruttu*, *pulamaivṛtti* and to astrologers as *kāṇi muttruttu*.

The conditions of holding of *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya* differed very much. In the case of *dēvadāna* the holding was entirely tax free and it enjoyed certain immunities. The lands gifted to the temples were not the personal property of the king or any particular individual but belonged to the State and the king as the head of the state made the donation. The word used in these transactions like *dēvabhōga*, *vidyābhōga*, etc. indicated only extra proprietorial rights, namely, enjoyment rights. Most of the residents in the *dēvabhōga* lands were people connected with temples.

The temple which received such lavish endowments naturally played an important role in the economy of a village. The temple maintained the records of all these transactions. There was a large army of men known as *kōvilparivāram* to attend to the various problems relating to the maintenance of land, collection of rents etc. The temple authorities made regulations regarding the sale and mortgage of temple lands.⁴⁷ In some cases conditions were also laid down that these lands should not be sold as *chaṇḍēśvara vilai* and in case the lands were misappropriated, they were soon confiscated and added to the temple lands. Another condition was that even

when there was outbreak of famine and floods, the temple land should never be sold. There was a convention that all the properties of a person who died childless, properties remaining unclaimed went to the temple. Invariably the property of temple servants dying childless, reverted to the temple. The lands possessed by a man in excess of township accounts were made over to the temples. Thus as owner of a large extent of land, the temple had a great hold over fiscal matters.

Temple treasuries served as local banks. The temples lent money to private bodies and village assemblies for cultivation, with or without security. Cultivators borrowed money from temples for cultivation. Parents in order to perform the marriages of their daughters drew as loan, money from the temple treasury. In times of distress temples helped the people and the unrealisable debts were rounded up by the purchase of the debtors' lands.⁴⁸

During times of famine and such other crises, temples played a positive role in helping the people and building up the morale. In critical times, governments did not hesitate to put the temple under the charge of the army. The temple at Tiruvāliśvaram, including its treasury and its servants was placed under the protection of *mūnru kai mahāsēnai*, a unit of the Chōla army.⁴⁹

During the reign of Kulōttunga III, there was failure of crops in Tirukkachchu and an irrigation channel was dug at the cost of the temple.⁵⁰ In the 13th century the famine was so acute that people even sold their personal liberties.⁵¹ At Ilayaṅguḍi in 1227 A. D. the famine affected the village considerably and some of the jewels of the temple had to be sold to provide relief for the villagers and in the next year when normal conditions returned, these ornaments of the temple were replaced.⁵²

Temples also served as asylums. An inscription recorded during the 34th year of Kulaśēkharadēva states that the *tiruvāśal* of the temples of god Vaḍaperum Kōviluḍaiyār and goddess Śūḍikoḍuttaruḷiya-nāḍu hiyār and the village of Śrīvīlīputtūr were considered as *abhayaṁ* to Munragattūr of Ēlarai-nāḍu, Vira-vaḷanāḍu, Piṅga-nāḍu, Seṅguḍi-nāḍu, Irunso-nāḍu, Venḷaikkuḍi-nāḍu and Karunilakkuḍi-nāḍu.⁵³

The temple encouraged several industrial activities, the most important being the building, stone cutting and bronze casting industries. Spinning and weaving claimed the next attention. Families of weavers were settled around the temple precincts;⁵⁴ usually the *grāmasabhā* chose its representative for discharging some of its functions. But in one instance, Mārambāvai, the queen of Nandivarman chose a cloth merchant (*aruvai-vaṇikar*) of Śrīkaṇṭapuram for looking after a *dēvadāna*. This indicated the high esteem the cloth traders enjoyed in the royal family.

The other industries that flourished under the patronage of the temples were pottery, cattle breeding, goldsmithy, carpentry, and oil trade. Goldsmiths prepared temple jewellery. The role of merchant guilds in supervising the temple affairs points to their connection with temple administration.

Legal functions

The temple trustees acted as judges and decided cases. This ensured justice being delivered on the spot, speedily and at less cost to the litigants. The manner in which persons misappropriating temple property was dealt with is interesting. These delinquents were considered *śivadrōhi*, *grāmadrōhi* and *rājadrōhi*. Under the Chōḷa hegemony the commission of crime against temple was tantamount to treason and culprits were exiled, and their possessions confiscated and added to the temple properties.

The Gōvindaṭṭu inscription of Kulōtuṅga III dated in his 16th regnal year describes the procedure adopted in dealing with such profanations. Paḷayanūr-udaiyār Pallavarāyan in his 7th year gifted a garden of areca palms to the temple. Seven years later, the manager of the temple cut the trees and used a portion for his own purpose, gifted some to his relatives and sold the rest. This recidivist who was the manager of the temple also misappropriated the donations, collected and deposited in the temple treasury. When the matter was taken up for enquiry the culprit Pallavan Āṇḍān absconded. A search of his house was made and 40 *kalams* of paddy and some vessels belonging to the temple were discovered. He was dealt with as a *śivadrōhi*, his lands confiscated, his house razed to the ground and on its site a Vināyaka shrine named as Kulōttuṅga-chōḷa Vināyagapiḷaiyār was erected.

The lands thus confiscated and the rights of service forfeited, were sometimes, under instructions of the kings, sold in public auction.⁵⁵ At Pandanallūr the Śiva-brāhmaṇas misappropriated gold deposited in the temple treasury for preparing ornaments. They were punished by the dispossession of the rights they had in the temple and they were sold in public auction to others. They were also fined 180 *kāṣu* to make good the loss. Not content with these actions, they and their descendants were denied admission into the temple of Pandanallūr.⁵⁶ Often encroachments on temple lands were punished. The punishment was a donation of a piece of land to the temple.

Conclusion

It has been seen how the temples because of their unparalleled role assumed great importance in the body-politic of a village or town. The regal patronage no doubt increased the importance of these temples at first, but as days passed by owing to continuous handling of funds, their immediate re-investments, and because of the increasing productive functions, the temple assumed a reputed place in society. Endowments continued to flow from all strata. Kings realised this position in the late medieval period. Several Vijayanagara chieftains carried the favour of the temple committees. Tirupati received 90% of its lands and 50% of its cash endowments from the royal families. These endowments functioned as re-distributed resources.⁵⁷

The temples were rid of many problems. The most important was the problem of labour. A distinct advantage in the temple staff pattern was the hereditary character of the appointment. There were no problems of intermittent gaps, or quarrels

over succession. There was assured continuity in service and in training, the father provided the required training to his son. Like a king, the temple also conferred honours on men; and this was a part of the power it enjoyed.

These functions and welfare activities were not isolated but were linked up with the religious role of the temple. In fact, all these functions were an inseparable integrated whole which helped the evolution of the mind of man in society and his material wellbeing.

The temples today are popular in South India. Millions resort to them. Are they still the same old institutions which moulded the people? Many old institutions in India have given place to newer ones. But temple, an institution of the past, is still living. How does it keep its hold still on the people? How does it function now? The temple culture was continuously changing its many faceted activities in order to be a living force. It is presently taking on newer roles, dictated by the needs of the society.

Under the temple culture, economy and industries were considered sacred and profane, while in modern times productive occupations are treated as secular. The merchant guilds of the villages had control over the temple and the regional or local economy. The emphasis has now changed to national economic organisations. Ethnic loyalty and political link with chieftains and the kings and regional arrangements for administration and justice were the order of the day under temple culture. Presently loyalty is to the Nation combined with linguistic parochialism.

Religion, philosophy and temple worship which were the major concerns of the society now occupy a peripheral place and people take to them because of their 'personal' liking. The change is perceptible in another phase, namely the leadership. In temple culture the leaders who played a major role were religious specialists, philosophers, men of character and standing in society who believed that the world was governed by a supernatural power but today the prominent role in society is played by the elite who are politicians, scientists, technocrats who feel that the world is governed by scientific laws.⁵⁸ So the temple is passing through a phase of transition. Cultural organisations are no more the forte of the temple. Education, health, economic activities are now becoming secular activities of the State, and temple funds are diverted in large measure towards these. What role then will the temple assume in the future? Will it revert to the only function it had in the beginnings of the Christian era, viz., being merely the institutional embodiment of religion which enabled human beings to enter into a direct personal relation with a trans-human presence in and behind and beyond the universe?

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TEMPLE FESTIVALS OF SOUTH INDIA

N. S. RAMASWAMI

INDIAN TEMPLE FESTIVALS strike many foreign visitors as 'exotic'. To pious Hindus, however, they are an expression of their piety. It is natural that the Hindus should want to convey their thankfulness to the Maker of all things, and their chosen method of thanksgiving is to perform festivals in His honour.

The form and nature of these festivals derive from the national ethos. Instituted as they were in ancient times, when the most important aspect of public life was the monarchy, it was inconceivable that any lesser honour than the regal should be bestowed on the Lord. It is as an emperor that the Lord is regarded in many of the rituals and festivals. Obviously, there is nothing in this to perturb the republican. At the time the festivals were set up, the only example the devout could follow was the court rituals. Further, a number of festivals were instituted by kings and nobles, as inscriptions show, and they could hardly be anything but royal or aristocratic in their nature.

Temple festivals also reflect the archaic society which initially organised them, and with the remarkable tenacity of Indian tradition they have survived in much the same spirit, if not precisely in the same manner. The chariot festival, the most spectacular to the foreigner, was appropriate to One higher than all the kings. Lord Śiva mounted on Nandi and Lord Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, in both cases one of the most important in the series of festivals, are explained in terms of the puranic associations. But the mounts of the parrot, the swan and the like seem to reflect an archaic society. There is something childlike in wanting to worship the Lord mounted on these forms. But, puranic or archaic, there can be no doubt that the main idea is to offer worship to Him in acceptable forms.

The *brahmōtasavam*, usually of ten days, is the most common of festivals celebrated today, and I think that its nature could be explained best were I to describe it as it is performed in the temple I happen to know well about, the Kapālisvara temple in Mylapore, Madras. This festival follows the pattern set for Śaiva temples in Tamilnadu, but this does not preclude a few changes elsewhere. The variations are more marked for the Vaiṣṇava and Śakti temples.

The Mylapore temple is one of the oldest in the country. It has been glorified in song by Sambandar in the 7th century A.D. In its present form, it belongs to the Vijayanagara times. The explanation is either that it was drastically altered in later times or that it was rebuilt in its present location in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. There is some literary and much architectural evidence to show that originally it stood on the seashore, like three other temples in the Madras region, the Pārthasārathisvāmi temple in Triplicane, the Vālmīkināthar temple in Tiruvannamūr and the Ādipurīśvarar temple in Tiruvogḍiyūr. It could have been removed a little to the west either because the sea had destroyed the original temple or because it was destroyed by the Portuguese.

The epigraphic history of the temple is rather unusual. The earliest inscription dates back only to Chōla times. A number of epigraphs on its walls are mutilated, and a few are positioned upside down. Some are from other temples in the Madras area, notably the Trisūlam temple and one or two from Triplicane. It is abundantly clear that some disturbances involving the temples in this region occurred in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The old history of the temple is irretrievably lost.

Some of the surviving epigraphs record donations to the temple, the customary lamp and the like. None refers to a festival. But the Māsi-Magam festival used to be celebrated in Mylapore, according to Sambandar, in the seventh century, presumably in association with the Kapāli temple. The Nāyanmār makes no reference to any other temple in Mylapore, and it was here that he performed a miracle which is commemorated by a shrine in the present temple and perhaps also in the old, to judge from an epigraphical artifact which has been recovered from its old site. This miracle brought back to life a girl who had died of snake bite.

In *Pūmpāvai Padikam* Sambandar sings of a number of festivals held in the temple. Of the Māsi-Magam festival he says that the people would bathe in the sea in large numbers.

The *brahmōtsavam*, as it is celebrated today, is one of the most impressive spectacles of Madras life. The festival of the sixty-three saints, celebrated on the eighth day, attracts enormous crowds. This is unique to this temple. The chariot festival on the seventh day, the *Rishabha* festival on the fifth at midnight, and the *Adhikāranandi* festival on the third are also very popular.

On the first day the temple flag is raised aloft on the *dhvajastambha* in front of the Lord's shrine and behind the Nandi shrine in the outer *prākāra*. Processions are taken out both in the morning and at night on each of the succeeding nine days. *Adhikāranandi*, or Lord Śiva's mount shown not as recumbent, but as rearing, somewhat like Garuda for Lord Viṣṇu, is the mount chosen for the morning festival on the third day. This particular mount appears to be unique to this temple. The more familiar *Rishabha* carries the Lord in procession on the fifth day, rather late in the night. The pious believe that it is incumbent on them to watch the festival and many keep awake in order to witness it.

On the seventh day is held the chariot festival. This temple's chariot is not so huge as some of the others are. Still, it is highly impressive and a work of art in its own way. At the appointed hour the processional image of the Lord is carried from the sanctum to the chariot. It is drawn along the four streets around the temple and, in this case, the tank, by the pious, using gigantic corded ropes. It is considered meritorious to help in this pious task. The old and the infirm who are precluded from this privilege content themselves with reverently touching the ropes.

Four chariots are taken out in procession. That of Lord Ganapathi, the smallest of the four, leads the way. It is followed by that of the Lord, the biggest of them all. Then rumble along those of the Goddess and of Lord Subrahmanya with His consorts. The whole procession is a most impressive sight.

On the following day, the eighth, is celebrated the festival of the sixty-three saints. Only in Mylapore is this festival held, though Karnataka hagiology knows of the saints. In fact, of course, Tamil piety is perfectly acquainted with them too. They figure in the great work of Tamil Śaivism, Śēkkiļār's *Periyapurāṇam*. But it is only in Mylapore, so far as I know, that they are taken out in procession during a temple festival.

Their images, all in bronze, are enshrined in the temple. In most temples at least the principal four, Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar and Mānikkavāchagar, are worshipped, but their images are usually lithic. It is difficult to explain why in Mylapore alone this particular festival should be held, and that through the ages. It cannot be entirely because of the close connection with Sambandar and with Appar because these saints are even more intimately associated with many other temples which, however, do not commemorate them in this spectacular fashion.

However this may be, the saints are taken out in procession in groups on the evening of the eighth day. They are followed by the majestic and impressive processions of the Lord, the Goddess and Lord Subrahmanya. This festival is attended by a huge concourse, thousands of people coming from distant parts of the city. Naturally enough, the festival becomes the occasion for a huge fair. Many people dress themselves in their best clothes and, after worshipping the divinities, they usually purchase some articles of utility or toy. It is considered meritorious to supply these teeming thousands with drinking water and many charitable organisations set up stalls on the roads leading to Mylapore in order to do so. It is interesting that trade unions should be among these corporate benefactors.

The festival practically concludes with the procession on the ninth day of the Lord as *bhikṣhātāna*. Fireworks are displayed on a large scale. These are a source of perennial wonder to the young. The temple flag is hoisted down on the tenth day, and with that the *brahmōtsavam* ends.

It is, however, followed by a long *vasantōtsavam*, or the festival of spring. A part of the outer *prākāra* in the north-east and in the east is converted into a garden. Sand is spread on the floor, flower shrubs are set up, the whole scene is brightly illuminated. There is the cooling sensation of water nearby. At night music concerts are held. This is the one occasion in the year when, in modern times, the temple resumes its old function of being the centre of the village's life.

The float festival is celebrated for three days. The tank attached to the temple is a huge one. Its sides were rivetted with stone steps at about the beginning of this century. This has made it quite a handsome structure, especially when the lilies bloom. The processional images are placed on a float and, to the sound of traditional music, carried around the tank the prescribed number of times. This is a grand spectacle and the banks of the tank are crowded with devotees.

Many festivals are held within the temple itself. Those celebrated on *padōsha* days are soul-stirring. Bands of devotees reciting Sanskrit and Tamil verses go round the outer enclosure. They are followed by groups listening with rapt attention.

All these, the annual *brahmōtsavam* and float festival, and the periodical *pradōsha* festival, are part of a big annual calender of events as followed in the larger temples. At least the *brahmōtsavam*, though not necessarily of ten days, used to be celebrated in every temple, however lacking in resources. But conditions have become difficult in recent times, particularly following the land laws. The plight of the temples in Kerala is well known. It is incumbent on the State which has contributed to the impoverishment of the temples to provide the means to ensure the continuance of the festivals not only because they are age old, but also because these festivals have become part of Indian life.

The most important of the festivals in Vaishṇava temples is taking the Lord in procession mounted on Garuḍa. In northern Tamilnadu the most spectacular occasion is at Kāñchīpuram. This festival of god Varadarāja dates back to many centuries. It draws enormous crowds, particularly from Madras. In the sixteenth century Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, the great Vijayanagara emperor, who endowed both temples, laid down the routes which the processions of the Varadarāja and Ēkāmrānātha temples should follow.

Today perhaps the most popular festival in southern India is that of Venkaṭēśvara in Tirumala. The renown of the temple, its antiquity dating back from the days of the Ālṽars, its history of benefactions by grateful sovereigns, including Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, all make this temple the most famous in this part of the country. Its festivals are very largely attended. It is an inspiring sight to watch a procession along the four streets which, though changing under modern impact, still preserves something of the spirit of the times when Rāmānuja lived there, where Aṇṇamāchārya sang, and where Tyāgarāja worshipped. Devotees perform festivals within the temple. There is practically no day of the year when these are not celebrated.

The chariot festivals are the most spectacular of the southern temple celebrations. It was at Tiruvārūr, in Tanjore District, that the biggest of chariots was used. Tiruvārūr is an ancient city of renown, sanctified by the great temple of Tyāgarāja. It was melancholy day for the whole of southern India when the chariot was burnt down. The festival was revived a few years ago. The new chariot is so huge that machinery is used to propel it along with help from the devotees.

Not a few of the chariots are works of art. A few survive which were built in Vijayanagara days. There seems to be none of earlier date. The old chariots are masterpieces of wood sculpture and architecture, both the arts being combined to create a harmonious whole, a vehicle proper for the Lord to drive in as He goes forth. Some of the panels constituting the chariots are full of delicate carving. In this respect, as in so many others art is very close to religion in Hinduism.

It is interesting that, in form, the *ratha* should resemble the Dravidian *vimāna*. Except for the wheels, the chariot could be taken to be a wooden replica of the *vimāna*. There are no chariots with their *śikharas* in the "wagon roof" mode. The *śikharas* all conclude with a single *stūpi*, from which a flag flutters. The chariot becomes a portable *vimāna*.

Temple festivals are nearly coeval in time with the temples in Tamilnadu. An *aham* ode of the Śaṅgam age refers to a *Paṅguni* festival. Sambandar's verses on Mylapore suggest that by his time, the seventh century, festivals had become established. One of the Ālvārs, Tondaradippodi, refers to the fact that he made garlands for the service of the Lord for the rite of *tiruppaḷi eḷuchchi*.

With time the festivals grew in number and elaboration. Kings and nobles provided the means. Epigraphical references to the institution of festivals are countless. I shall content myself with referring to those concerning the Śrīraṅgam and Tañjāvūr temples.

Incidentally, the development of festivals had an important artistic consequence. Had there been no festivals, there would probably be no bronzes, those marvellous pieces of artistry through which, no less than through lithic sculpture or architecture or painting, the piety of olden times expressed itself. Festivals called for portable images as distinct from the fixed, immovable lithic images. Without exception the festival images are of bronze.

A number of inscriptions on the Śrīraṅgam temple refer to the institution of festivals as distinct from the daily rites, or *pūja*. Two inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I dated 1075 and 1088, speak of festivals in the Tamil months of Aṭṭapaṇi and Paṅguni, when a hymn named *Tettarundiral* was recited before the image of the Lord placed under a *punnai* tree. When Vikrama-chōḷa was reigning, a gift of land to feed pilgrims during the *Paṅguni* festival was registered in the sixteenth regnal year.

Of the Pāṇḍya times in the middle ages there is a reference to the *karigai* festival in the reign of Jaṭāvarman Virapāṇḍya. It was in this period that perhaps the most spectacular festival in the long history of the Śrīraṅgam temple was celebrated. In the nature of things it could not be repeated. Jaṭāvarman Sundara-pāṇḍya I performed a float festival in the month of Chāitra. He built a golden ship for the Lord's sports with goddess Lakshmi and it was set floating in the Kaveri. On another occasion there was witnessed the spectacle of the king in full panoply of war, riding a steed, weighed in a balance against gold, jewels and other precious objects, which were later distributed to the learned and the poor. An inscription of Jaṭāvarman Virapāṇḍya, early in the fourteenth century, records a gift of house sites made when the Lord was seated on the Sundarapāṇḍyan seat under the Sundarapāṇḍyan pearl canopy in the *abhishēka-maṇḍapa* on the *karigai* festival day. A *dipōtsava* was performed by Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara. An inscription of his in the temple mentions this fact.

A number of Vijayanagara epigraphs record the setting up of festivals or refer to these already existing. A record of 1409 A.D. registers a gift of 135 gold pieces by *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vira Bhūpati-uḍaiyār in order to conduct a festival to the Lord, to be celebrated on the day of his natal star, Punarpūṣam. This festival continues to be celebrated today, in the month of Tai, under the name of *Bhūpati-uḍaiyār tiruṇḍi*. Twenty-four years later, in 1433, Annappa Chaṇḍappa instituted a car festival on the day of *uttirāḍam*, the natal star of his father, Āḍityaḍēva-uḍaiyār. The donor also presented an elephant for the same festival. An inscription of

Achyutarāya, dated 1532, mentions the *vēdapārāyaṇa* festival in the month of Mārgaṣi. There are other inscriptional references to the *saṅkramaṇam* and *chitrā-paurṇami* festivals.

In Nayak times Chokkanātha, as an inscription of his dated 1671 records, instituted a festival when the Lord was taken in procession to the Vasantavilāsa-maṇḍapa.

Perhaps no single king set up so many temple festivals as Chōḷa Rājarāja I did at the temple he built in Tañjāvūr. The magnificent and numerous inscriptions of his on its walls speak of a variety of matters pertaining to the temple. Among the most notable of them are those which refer to the bronzes he set up and the festivals he instituted. The inscriptions say that he organised festivals for thirty-seven days in the year. These were nine days of the *Attai periya tiruviḷa* with one day added for the flag hoisting, three for the procession of Lord Āḍavallar (or Naṭarāja), twelve for *tiruchadayam*, one for *Kārttigai* and twelve for *saṅkrānti*.

I have endeavoured in this piece to present a few of the aspects of that notable institution of Hindu life in southern India, the temple festivals. There are innumerable other literary and inscriptional references to these festivals. They testify to the deep-seated piety of the people through the ages. Times are changing, effecting many old institutions. There can be no doubt that the system of festivals, however, will continue. They may be affected by economic considerations, but their real strength lies in the devotion and affection of the people, and this is unchanging.

CONTACTS AND ADJUSTMENTS: KARNATAKA AND TAMILNADU

K. V. RAMESH

IT CANNOT BE GAINSAID that, of the four major linguistic units of the Dravidian South, viz., the Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu countries, the Tamil and Kannada units have been playing a comparatively more dominant role in South Indian History than the Malayalam and Telugu countries at least from the dawn of the Pallava-Chālukya epoch in the middle of the sixth century A.D.

During the earlier eight centuries or so, from the third century B.C., when the Dravidian South comes into the limelight of history with the appearance of the Aśōkan edicts in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, the picture was slightly different with the Telugu country also playing an important role in South Indian history. The occurrence of Aśōka's edicts in the south is more or less coeval with the movement of Jainism and Buddhism southwards. And, in a significant way, the routes which these two great socio-religious movements took in their journey southwards were illustrative of the nature of relationship which came to subsist between the Dravidian states. For instance, while it becomes clear, from a study of available historical vestiges, that Buddhism wended its way into the deep south mainly through the Telugu country, touching Karnataka, emotionally as well as territorially, only on its fringes, it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that Jainism travelled into the deep south mainly through Karnataka as is clearly illustrated by available historical vestiges, the influence of Jainism on Andhra Pradesh having been merely nominal. And, from a historical point of view, it is not a little significant that Buddhism failed to take deep roots in the Tamil country while Jainism not only spread far and wide in Tamilnadu, but also inaugurated a prolonged period of emotional contacts between the Kannada and Tamil peoples, characterised by developments of extreme friendship on certain fronts and extreme animosity on certain others. The people, their language and literature as also the topography of both Karnataka and Tamilnadu have been for long and considerably influenced by Jainism. There is only one element of surprise in this. While, in the case of Tamilnadu, the early Jaina settlers, true to their reputation, adopted the regional language of Tamil for purposes of spreading their religion, as is illustrated by the Brahmi inscriptions in the caves and caverns of Tamilnadu, some of those writings going back perhaps to as early a period as the 3rd century B.C., epigraphical discoveries so far made in Karnataka do not go to show that the Jainas had ever adopted the regional language of Kannada as their language-medium much before the middle of the 7th century A.D. The surprise is all the more when we notice that Kannada was used as the medium for composing the text of the Halimi inscription¹ of the middle of the fifth century A.D. and that the place name Isila, occurring in the Brahmagiri rock inscription² of Aśōka, has been convincingly shown³ to be a Kannada place name.

The next identifiable phase of Karnataka-Tamilnadu relationship falls in what is popularly called the Śaṅgam Age which is rather tentatively assigned to the first three centuries A.D. During this period there had already come to stay in the Tamil country (including the later Malayalam unit) the tradition of tripartite kingdoms viz., the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chēra kingdoms. In total contrast, Karnataka does not appear to have given rise to any indigenous ruling houses and instead, considerable parts of that vast tract were then under the sway of the Sātavāhanas and their scions who had their moorings in Andhra Pradesh. As for the southern half of Karnataka, parts of it, including the coastal tract of the North and South Kanara Districts maintained, if the Śaṅgam songs are to be believed, close contacts, friendly and/or inimical, with adjacent tracts in the Tamil country, inhabited by militant or mercenary Tamil tribes. The tribe which had thus brought about close contacts between the border areas of the Tamil country and the South and North Kanara coastal tracts of Karnataka was the Kōśar tribe whose members had the reputation of knowing four tongues, obviously the ancient Dravidian languages of Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Tulu. A part of the coastal tract immediately to the north of the South Kanara District was during the Śaṅgam period, known as Koṅkaṇa and was under the sway of the later scions of the Maurya dynasty of Magadha. When there arose a conflict between these Mauryas and the ruler of an ancient principality in Tamilnadu, called Mōgūr, the Mauryas were actively assisted by the Kōśar of Tulunadu, in their invasion of Mōgūr. Not long after, however, the Kōśar appear to have been expelled from the Tulu country by Nannan, the ruler of Koṅkaṇa, probably of Mauryan stock. Soon after occupying the Tulu country Nannan, in collusion with a number of minor chieftains, invaded and occupied Pūlināḍu on the border of Tamilnadu and, after defeating the Chēra ruler, also occupied Puḷḷunāḍu. The vanquished Chēras built up their forces invaded, Nanna's territories, killed him in a fierce battle fought at the coastal town of Vagai and regained their independence.⁴

While, thus, there appears to have developed a close contact, be it hostile or neighbourly, between the adjacent tracts of Tamilnadu and Karnataka during the first three centuries of the Christian era, the situation which obtained during the next three centuries as regards the contacts between Tamilnadu and Karnataka is by no means clear. Through the initiative taken by the newly risen Jainas, the Tamil country straight away entered, what may be called from the language point of view, the Tamil era, while, surprisingly enough, in spite of the domineering presence of the Jainas, Karnataka went through, until the middle of the 4th century A.D., the Prākṛit age, obviously because, unlike the Tamil tract, which had managed to remain free, much of Karnataka had become part of the Prākṛit-speaking Mauryan empire after the extinction of which it continued to form part of empires in which first Prākṛit and then Sanskrit were given the dominant role.

The Hirēhaḍagaḷḷi Prākṛit charter⁵ and the Sakrēpaṭṇa Sanskrit charter⁶ both issued by the early Pallavas of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. do show that some border areas of Karnataka had close political contacts with the Tamil country. From the Sakrēpaṭṇa plates we learn that the Sēndraka-rājya, comprising parts of

southern Karnataka, actually formed part of the Pallava empire during the reign of Simhavarman (I).

As a matter of fact, the contacts between Karnataka and Tamilnadu were so close in the 4th century A.D., that Mayūraśarman, a staunch Vedic Brāhmaṇa wended his way to the Pallava capital Kāñchi with the avowed intention of prosecuting his studies. That the Pallavas rubbed the Brāhmaṇa lad on the wrong side that the indignant Mayūraśarman donned the attire and attributes of the Kshatriya, took up the cudgel against the Pallavas and defeated them and that he subsequently established, with the approval of the Pallavas themselves, the first indigenous Karnataka kingdom at Vijayanti are all well recognised points in South Indian history.

Not long after the founding of the Kadamba kingdom was established, to its south, the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍu which, through the succeeding centuries, served as a buffer zone between Tamilnadu and Karnataka proper. It is but natural that of these two then predominant Karnataka kingdoms, that of the Gaṅgas, owing to its geographical proximity, maintained closer contacts with the Tamil country, politically as well as culturally and linguistically, than the northern Kadamba kingdom. This is not to say that the Kadambas and the Pallavas had lost all touch with each other. Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I had fought a losing battle with the Pallavas in the second half of the fifth century and his son Viṣṇuvarman had to accept investiture from Naṇakkāsa and Śāntivara, two little known Pallava scions.⁷

Mṛigēśavarman who ruled in the second half of the fifth century had earned, as implied by the fragmentary Banavāsi inscription⁸ discovered not long ago, the status of a Pallava (Kāñchiśvara) ally, being largely instrumental for the latter's victories in battles. Kadamba Ravivarman also had his share of warfare with the Pallavas of Tamilnadu. This Kadamba-Pallava contact does not, however, appear to have extended into the realms of enduring political cooperation or of noticeable cultural exchange.

This picture is in sharp contrast to the developments which marked the contacts between the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍu and the Pallavas. In the political sphere, there was so much mutual involvement that the Gaṅga rulers Āryavarman and his son Mādhava II *alias* Simhavarman, both of whom ruled in the second half of the fifth century were respectively anointed by their Pallava contemporaries Simhavarman I and Skandavarman.⁹ Another significant point in Gaṅga-Pallava relationship is the fact that Pallava Simhavishṇu's mother had made gifts to a Jaina temple caused to be built by her in the Gaṅga kingdom.¹⁰

In the sphere of religion, as has already been pointed out, Jainism, which appears to have entered Tamilnadu through Karnataka, was an abiding source of mutual contacts between the two Dravidian territories. The Tamil work '*Periyapurāṇam*' records a tradition that a host of 'Karnāṭaka Jainas' poured into Madurai like a cloud burst and uprooted the ruling dynasty. This event appears to have preceded the founding of the Drāviḍa-saṅgha of the Jainas at Madurai by Vajrapanda in the fifth century A.D.¹¹

Contacts between the Kannada and Tamil countries, of the nature described above, were in no way infrequent in the early period until the end of the sixth century A.D. Nevertheless it may confidently be asserted that a new era, not necessarily a happy one at least as far as the political arena was concerned, was inaugurated by the renowned Bādāmi-Chālukya emperor Pulakēśin II (609-42 A.D.) who, by invading the Pallava empire and forcing a humiliating defeat on the Pallava ruler, probably Narasimhavarman¹² invited, not only upon himself and his dynastic descendants but upon all the members of the successive dynasties of Karnataka the enmity of not only the Pallavas of Kāñchī but of every dynasty which ruled over the Tamil empire subsequent to the Pallavas. It was from the period of the Chālukyas that the imperial rulers of Karnataka and Tamilnadu became *prakṛity-amitras* i.e. natural foes. Each successive generation of Pulakēśin II and Pallava Narasimhavarman indulged in sanguinary battles at the end of each of which neither the Chālukyas nor the Pallavas appear to have benefited. The damaged inscription¹³ of the 13th year of Pallava Narasimhavarman at the Chālukya capital of Vātāpi and the Kannada inscription¹⁴ of Chālukya Vikramāditya II at the Pallava capital of Kāñchīpuram, two of the most poignant witnesses to the futile military confrontation which marked the political relationship between the Tamil and Kannada countries during the Pallava-Chālukya period.

This political animosity, however, did not mar in the least the generous relationship which the people of the two warring empires had established between themselves to great mutual benefit. As a matter of fact, the exchange of knowledge and skills in arts and crafts was so continuous and intense that scholars have not been able to decide, with unanimity, who had borrowed from whom in the sphere of art and architecture, the Pallavas from Aihole, Paṭṭadakal and Bādāmi or the Chālukyas from Mahābalipuram and Kāñchī. That the politics of confrontation has not eroded the field of fine arts is amply borne out by Vikramāditya's Kāñchīpuram inscription, referred to above, which graphically illustrates the mood of enlightened admiration mutually displayed by the Pallavas and the Chālukyas for each other's patronage to arts and artisans.

During this era, the Gaṅga kingdom continued to maintain very close contacts with the Tamil country. Gaṅga charters and inscriptions of the period betray very clear traces of Tamil influence in the matter of mentioning place-names and in the construction of the few available Kannada phrases and sentences.

The Pāṇḍyas of the seventh century appear to have developed some close contacts with coastal kingdom of Āḷuvakhēḍa (i.e. present day South Kanara District). Apart from the fact that Kōchchadaiyaṇ (700-730 A.D.) is credited with a victory over the *Mahārathas* in a battle fought at the coastal city (*mahūnagara*) of Maṅgalapura (modern Mangalore), the Āḷupa rulers of South Kanara claim quite consistently from the early years of the 8th century to belong to the Pāṇḍya stock.¹⁵

In the next historical epoch in which the later Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa were the Karnataka contemporaries of the later Pallavas and the Chōḷas of the Tamil country, the contacts between the two linguistic units of the

south continued to be as consequential as in the preceding epoch. If at all, in the political plane, the intrigues played by the Karnataka and Tamilnadu rulers became more complicated and the battles fought were more frequent, more sanguinary and more futile. The Gaṅgas, who had till then served as a buffer zone, got themselves more and more deeply involved in the affairs which mutually afflicted the imperial houses of Karnataka and Tamilnadu and further fanned the fire of enmity by frequently shifting their allegiance. Other buffer kingdoms such as those of the Bāṇas, Nolamba-Pallavas and Vaidumbas also found it impossible to keep aloof and found themselves helplessly dragged into the mire of imperial politics. As a result, the political map of South India proper for over four hundred years during the 9th-12th centuries A.D. is one of hectic confusion in which the trilingual area where the Tamil, Telugu and Kannada Cultures meet played the crucial role of proving many arenas of battle in which likely major encounters between imperial armies were reduced into minor skirmishes between war-weary feudatories.

While, as in the preceding epoch, Jainism continued to serve as a source of contact between the Tamil and Kannada countries, unprecedented growth in trade and the availability of lucrative mercenary careers also contributed to the increase in contacts. Thus, we learn from the Tirumalai inscription¹⁶ of Chōḷa Rājēndra I that a gift of money was made to the Jaina *basadi* called Kundavai-jinālaya by Chāmuṇḍabbai, the wife of Naṇṇappayyaṇ, a merchant of Malliyūr in Perumbāṇappāḍi. The names of the donatrix and her husband are respectively the Tamilised forms of the Kannada names Chāmuṇḍabbe and Nannappa. Nannappa, who was a Jain besides being a merchant, had obviously migrated to the Tamil country in search of better trade prospects. Also, when a branch of the Bāṇa family established a Bāṇa principality in the northern periphery of Tamilnadu, a good sprinkling of Kannada population from the original Bāṇa holding in Karnataka might have migrated to the newly established Bāṇa principality.

More interesting is the reference to two Chōḷa soldiers, Būtuga and Chandaya by name, as belonging respectively to two regiments called Tirumadīśōḷa-Karunāḍaga-Kaḍuttalai and Madhurāntaka-Karunāḍaga-Kaḍuttalai in an inscription¹⁷ of Chōḷa Parakēsarivarman of the 11th century. It is likely that the two regiments, in whose names the word Karnāṭaka occurs, were composed of mercenary soldiers hailing from Karnataka. Būtuga and Chandaya, whose names are distinctly of Kannada origin are stated in the epigraph to have donated gift for the daily offerings to the Jaina Tirthaṅkara and for feeding one Jaina ascetic at the Jaina pilgrimage centre of Tirumalai.

The first dent of a serious nature, into the imperial hegemony of either Karnataka or Tamilnadu, negating the role of the buffer principalities, was made by Rāshṭra kūṭa Kṛṣṇa III who, about 949 A.D. towards the end of Chōḷa Parāntaka I's reign, invaded the Tamil country and successfully occupied for as long as two decades, a large part of the northern half the Chōḷa empire. Again, for the first time after destruction of Vātāpi by Pallava Narasimhavarmaṇ, Kṛṣṇa III forced a reduction in the imperial stature of the Chōḷas, though only temporarily, by arrogating

to himself the title of *Kachchiryum-Tañjaiyum-koṇḍa* i.e. the 'taker of Kāñchīpuram and Tañjāvūr'. During the subsequent period of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, such an achievement was beyond the capabilities of both the Chālukyas and the Chōḷas, mainly because their powers were more or less balanced; the battles that were fought between themselves, and many were mere exercises in political manoeuvre and affected more the neighbouring or feudatory principalities.

The period which followed the end of the Kalyāṇa Chālukya empire in about 1200 A.D. saw the emergence of two kingdoms in Karnataka, that of the Sēūṇas in the north and that of the Hoysaḷas in the south; in Tamilnadu, the Chōḷas who suffered a nose dive in their imperial stature had to share the royal prerogative with many other ruling house, prominent among them, the Pāṇḍyas. The Sēūṇas more or less consistently confined their interest to the north and the Hoysaḷas to the south. And much as Kṛishṇa III had done, the Hoysaḷas spread their influence in the Tamil country and occupied parts of its northern districts. Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara virtually divided the kingdom, giving the Kannada tracts to his elder son Narasiṃha III and making Rāmanātha, his younger son, the master of the Tamil districts which were under Hoysaḷa hegemony. The large number of Tamil inscriptions left behind by Rāshṭrakuṭa Kṛishṇa III in the Tamil country, the good number of Kannada and Tamil inscriptions left behind by the Chōḷa rulers in the border districts of Karnataka as also the many Tamil records of the Hoysaḷas found in the Tamil country as well as in Karnataka all add upto one thing, viz. that even the military expeditions led by the Kannada and Tamil monarchs against each other, though they resulted in forced occupation of each other's territories from time to time, never led to the suppression of the language and culture of the soil, nor to any degree of sustained religious imposition. It was during the period of the Hoysaḷa ruler Viśṇuvardhana that the Tamil country exported for Karnataka the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school of Rāmānujāchārya. That this religious preceptor repaired to Karnataka in order to escape persecution at the hands of the Chōḷas may or may not be authentic tradition. What is true, however, is that Tamilnadu returned in ample measure in the 12th century the great cultural gift which Karnataka had given to Tamilnadu in the 3rd century B.C. in the form of Jainism.

The establishment of the Vijayanagara empire totally changed the political map of South India. The northern districts of Karnataka fell into the hands of the Muslims and the southern districts became part of the Vijayanagara empire, the like of which, in terms of territorial extent, the south had not seen earlier. Kannada, Telugu and Tamil came to enjoy equal importance as official languages and technical terms of offices, revenue and administration came to be freely borrowed from one linguistic unit and used in the other. There has been so much intermingling of the politics, cultures and languages of the south during the Vijayanagara period that it has become a problem to assign even the original homes of the various dynasties and lesser ruling houses to this linguistic area on that. Migrations of groups of people from one unit of the empire to the others had been so numerous that a planned survey of the population groups alone will help us draw any fair conclusions on the impact

which the existence of the Vijayanagara empire had had on the linguistic and cultural contacts of the four major Dravidian units of the south. One fact, however, emerges from a study of the political map of the Vijayanagara empire, namely that in respect of the feudal hierarchy even in the Tamil and Malayalam countries a larger contribution from the Kannada and Telugu tracts had to be accepted by the Tamil population. This position was noticeably reversed when the British became the masters and made Madras the chief city of a vast South Indian Presidency. Madras city and, to a much less degree the Tamil country had then become the hub of South Indian political life, and Madras city itself became a great repository of Dravidian culture, a laboratory in which was successfully brought about the commingling of four great allied cultures and languages, those of the Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam countries.

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CONTACTS AND ADJUSTMENTS: KARNATAKA AND ANDHRAPRADESH

P. V. PARABRAHMA SASTRY

WITH A LENGTHY INTER-STATE BOUNDARY of nearly sixteen hundred kilometres, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka have had age-long contacts in their political, social, cultural and religious activities. In fact, the people on both the sides of the boundary line, with their common way of life, form a considerable percentage of the total population of both the states. Geographically a major part in both the regions forms the main Deccan plateau with similar topographical features like the soil, hills, climate, water resources, and vegetation, which have contributed largely to the uniform growth of a social order through the ages. Empires lasting for centuries vanished, religious frenzy shook society more than once but the cultural contacts between these two sister states led to close affinity. No other two linguistic societies in South India are so intimately connected with each other as the Kannada and Telugu speaking people. The most striking illustration in this regard is noticeable in their common script with slight variations as can be seen in the modern period. The Śālaṅkāyanas, the Viṣṇukūṇḍins, the Pallavas, the Eastern Chālukyas and the Telugu Chōḍas that ruled over the Telugu country, and the Kadambas, the Western Gaṅgas, the Western Chālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Nolambas and the Alupas that held sway over the Kanarese country, employed the same script in their records.

Karnāṭa

It is interesting to note in an inscription at Śrīsaīlam datable to 1313 A.D.¹ that two Śaiva institutions named Arisimaṭha and Yaḍamaṭha held 17 villages in Karnāṭasīma which are located in Nandikotkuru and Nandyala taluks of Kurnool District in Andhra Pradesh. The Hyderabad plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya I² record the gift of the village Chintakunṭa in Kaṇṇa-nāḍu, which is identifiable with its namesake in the Markapuram Taluk adjacent to Nandikotkur Taluk. The same region in some records of the Western Chālukya period is referred to as Kanne-nāḍu-300. The Bīchapalli inscription of Bhuvanāikamalla dated 1074 A.D. refers to certain Bijjaṇa Chōḷa Mahārāja who is stated to be ruling Kanne-nāḍu and other areas as *vīḷa-vṛitti*. This region is identified with the present Nandikotkur Taluk, Kurnool District.³ Another reference to the term is found in an epigraph of the time of Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, dated 1057 A.D., which hails from the same taluk.⁴ The Velpunūru epigraph in Nandikotkur Taluk dated 1318 A.D., states that a Kākatiya subordinate *mahāsāmanta* Chaṇaku Mahēśvara Redḍi governed the district of Kannāḍu. During the period of the Vijayanagara kings also, a village Miḍutūru in the same taluk is stated to be in Karnāṭa-sīma. Certain Anantaiāju-Narasarāju, one of the chieftains under Sadāśivarāja is stated to have granted some lands in that village included in Karnāṭa-sīma in 1563 A.D. These and other epigraphical evidences show that the region comprising Nandikotkuru and Markapuram Taluks of the

Kurnool District at the foot of Śrīśailam is called Kannāḍu or Karnāṭa, the latter being a Sanskritized form of Kannāḍa, just like Punnāṭa from Punnāḍu, an old kingdom in the south of Mysore.⁵ Śrīnātha the famous Telugu poet, a contemporary of Dēvarāya II, states that the language of his poems is *Karnāṭa-bhāṣa*, though he did not write in any other language than Telugu. Dr. Caldwell alludes to the views of some writers that Karnāṭa or Karnāṭaka is a generic term applicable originally to both Telugu and Canarese people and their languages, though it is admitted that it usually denoted the latter alone and though it is to the latter that the abbreviated form of Kannāḍa has been appropriated.⁶ Irrespective of its etymological derivation it is observed that the term Karnāṭa-vishaya or Kannāṭi-sīma is also applicable till the 14th century to a part of the Telugu-speaking country lying at the foot of Śrīparvata and in the later period to the entire Rayalasīma including Udayagiri in the Nellore District. Still later in the East India Company period, the term Karnāṭa is applied to some parts of Tamilnadu also; for instance, the Nawabs of Arcot were generally called Karnāṭa Nawabs. Owing to the migration of the last Vijayanagara kings to Chandragiri and farther south after the battle of Rakkasa Taṅgaḍi, the region was designated after these kings as Karnāṭaka.

Āndhra

Let us examine the applicability of Āndhra to the Kannada speaking area. The earliest epigraphical mention of the term occurs in Aśōka's edicts some of which are located in both Āndhra and Karnataka regions in the Deccan. As the hillock containing the Erragudi edicts lies between the two villages Erragudi and Jonnagiri in the Pattikonda Taluk of Kurnool District, some scholars identified the latter village with Suvarṇagiri (Sonnagiri, Jonnagiri) the southern capital of Aśōka. Kanakagiri near Māski in Raichur District, another place where his edicts are noticed, is taken to be Suvarṇagiri by some other scholars. Be that as it may. Among the countries mentioned in his edicts found in Jonnagiri and elsewhere, the name Āndhra occurs, to represent Karnāṭa and its surrounding regions. The terms Satiyaputa and Kēraja-puta represent the southern and western parts of the present Karnataka whereas Kaṣīṅga represents the northern districts of the present Andhra Pradesh beyond the Godavari. In fact there existed in that remote period of history, neither the present Kannāḍa, nor the Telugu language and much less were there any boundaries demarcating the two regions. We may not be wrong in saying that the term Āndhra of the Aśōkan edicts in those days represented the region lying between Kaṣīṅga and the land of Satiyaputas or at least the region covering the places Jonnagiri, Rājula Maṇḍagiri, in Telugu area and Maski, Siddāpur, Brahmagiri and Jaṭīṅga Rāmēśvara in Kannada-speaking area. The Āndhras in those early records are referred to as the subordinate people of his empire, whereas the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Kēraja-putras and Satiyaputras are spoken of as independent peoples of its southern frontier.⁷ Therefore, during the days of Aśōka the difference between the Āndhras and the Karnāṭakas was absolutely not known. It is for this reason that the edicts do not allude to Kuntala or Karnāṭaka though they mention Āndhra more than once. The river Andrika mentioned in the Kurnool plates of Vikramāditya I of 664 A.D. is

the tributary Andri which flows through Pattikonda and Dhone Taluks and falls into the Tungabhadra at Kurnool. This also lends support to the view that the Kurnool region is called Āndhra. Basing on the mention of *Sātāhanihāra* in the Myākadōṇi inscription of Pulamāvi and *Sātāhaniraṭṭa* in the Hirehaḍagalli plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, Dr. V. S. Suktankar expressed the view that Bellary region was the home of Āndhra Sātavāhanas.⁹ This tract of Āndhra to the south-west of Śrīśaila must have been the original home of Sātavāhanas or Sātakarṇis after whom it acquired the name Karni-nāḍu, Kanna-nāḍu or Karnāṭa analogous to Gaṅgavāḍi, Naḷa-vāḍi and Ṛēnāḍu. The provenance of an ancient site called Satānikōṭa (*Sātavāhanikōṭa*) in Nandikotkuru Taluk, the allusion to *Sātāhani-ṛaṭṭa* in the said early Pallava grant and *Sātāhanihāra* in Pulamāvi's record lend support to the above view. After the dismemberment of the Sātavāhana empire in the first half of the 3rd century A.D., kings of the Chūṭu family bearing the names like Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi ruled over the Canarese country with Banavāsi as their capital. Hence there is reason to believe that the term Karnāḍu extended to the Banavāsi region though it continued as the name of a particular *sīma* to the south of Śrīśaila till the sixteenth century A.D. as noticed above.

Political Contacts

The political contacts between the two states of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka are as old as the Mauryan period as evidenced by the provenance of Aśoka's inscriptions in both the regions. The same state of political unity continued even in the Sātavāhana period. Two well known kings, Sātakarṇi and Hāla, of the later generation of that family are believed to have extended their sway over the Kuntala country. The mention of Kuntala Sātakarṇi in the Purāṇas and Vātsyayāna's, *Kāmasūtra* testify to the fact that Kuntaladēśa was included in the kingdom of that Sātavāhana king. Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi in his Nasik inscription is stated to have issued orders while camping at Vijayanti, i.e. Banavāsi in the North Kanara District. As noticed above, the mention of *Sātāhanihāra* in the Myākadōṇi inscription of Pulamāvi, a later Sātavāhana king and *Sātāhani-ṛaṭṭa* in the Hirehaḍagalli copper plate grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman indicates that Karnāṭaka was included in the Sātavāhana dominions.

Consequent to the dismemberment of the Sātavāhana empire in the first half of third century A.D. the Chūṭu Sātakarṇis in the west and the Ikshvākus in the east rose to power. This is the earliest occurrence of separation of the regions into two political units which remained as such till the rise of the Kadambas who are said to have extended their power again upto Śrīśaila in Karnāṭa. The Vishṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman had conquered the west as indicated by the title *trikūṭa-Malayaḍhipati* borne by one of his successors. Though his armies marched upto Malaya in the south and Trikuṭa in the west, the establishment of their administration in those parts is however not supported by evidence. These Vishṇukunḍin kings bore titles like *Janāśraya* (by Mādhavavarman), *Satyāśraya* (by Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman c. 527-555 A.D.),¹⁰ *Vikramāśraya* (by Gōvindavarman) and *Uttamāśraya* (by Vikramēndravarmān II c. 555-570 A.D.). One of the two recently discovered Vishṇu-

kunḍin charters reveals the title, *Satyāśraya* attributed to Indrabhaṭṭāṛakavarman, a fact hitherto unknown. It is interesting to note that Pulakēśin I, the founder of the early Chālukya kingdom (540–66 A.D.) of Bādāmi, according to the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of his second son Maṅgalēśa, is known to have possessed the title *Satyāśraya* for the first time in that family. It is not unreasonable to think that this Chālukya king, having defeated the Viṣṇukunḍin king Indrabhaṭṭāṛakavarman in the Śrīparvata region appropriated the title *Satyāśraya* from the latter. A label inscription recently noticed in the temple of Śivanandīśvara at Kaḍamalakāḷva in Nandyala Taluk, Kurnool District mentions *Satyāśraya-bhaṭṭāra* and the *chakra* or region. The interpretation of this label is not decided. This is the earliest known reference to *Satyāśraya* in the Kurnool region. Pulakēśin II, the greatest of those kings brought the entire Telugu country under his sway and entrusted its administration to his brother and probably to his sons also. Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana his younger brother became the founder of the Eastern Chālukya family of the Vēṅgi kingdom. Raṇamarda of the Chālukya family, the younger brother of Kokkirāja is known to have become the ruler of Mañchikōṇḍa and Koṇḍapalli regions in the present Khammammet District, as stated in the Mogahcheruvuḷa grant of Kṣumāyudha IV.¹¹ Kokkirāja in this context seems to be the title of Vikramāditya I as noticed in the Manor plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa.¹² Similarly, *Satyāśraya* Raṇavikrama another early member of the main Chālukya family, according to the Kolipara plates of Arikēśarin I seems to be the lord of Pōḍananāḍu comprising the present Nizamabad and Karimnagar Districts. The above two names Raṇamarda and Raṇavikrama when compared with Raṇarāga and Raṇakīrti, are suggestive that they belong to the early generations of the main line. The remaining parts of the present Telāṅgāṇa and Rāyalasīma were under the direct administration of the kings of Bādāmi. Of the three Chālukya branches of Āndhra, the kings of Vēṅgi alone exercised sovereignty. The Mudugoṇḍa Chālukyas of Mañchikōṇḍa owed their allegiance to the Vēṅgi rulers whereas the Vēmulaṇḍa chiefs though independent in all respects, showed their political leanings to the Rāshtrakūṭas. It was the period when Telugu, as a language of the people came into being replacing the Prākṛit dialect of the early Pallava charters. In this respect Telugu is a later development than Kannaḍa.

During the Rāshtrakūṭa period and a major part of the Kalyāṇa Chālukya regime, the same political set up of the Telugu country continued. Intervention of the Chōḷa kings in the affairs of Vēṅgi caused much concern to the Western Chālukyas about its independent status. Vikramāditya VI, in the last decade of his reign, could succeed in driving out the Chōḷas from Vēṅgi and brought almost the entire Telugu country under his authority. It virtually marks the end of the Eastern Chālukya rule in Vēṅgi. After the death of Vikramāditya VI in 1126 A.D., his successor Bhūḷōka-malla Sōmēśvara III could retain coastal Āndhra for about only eight years. The *maṇḍalika* chiefs with the help of the Chālukya-Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga II made a concerted attack on the Western Chālukya forces on the banks of the Godavari in about 1135 A.D. and forced the Chālukyas to withdraw from Vēṅgi. This was the end of Chālukya rule in the Telugu country. Not longer than one and half decades

after this event, the Telugu country as a whole was politically separated from the Karnataka. Till then the official records of the Chālukya occupied areas in Tēlaṅgāṇa were in Kannada or Sanskrit while those of the coastal Āndhra were in Telugu or Sanskrit. We should not forget that the region comprising the present Kurnool and Bellary Districts retained its name as Karnāṭa. Its language too, be it Telugu or Kannada, had the common name Karnāṭa-bhāṣha. The reason cannot be attributed to the impact of the dominating Kannada region and language on the border. For all practical purposes the present Kurnool District as noticed above was called Karnāṭa ever since the Śātakarṇi rulers settled there, even before the two languages emerged as popular dialects of the people.

The Rāshtrakūṭas and the Western Chālukyas held both the regions united for more than four centuries even after the birth of the two languages. With the rise of two independent powers, the Kākatīyas in the Telugu country and the Hoysaḷas in the Kannada country a clear demarcation appeared for the first time between the two regions speaking Telugu and Kannada. Although the Kākatīyas adopted the same administrative machinery of the Chālukya rulers, a marked progress is visible in the development of Telugu which occupied the place of official language replacing the erstwhile Kannada. Neither the Hoysaḷas nor the Kākatīyas ever encroached on one another's territory. Only the Sēuṇa kings in more than one instance are noticed to have attacked both these kingdoms. A marked contrast between these two kingdoms during this period is noticed in their religious persuasions. The Kākatīyas patronized the then existing system of Pāśupata Śaivism of their predecessors, whereas the masses at large in Kannada speaking area embraced the new order of Virāśaivism, irrespective of the royal patronage it enjoyed.

The last phase in our present survey of political contacts between the two regions is almost a political surgery operated on the geographical cross-section from east to west making Tungabhadra the boundary between the two great kingdoms of the Vijayanagara kings and the Nawabs of the Deccan. This is the most unnatural partition of the Deccan because a major part of the Kannada and Telugu regions was ruled by Hindu kings whereas one third of the two regions that is, the northern Karnāṭa and Tēlaṅgāṇa were forcibly confined to the Muslim rule. It was the golden age for the southerners while it was the dark period for the northerners. This unfortunate state of political division though slightly modified in the British period, continued till the recent re-organization of States in 1956.

Several scholars agree that the stronghold of the founders of the Vijayanagara empire was the stretch of land between Gutti in the east and Hampi in the west that is, the original Karnāṭa of the early period when neither Kannada nor Telugu was ever known to the people. There is nothing improper therefore in calling them the kings of Karnāṭa which term does not exclusively apply to the Kannada speaking area of that stretch of land. Regarding the origin of those illustrious founders of the kingdom, the traditional account of their being the treasurers of the Kākatīya king Prataparudra preserved in more than one literary work of both Kannada and Telugu languages cannot be easily set aside in the light of the Koḍumūr epigraph

dated 1340 A.D., which explicitly mentions Harihara I as *śrībhaṇḍāri* (treasurer).¹³ The argument for the theory of Kannada origin based on their Kannada titles like *mūruvāyagaṇḍa*, *bhāshege-tappuvarāyagaṇḍa*, *Kaṇṇāṣa-dēśādhiśvara*, cannot be taken as supporting evidence for the reason that in the border districts of Anantapur, Kurnool and Bellary, a mixed language with common roots of words is predominantly noticeable even to-day. In fact, this strip of land is the cradle of the common heritage and culture since early times of history beginning from the Mauryan rule over the region. Even the Kākatīya kings Gaṇapati-dēva and Prātāparudra and their subordinates like Juṭṭeyaleṇka were having similar titles, *mūruvāya-Jagaddala* and *mūruvōkada-gaṇḍa*.

Reckoning of Śaka Era

There existed in the beginning, unity between the two regions and their peoples, when Āśōka the great called them by the common name Āndhra and the kings of the Śātakarṇi dynasty gave it the name Kannanāḍu. Those were the days when the languages Kannada and Telugu were not known to the people. This basic unity of the two peoples is remarkably noticed in their common almanac reckoned in Śaka era of years commencing from 78 A.D. which, according to some scholars, signifies the great victory of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi over the foreign intruders, the Śakas in particular. The New Year day in this country which begins on the first day of the luni-solar month of Chaitra, is called *Yugādi*, or commencement of an era. The second earliest epigraphical reference to the Śaka era is noticed in the Bādāmi cliff inscription of Pulakēśin I which furnishes the Śaka year 465, 543 A.D. Obviously same festivals and rituals are being observed by both the people. This is one of the powerful binding factors for the unity of the people. Numerous examples can be cited from inscriptions and literature to illustrate several festive occasions, common to both, when religious functions are generally conducted in temples and other sacred places. *Yugādi*, *Śrīrāmanavami*, *Chaitra-pavitra*, *Davanōtsava*, *Akshatadiga*, *Āmani-Punnama*, *Prathamaikādaśī*, *Kṛishṇa-jayanti*, *Utthānaikādaśī*, *Jvālātōraṇa*, *Kaumudī-utsava* are some such occasions which frequently occur in the inscriptions of both the regions.

Administration

Coming to the administrative aspect, the rulers of the Telugu speaking area, particularly the Kakatiyas inherited the same system of the Chālukyan polity. Though for the sake of convenience, the political units were readjusted with new capitals, the officers and the *maṇḍalēśvaras* were designated in the same fashion and entrusted with the responsibilities of the same nature. It is only during the Vijayanagara period a large scale change in the administrative machinery took place. The northern portions of both Telugu and Kannada areas being ruled by the Muhammadan kings the *jāgirdār* system prevailed there whereas the Vijayanagara rulers in the southern parts strengthened the *nāyāṅkara* system introduced by the last Kākatīya king, Prātāparudra. Therefore the Kākatīyas inherited from their predecessors the *maṇḍalēśvara* system, which they passed on to their successors in

the form of *nāyāṅkara* type of military organization. But the old Chālukya terminology regarding the official designations *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* still continued in the Vijayanagara period, the nature of duties being changed. The Kākatīyas faithfully retained the Chālukya type of local administration through corporate bodies vested with certain autonomous duties. The same system prevailed in the contemporary kingdoms of the Hoysaḷas and the Sēuṇas. A considerable change in this regard was introduced by the Vijayanagara rulers who at large replaced the autonomous nature of these bodies by making them virtually dependent on the administrative officialdom. Even then, both Karnāṭa and Āndhra underwent the uniform pattern of reform in the organization. Politically, therefore it is strikingly remarkable that from the early periods of history, both the regions were governed either by the same rulers or by those who adjusted their administrative policies according to the well trodden system of their predecessors. We should not forget that for a long period of more than a millennium the entire Deccan from east to west coast was under the banner of *Varāha* or divine boar leaving the Rāshtrakūṭa Garuḍa for about two centuries. Virtually a uniform type of government prevailed in the Deccan till the dawn of Muslim rule in the northern half of both the regions, which again was under a common rule.

Religious Contacts

About the religion of the two regions it is curious to note that the western region was little influenced by the vigorous spread of Buddhism in its eastern counterpart during the early and post Sātavāhana periods. We notice it in the upper Deccan, that is in the present Maharashtra, but not Karnataka area. Being inspired by the Pallavas and the Kadambas in the south and west respectively, the Vishṇukunḍin kings, particularly Mādhavavarman the great reinstituted the Vedic religion of sacrifices in the Āndhra area. He was solely responsible for the decline of the deeprooted Buddhism in Āndhra. This was mainly due to the impact of the speedy revival of Vedic religion pioneered by the Pallavas and the Kadambas. Otherwise, Buddhism with its great missionary centres at Amarāvati, Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and several other places might not have declined so rapidly. Although Jainism was noticed at some places in South India like Guṇṭupalli, Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Bōdhan in Andhra Pradesh and Aihole, Hasi, (Palāśikā) in Karnataka its growth in the Deccan actually started after the advent of the Rāshtrakūṭa power. Most of these kings and their subordinates patronized Jainism and constructed Jaina temples and *basadis* for Jaina ascetics and endowed them lavishly with gifts in many of the important towns all over the kingdom. Political unity thus brought about the uniform growth of religion in Karnataka and Andhra excluding some parts of the coastal districts of the latter. The merchants of the Telugu country called *kōmaṭis*, according to some scholars, are supposed to be the residents and worshippers of Gōmaṭēśvara of Śravaṇa-beḷagoḷa. There are instances where such *kōmaṭis* or merchant class constructed *basadis* and endowed them with gifts. Similarly merchants of the Ayyāvoḷe-500 guild are noticed in several inscriptions of Āndhra area making gifts to Jaina institutions. The seat of the famous Koṇḍakunda sect of the Jains was at a place called Konakoṇḍla near Guntakallu in Anantapur District. It is a unique place of great

antiquity in the history of South Indian Jainism. The scholarly contributions of the Jaina authors like Jinasēna, Guṇabhadra or Guṇachandra during that period benefited Kannada more than Telugu. However, its effect on the latter cannot be altogether denied. The Chālukyas of Vēmulavāḍa, the most powerful subordinate family in the Telugu country, following their Rāshtrakūṭa masters rendered no small contribution for the spread of that faith in their *sapādalaksha* territory. Pōdana or Bōdhan, supposed to be their original capital, was one of the great centres of Jainism in the Deccan. These subordinate kings erected several Jaina *basadis* in Pōdana-nāḍu. The world of scholars is much beholden to these princes under whose patronage were composed the monumental works like *Ādipurāṇa* and *Vikramārjuna-vijaya* by Pampa and *Yasastilaka-champū* and *Nūivākyāmṛita* by Sōmadēvasūri. The influence of great Jaina authors of Karnataka was mainly responsible for the above works. The corporate bodies of merchants called *vrabāṇaḥjas* and *mummuridandās*, according to Dr. P. B. Desai,¹⁴ belonged to the Jaina faith. These guilds in course of their extensive movements from town to town contributed to the enhancement of Jainism in both Karnataka and Andhra by constructing Jaina temples at several places. The use of a Jaina formula '*Ōm namaḥ Siddham*' at the time of initiation of the children is still in practice even in Āndhra.

The fall of the Rāshtrakūṭa power was followed by a slow decline of Jainism in the Deccan. The Western Chālukyas were not such ardent followers of the Jaina faith as their predecessors. The Pāsupata order of Śaivism began to strike roots during their regime. Their subordinates in the Telugu country also followed the same. The Kākatīyas, though originally followers of Jaina persuasion, changed their faith to Śaivism. Śiva temples and *maṭhas* replaced the Jaina *basadis* and preceptors like Rāmēśvara-paṇḍita and Dhruvēśvara-paṇḍita adorned those institutions. Thus, the Chālukya rulers as in Karnataka reestablished the Vedic faith in Telangāṇa and Ceded Districts. Śrīśaīla in Āndhra and Baḷligāve in Karnataka became the main centres of this Pāsupata or Kālāmukha cult.

In the twelfth century there came the great reform in the religion of the Deccan. Five preachers named Rēvaṇasiddha, Paṇḍitārādhya, Maruḷasiddha, Ēkōṭāma and Viśvārādhya condemned in Āndhra the Pāsupata doctrine which is more philosophical and ritualistic, and introduced a new order of devotional Śaivism which unlike the former is easily accessible to the lay man. This is called Ārādhya school of Śaivism. A more remarkable change took place in the religion of Karnataka at the same time. A new luminary in the horizon of Śaiva theology rose in the form of a great reformer and preacher, Basavēśvara whose teachings were more convincing to the masses than any other doctrine of the day. Basavēśvara vehemently opposed the doctrines of the Vedic ritualism and non-Vedic Jainism. According to Basava, spiritual emancipation can be attained by anybody who is devoted to Śiva irrespective of his caste. This universal approach of Basava's doctrine attracted the masses at large and Karnataka particularly the northern districts became the stronghold of this new faith. Thus in the Deccan two schools of Śaivism viz. Jāṅama Vīraśaivism preached by Basavēśvara in Karnataka and Ārādhya Śaivism preached by Paṇḍitārādhya and others in Āndhra rose to prominence. The latter school, owing to its

leanings to Vedic traditions could not gain popularity among the masses, whereas the former being founded on a secular basis attracted the masses irrespective of caste and creed. In this connection it is worth noting that a similar casteless social reform came up among Vaishṇavites in Paṇḍita-sīma of Āndhra at the end of twelfth century. But as a cult it did not survive for long. The two kinds of Śaivism of Āndhra and Karnataka have no bearing on each other though they ultimately preach the same doctrine. About a century later, was born an extraordinarily effective writer named Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha, a scholar in various branches of learning, who besides other works wrote in Telugu *dvipada* style of verse *Basavapurāṇa* and *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra* depicting the biographies and teachings of Basaveśvara and Paṇḍitārādhyas respectively. His writings gave vast publicity to Vīraśaivism. Kannada renderings of some of his important works gained much popularity among the followers of Vīraśaivism.

Language and Literature

One of the most important cultural contacts between the two peoples is their close literary and linguistic association for a fairly long period. Mention has already been made about the striking similarity of their script which underwent slight superficial changes in their respective regions only, at the end of the medieval period. Both the languages belong to the same Dravidian origin. Kannada, seems to be an older language than Telugu, the former being noticed in inscriptions as early as fifth century (Halmiḍi inscription) whereas Telugu, leaving the use of stray words in the early period, appears as inscriptional language in the Kalamaḷḷa epigraph and other records assignable to the last quarter of the sixth century. In the coastal Āndhra the Vipparāla epigraph¹⁵ of the Vēṅgi Chālukya king Jayasīṅhavallabha datable to the middle of the seventh century seems to be the earliest. During this period, we notice several philological changes mutually taking place in the Kannada and Telugu languages. *Porāḷ*(K)—*Prōlu*(T); *morāgu*(K)—*mōḡu*(T); *kaṇṇu*(K)—*Kannu*(T); *key*(K)—*chēyi*(T); *kiluvu*(K)—*kilumu* or *chilumu* (?), these and other examples illustrate how the two languages are basically related. The letter *la* is retained in Kannada, whereas it is transformed long ago into *ra*, *ḍa* or *ḷa*. The change of Kannada *ha* into *pa* in Telugu is another instance (e.g. *hālu-pālu*; *haḷḷi-palli* etc) which indicates the close resemblance between the two languages. Besides, there are so many words with only slight phonetic variations that it would not be an exaggeration to say that a glance into the lexicons of Kannada and Telugu reveals hundreds of similar identical words. What more can we offer in support of the fact that both these languages contributed for their mutual growth? Telugu, having attained the stage of perfection later than Kannada, had been in a privileged position in several aspects or in other words, Telugu imbibed all the good qualities of its elder sister and developed itself with newly coined usages. Thus this new language became the language of a majority of people in the Deccan. The language in the bordering districts, though originally Kannada, was replaced by Telugu in the initial stages. Again we come to the same conclusion already mentioned, that the present Kurnool and Bellary Districts formed the original Karnāṭa-dēśa with Karnāṭa as common

language the nature of which during that formative period of sixth-seventh centuries was neither the present Kannada nor Telugu. Owing to its later development Telugu gained predominance and the linguistic border of Kannada-dēśa was shifted to the west. It is not unreasonable if a similar theory is put forth with regard to the other border districts of Anantapur, Mahbubnagar and Medak also, where a major stretch of land in each district was originally occupied by a people speaking the old mixed dialect and consequent to the later development of Telugu as a language, a majority of the people in those parts slowly adopted it in preference to the former mixed dialect, the script being unchanged. The early kings like the Vaidumbas, Bādāmi Chālukyas, Bāṇas had their records engraved in the local language. All Vaidumba inscriptions in the Cuddapah District, are generally found in Telugu, whereas their records in some parts of Chittoor, Kolar and Anantapur Districts appear in Kannada language. So is the case with the Bāṇas. The Bādāmi kings also seem to have followed the same method. Vikramāditya I's epigraph at Turimella, Dimmagudi and Rāmāpuram etc. which are in the interior of Andhra are composed in Telugu indicating Telugu as spoken language in the respective regions. But their inscriptions at Peddavaḍugūru, Bētapalh, Chippagiri, Nīlūru, Kurukundi, Nāganūru and Uḷchāla situated in the border districts are in Kannada. There are of course instances of Kannada epigraphs alone in these regions during that period, the reason for which may be ascribed to its being the language of the rulers or the predominance of, Kannada in those areas.

During the formative period of nearly two centuries and above, the linguistic regions can be demarcated according to the language of the inscriptions particularly on the border areas. From the tenth century onwards the present linguistic boundaries came into being and settled so firmly that in spite of Kannada being used in the official records of the Rāshtrakūṭas, Western Chālukyas and Hoysaḷas, the linguistic setup in the border areas did not alter. This is one of the great adjustments that occurred unknowingly between the two regions and the languages. There is no wonder that before the rise of Telugu as a popular language, a mixed dialect called Karnāṭa used to be the spoken language of the present Kurnool District of Āndhra, the original Kaṇṇāḍu or Karnāṭa. But, subsequent to the popular currency gained by Telugu in sixth-seventh centuries, Karnāṭa dialect gave its place to the former in that region. Even then, the new Telugu language of that region used to be called Karnāṭa-bhāṣha according to the existing currency, just as the present Marāṭhi is called so after the region as well as the old Mahārāshtri Prākṛit. This explanation alone would satisfactorily answer the statement of the Telugu poet Śrīnātha, that the language of his poetry is truly Karnāṭa-bhāṣhā.

Coming to the literary contacts between the two regions, our observation begins with Pampa, the renowned Kannada poet who wrote *Vikramārjunavijaya* or *Bhārata* and the Jaina epic *Ādipurāṇa*. His brother Jinavallabha's inscription¹⁶ on a hillock in Kurkyāla within about twelve miles from Vēmulaḍāḍa, Karimnagar District states that their family hailed from Vaṅgiparṅgu in Kammarāshṭra, on the banks of Guṇḍi or Guṇḍalakamma river in the present Addanki Taluk of Ongole District. The inscription, besides verses in Kannada and Sanskrit, contains three Telugu

verses. This indicates that the brothers Pampa and Jinavallabha must have been quite capable of composing verses in Telugu also. They flourished in the court of the Chālukya king Arikesari II (c. 930–956 A.D.) who ruled Pōdana-nāḍu on the right bank of Godavari extending from Bōdhan to Kālīśvaram in Andhra. But no single piece of their works in Telugu literature, if any, leaving these three inscriptional *kanda* verses has come down to us. Within a short span of seventy years, two more great poets Ponna with his *Śāntipurāṇa*, *Jināksharamāla* and *Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya* and Ranna with his *Sāhasabhlmaṇijaya* and *Ajītapurāṇa* became famous in Kannada literature.

The rapid progress of Kannada literature by the end of tenth century roused inspiration in the Telugu country where till then no literary work worth mentioning was composed. Jainism which was largely responsible for several scholarly attainments in Kannada literature during that period was not so popular in Andhra as it was in Karnataka. Rājarājanarendra, the Chālukya king of Vēṅgi in the middle of eleventh century took the part of Arikesari II and Pampa manifested himself in Nannayabhaṭṭa as if with a strong desire to rewrite *Mahābhārata* in his own tongue-Telugu. The extant Telugu literature assignable to pre-Nannaya period, comprises only the stray verses found in the inscriptions which were composed purely in *dēśī* meters like *Kanda*, *Taruvōja*, *Madhyākkara*, *Dvipada* and *Sīsa* which are based on *mātrā-gaṇas*. There were practically no compositions in *vṛttas* like *Champakamāla*, *Utpalamāla*, *Mattēbha*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* etc similar to those in Sanskrit which are based on *akshara-gaṇas*. What Nannayabhaṭṭa made was really a great achievement. He had before him the Kannada Bhārata of the famous poet Pampa, and found that the liberal adaptation of Sanskrit *vṛttas* added to the beauty of that Kannada work. He followed the same method with regard to his Telugu Bhārata as desired by Rājarājanarendra, who asked him to narrate Vyāsa Bhārata in Telugu. In this great task he sought the help of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa a great scholar and poet in more than one language, including Karnāṭa and both of them were the alumni of the Vidyāpīṭha at Kāñchī. According to some scholars, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and his father Akalāṁka Śaṅkanāmātya were the ministers in the service of Chālukya Āhavamalla Sōmēsvara I and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa migrated to the Vēṅgi country on a political mission. But it seems more reasonable to believe that Nannayabhaṭṭa in order to accomplish his task of writing *Mahābhārata* in Telugu to the utmost perfection and satisfaction of his patron Rājarājanarendra, might have invited Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa to Vēṅgi for his assistance particularly in transforming the pure Telugu-Kannada archaic and Sanskrit words into semi-Sanskrit (*tadbhava* and *tatsama*) words to suit the task of versification. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's migration to Vēṅgi was more for an academic purpose than a political one. Perhaps at the request of Nannaya only, the king might have granted Nandampūḍi village as *agrahāra* to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. There is an inscription, in Drākshārāma set up by Kupama, daughter of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa dated 1055 A.D., which states that her father was the minister of *Chakravartin* Trailōkyamalla.¹⁷ If this assumption is correct, it is really appreciable that how in those days great academic projects were undertaken in collaboration with scholars from outside, particularly in an allied language. Equally appreciable is the result, that is, to formulate

a new Telugu language different from its archaic form in several aspects. What the present scholars with their modern methods of research in philology, grammar, linguistics and the like cannot easily achieve, was accomplished by two scholars. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa offered to Nannayabhaṭṭa the guidelines on which the linguistic reform took place with regard to Kannada, whereas the latter transformed them into theories applicable to Telugu. Telugu words from his *ghaṇṭa* (or pen) have emerged in refined forms. Versification has become still refined. Really it was a linguistic revolution of the Telugu language. The Telugu people owe forever their indebtedness to Nannayabhaṭṭa and his colleague Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. A grammar for Telugu language named *Āndhraśabda-chintāmaṇi*, was written by Nannayabhaṭṭa. Thus the literary studies initiated by the Kannada poets inspired Nannaya and his collaborator Nārāyaṇa to give a new fillip to Telugu. Some Telugu scholars opine that Nannaya was quite conversant with Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijaya* and adopted some of its main features in his *Āndhra Mahābhārata*. In fact, they cite certain passages and expressions similar to those found in Pampa's work.¹⁸ It is also interesting to note that there are instances in Nannaya's *Bhārata* which are not mentioned in the Sanskrit original, but are narrated in Pampa's Kannada *Bhārata*. There is already in Kannada poetry the system of *prāsa* combination, that is, to keep the same letters in the second place of each *pāda* or line of a *ṛjitta*. Nannaya extended this similarity of letters to two more letters, that is the first and a farther one, generally after the ninth in the same line depending on the type of *ṛjitta*. This is called *yati*. Thus when pairs of letters in a *ṛjitta* are arranged according to *sāvarāya* or similarity, a melody of similar sounds at fixed intervals is produced, which adds to the beauty of the verse. It is true that the Telugu language acquired its linguistic enrichment and melody of speech by adapting Sanskrit words as in Kannada. This chaste feature of Telugu prompted the great Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇadēvarāya to compose a work in that language named *Āmuktamālyada* and extend his patronage to the famous eight poets called *aṣṭadiggajas*.

Timmaṇa, one of his Kannada court poets completed Kannada *Bhārata* left incomplete by Kumāra Vyāsa. It is said that he was much influenced in this work by Tikkana Sōmayāji's Telugu *Bhārata* composed before 1250 A.D. It is believed that Mukku Timmaṇa, one of the *aṣṭadiggaja* poets of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's court translated the Kannada work *Jagannūthavijaya* written by Rudrabhaṭṭa into Telugu under the title *Pārijātāpaharaṇa*. The earlier development of Kannada language, therefore became the guiding factor for Telugu poets for largescale adaptation of Sanskrit compounds (*saṁāsas*) and *ṛjittas* besides the wholesale reformation of the archaic words into the present Telugu.

It is already noticed how poetry in *dēśi* meters like *Dvipada*, *Ragaḷa*, *Shaṭpadi*s of the Kannada Viśaiva literature of 12-13th centuries popularly known as *hāḍu-gabba* was introduced in Telugu by the Śaiva poet Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha. Scholars believe that his *Basavapurāṇa* resembles in some respects the Kannada works *Siddhārāmapurāṇa* of Rāghavāśhka and *Basavarājadēvara-ragaḷa* of Harihara. Sōmanātha's *Basavapurāṇa* was rendered into Kannada *shaṭpadi* by Bhīmakavi and others like Singarāja, separately. Tōṇṭada Siddhalinga of the sixteenth century wrote Pāṅkuriki

Sōmeśvarapurāṇa out of devotion for this great Telugu writer. His other minor works include four *gadyas*, one *ragada* and two *ashtakas*. All these contain devotional songs on Basava. *Chaturvēdasāra* is another work of his in 357 *sīsa* verses dedicated to Basavalīṅga. We can therefore, estimate the impact of Basava and his Vīraśaiva cult on Telugu literature although its significance in the religious aspect is very little.

The Vijayanagara period was the golden age for both the languages Kannada and Telugu. Their stronghold Rāyalasīma, comprising Bellary, Kurnool, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittoor Districts was a bilingual region. Both the languages by this time attained perfection in all respects. With their capital in the celebrated city of Vijayanagara on the border line between the two linguistic regions, the kings evinced equal interest in both the languages and extended equal patronage to both. An impartial examination of the available epigraphic material indicates that the language of the majority of inscriptions in Kurnool and Anantapur Districts which formerly used to be in Kannada now remarkably changed into Telugu. This gives rise to the suspicion that during the Vijayanagara period a linguistic encroachment of Telugu on Kannada speaking areas occurred for a second time in the known history of the Deccan the earliest phase of it, as already mentioned, having taken place during sixth-seventh centuries when Telugu replaced the mixed dialect Karnāṭa spoken in the border districts of Anantapur and Kurnool and other places. Thus the territory Karnāṭa of Kākatīya Pratāparudra's Śrīśailam inscription (1313 A.D.), which represents part of Kurnool District at the foot of Śrīśaila has changed its linguistic boundary. The Vijayanagara kings were undoubtedly called Karnāṭa kings by all the Telugu poets. The Vijayanagara royal court in fact, had become in those days the meeting place of the two cultures and languages, which promoted large scale exchange of ideas between the two peoples. What the great Kannada *vāggēyakāra* (saint-singer) Purandaradāsa did for Karnataka music was later done by the Telugu *vāggēyakāra* (saint-singer) Tyāgarāja for the same cause.

Migrations

Owing to the royal patronage of the kings and their subordinates, several families of learned people and statesmen are noticed to have migrated from one part to the other. The above mentioned Kurkyāla inscription states that Pampa's ancestors hailed from Kamma-nādu in Vēṅgi. Atimabbe, the patron of the reputed poet Ranna is stated to have hailed from Punganūru in Kamma-nādu of Vēṅgi-maṇḍala. Nāgavarma I (c. 900 A.D.) is also said to have come from Vēṅgi. According to Harihara, Basavēśvara's family belonged to Kamme-kula of brahmins. Some statesmen of Kamme-kula are noticed to have been in the service of the Chāḷukya kings. *Muhāsēnādhipati* Vennayabhaṭṭa, Sarvadēva, Chāmuṇḍaya were some of those dignitaries who were honoured by the kings with *agrahāras*.¹⁹ Mention has already been made of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa who obtained Nandarpūḍi as *agrahāra* from the Vēṅgi king Rājarājanarēndra. Similar instances of migrations of reputed families from Āndhra to Karnataka and vice-versa can be multiplied from inscriptions and literary sources.

Trade and Communications

Trade is the most important factor which promotes inter state relations in any period irrespective of political, religious, linguistic and other differences. It is needless to stress the importance of the movement of commercial goods from one part of the world to the other. This aspect is more conspicuous in the case of Karnataka and Andhra than other states of the Deccan, the reason being their lengthy inter-state boundary as well as intimate contacts that continued for centuries. Quite a considerable number of inscriptions in both the regions, deal with commercial taxes levied from time to time on all sorts of merchandise transacted in various market places all over the two states. Ayyāvoḷe or Aihoḷe was a great business centre in the early days and it appears to have maintained that status till the advent of Vijayanagara rule after which Bellary became the important business centre for the eastern provinces of their kingdom. There are inscriptions which refer to certain highways through which transport of goods was being carried on by carts, bullocks, donkeys, horses etc. Some of the important trade routes of the medieval Deccan have been now transformed into national highways like Bellary-Nellore, Bellary-Chittoor, Aihoḷe-Bellary, Raichur-Poṭṭalakeṇṇi-Koḷḷipāka, Raichur-Gangāpur-Pānugallu, Kalyāṇa (Bīdar)-Poṭṭalakeṇṇi-Koḷḷipāka. Several merchant guilds are noticeable in the records with designations *Ayyāvoḷe ainūrvaru*, *ubhayadēśi*, *nānādēśi*, *paṭṭaṇasvāmi*, *paradēśi*, *svadēśi*, *virabhaḷaṇṇa*, *śeṭṭi*, *mummuridaṇḍas* and the like. These merchant guilds not only served the main purpose of inter state transport of various commodities but also contributed to the growth of the economy of the states concerned in general. What great scholars and poets like Pampa, Narayanaḥaṭṭa and Sāyaṇa did in the academic sphere was done in the lower stratum of the society by the constant and systematic movements of these merchant guilds of Āndhra-Karnataka who for all practical purposes identified themselves as natives of the entire bilingual state as a whole. Besides their valuable merchandise they carried from place to place the social customs of clothing, food, festivals in temples and society at large. The languages of the regions are also considerably influenced mutually by the movements of the traders. These merchants thus brought the two peoples into close contacts in all aspects of social life.

Architecture and Sculpture

Coming to the aspect of structural features of the regions it is remarkable that architectural and sculptural developments essentially depended on the political changes. The Buddhist monuments of Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and other places in the lower reaches of the Krishna river represent the exquisite examples of architecture and sculpture that have ever been produced in India. This early Āndhra school of art was followed by cave temples at Vijayavāḍa and its surroundings which according to some scholars, were excavated by the Viṣṇukunḍin kings in the early part of the sixth century A.D. These cave temples represent the revival of the Vedic faith in the Eastern Deccan, whereas similar rock-hewn shrines at Bādāmi represent the same religious feature in the western Deccan. Some structural temples are also

ascribed to the Viṣṇukunḍins but no definite evidences have come to light so far. Among the oldest structural shrines, the temple at Aihole in its apsidal plan, although dedicated to the god Viṣṇu is considered to be a Buddhist *chaitya* in plan. A similar structure at Chezerla in Guntur District dedicated to Śiva is also of the same period. Then follow the famous curvilinear *vimāna* structures of the Early Chālukyas, the main features of which are the storied arrangement of profuse miniature architectural devices such as pilasters, niches, windows and *āmalakas* or fluted capitals all one above the other vertically. The general style of these structures is very pleasing and exhibits refined taste. Besides these, there are temples of *ratha* type representing Dravida style, as scholars have called it. These two varieties of structural shrines are largely found in Aihole-Bādāmi region in the Bijapur District and at Alampur, Kaḍamalakālava, Mahānandi and Satyavōlu in the Kurnool region. The rulers being the same Chālukya kings, these styles are found in both the regions. It is interesting to notice a small inscription mentioning Satyāśraya-bhaṭṭāra on a votive shrine near the Śivanandīśvara temple of the curvilinear type, at Kaḍamalakālava near Nandyāla about 60 k m. east of Kurnool. It therefore furnishes the clue that the temple must have been definitely in existence during the time of Pulakēśin II though not Pulakēśin I who also according to the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription bears the title. Its structural aspects need a thorough study before arriving at a conclusion about the chronology of these temples.

In the later Chālukya period the developments in the temple architecture and sculpture are uniformly noticed in Karnataka and Telāṅgāṇa, whereas a marked difference is noticeable in the Vēṅgi Chālukyan art in the coastal region. The Kākatīya temples not only originate from the preceding Chālukyan style but also exhibit some new additional features like the bracket figures on the outer pillars supporting the *chajja* slabs which remind one of similar features in the Hoysala structures at Bēlūru. The profusion of decorative motifs of Hoysala art is comparatively less in the Kākatīya structures.

Notes and References

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3. *EL*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 71
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CONTACTS AND ADJUSTMENTS : ANDHRAPRADESH AND TAMILNADU

V. YASODA DEVI

Introduction

THE MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN different linguistic regions in close proximity, or separated by impassable barriers or long distances, in a variegated sub-continent like India, offer a fascinating study. The various regions in South India—Dakṣiṇāpatha, as the several regions in North India—Uttarāpatha, are more akin to one another, than with those in the north, inspite of the underlying factors of unity of entire India—Bharatavarsha. Andhra Pradesh in the Deccan and Tamilnadu in South India on the basis of their physical contiguity had nurtured through the ages multifaceted contacts revolving round politics and culture which had often led to mutual adjustments, political revolutions and cultural evolution. A succinct study of these contacts and adjustments, historical and cultural of these two regions attests the ever present unity as the substratum of apparent diversity.

Geographical Affinity

The physical set up and aspect has a large role in determining the historical development and cultural growth of Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu, as true of any region or any country in the world.

Originally, larger than Andhra Pradesh, Āndhradēśa corresponds to the eastern and southern half of the Deccan Plateau, bounded by Madhyapradesh and Orissa in the north, Maharashtra and Karnataka in the west, Tamilnadu in the south and the Bay of Bengal in the east. Her plains extend from the southern limit of Utkal plains to Pulicat lake, 50 kilometres to the north of Madras.¹ The Eastern Ghats, somewhat negotiable unlike the Western Ghats pass through Āndhradēśa, while the Godavari and the Krishna, comparable to the Ganga and the Yamuna in North India flow through it forming the two deltas with Kollēru, the largest fresh water lake in the world (100 sq. miles) in between. The region is in three natural divisions Telāṅgāṇa, coastal Āndhra and Rāyalasīmā, though history adds southern Kaṭiṅga as the fourth division. Her location between the North and the South, affluent due to her river system and nature's bounty rendered her a viable target of political powers on land, whereas her extensive coastline made her vulnerable to sea powers. Her holy temples and ports made her the heaven of sanctity and peace and served as the media of her culture abroad particularly in South East Asia, i.e. Mahā Āndhra or Greater Āndhra of the Sātavāhana empire.²

Tamiḻaṁ much larger than Tamilnadu is bounded by the Mysore Plateau and Tirupati hills on the north, the Arabian Sea on the west, the Indian ocean on the south and the Bay of Bengal on the east. While the Anamalai hills constitute the most striking range in South India, the Kaveri, forms three islands Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇam,

Śivanasamudram and Śrīraṅgam and the Tanjore delta rendering Tañjāvūr 'the granary of the South'. Ceylon is a geographical and cultural continuation of Tamilnadu though it had political independence. As the distinction between Tamilnadu and Kerala was a phenomenon of the 9th century A.D. ancient Tamilnadu was a single geographical and cultural unit. The north-western region in it was Koṅgu-dēśa, while Tuḷunāḍu was another important division.³ Tamilnadu had important ports and maintained commercial relations with the Middle East. Her location in the extreme south of the Peninsula protected her from northern aggression and ancient Indian culture had been better preserved here than in any other region in India.

The close vicinity of Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu with distinct linguistic and cultural developments rendered them susceptible to mutual conflicts and dynastic alliances and peaceful reciprocative settlements, while the border areas in both the regions—Nellore and Chittor Districts in the Southern part of Andhra Pradesh, and North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput Districts in the northern part of Tamilnadu attest the development of Andhra-Tamil composite culture. Madras as the capital of the composite Madras Presidency in the British days served the Andhras and the Tamils simultaneously in the Nationalist movement, separate Andhra movement etc.

Inscriptions

The earliest epigraphs in Āndhradēśa are in Brāhmi script and Prākṛit language eg. Yerragudi, Rājula-Mandagiri and Bhaṭṭiprōlu. Prākṛit inscriptions continue in the Sātavāhana, the Ikshvāku and the early Pallava rule—till about the 4th century, when Sanskrit came to be preferred for official documents. From about 425 A.D. the Sālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgi used Vēṅgi or Eastern or old Vēṅgi script which continued under the Chālukyas as Chālukya script or Telugu-Kannada script.⁴ The earliest Telugu prose inscription by the Rēnāṭi-chōḷas in Rāyalasīmā is at Kalamajja (575 A.D.) while the earliest in verse is from Addaṅki (848 A.D.). Both these areas are closer to Tamilnadu, than to the heart of Āndhradēśa, the Godavari-Krishna region. Between 848 and 1080 A.D. ten varieties of Telugu verses are found in inscriptions. Kākatīya Gaṇapati's *abhayaśāsana* (1244 A.D.) at Mōṭupalli, a premier port and its renewal (1358 A.D.) by Ānapōta-reḍḍi in Nāgaṇi, Telugu and Tamil versions show the frequency with which the Tamil merchants visited this port for trade. The Telugu inscriptions at Tiruttani in Mūlasthānēśvara temple⁵ of Pedakōmativēma-reḍḍi at Tiruvalūr in the Vīrarāghavasvāmī temple and of Kṛishṇadēvarāya in Kāñchipuram in the Varadarājasvāmī temple were no doubt meant to facilitate the Telugu pilgrims to these temples. This object shows the impact of the Andhras on the Tamils. Of the one thousand and sixty inscriptions in Tirumala-Tirupati temples (in Chittor District) more than a thousand are in Tamil language and script especially till the time Kṛishṇarāya.⁶ Besides the large number of epigraphs in Grantha and Tamil in the area to the south of Nellore and in Cuddapah District belonging to the several dynasties of the Vēlanāṇḍu-chōḷas, the Telugu-Chōḷas and the Telugu-Pallavas in the Chālukya-Chōḷa regime, the Kāyasthas under the Kākatīyas and the

Yādavarāyas under the Rāyas of Vijayanagara testify to the profound influence of the Chōlas in Āndhradēśa.⁷

Copper-plate charters appear under the successors of the Sātavāhanas. The early Pallavas are known from their Prākṛit charters as distinguished from the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters as distinct from the imperial Pallavas of Kāñchī. The history of the Sālaṅkāyanas, the Viṣṇukunḍins and the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi is mostly based on their copper-plate charters. The copper-plate grants of Vijayanagara rulers are in Sanskrit and in Nandināgari script. Among their feudatories Vijayarāghava-nāyaka of Tanjore gave a silver-plate charter to the Dutch (1658 A.D.) in Telugu language and script relating to Nāgapattāṇam.⁸

Coins

While the earliest coins were *kārshapaṇas*, the punch-marked coins had become outdated by 200 A.D. and the gold and copper coins, since then came into vogue. In the Sātavāhana period, lead coins were in currency in Āndhradēśa, as there were lead mines in Palnād. These with Brāhmi legends on both sides and devices of lion, elephant and *Chaitya* show the Buddhist leanings of the rulers, while the coins with double mast ship confirm the maritime activities of the period like those at Nāgapattāṇam (in Tanjore District).⁹ The Andhra coins of gold at Amarāvati and Dharaṇikōṭa eg. *suvarṇa* equal to 35 *kārshapaṇas* speak of the prosperity of the Sātavāhana empire. The gold coin *varāha* with Chālukya emblem is equivalent to *pon* or *kaḷañju* in Tamil, weighing fifty to sixty grains continued upto modern times as *pagōda* or *pardeo* of the Portuguese. While the *padmaṭaṅka* coins dating from the mid-sixth century A.D. had a continued existence till the mid-fourteenth century, and the Kākatiya and Reddī coinage was seldom extensive, hoards of Chōla and Chālukya-Chōla coins have been unearthed in the coastal area. On the model of their masters, the several feudatory dynasties like the Vēlanāṇḍu-chōḍas, the Telugu-Pallavas, the Kōṭas of Amarāvati, the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis, the Tyāgis etc. issued their own coinage. Subsequently, Vijayanagara coinage became the currency in Andhra as well as Tamilnadu.

Monuments

Buddhist monuments, rockcut and structural, patronised by the Sātavāhanas and their successors are found in a continuous evolution (c. 200 B.C. to 400 A.D.) in the area from Śālihuṇḍam to Koṇḍāpuram, several of them on many sites in the lower reaches of the Krishna and the Godavari rivers, like those at Gōli, Jaggayya-pēṭa, Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Ghaṇṭasāla, Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. While the earliest Hindu structural temples were at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the Viṣṇukunḍins excavated caves on either bank of the Krishna at Bezvada, Mogalrajapuram and Uṇḍavalli, the Pallavas carried that tradition further south and the Pallava series of cave temples at Bhairavakoṇḍa and a structural temple at Guḍimallam very closely resemble similar structures at Kāñchīpuram and Mahābalipuram. As the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi raised imposing temples in coastal Āndhradēśa, the temple architecture reached its

peak in the great temple of Pālampēṭ in Kākatīya style. The Chōḷa art had pervaded the entire Āndhradēśa. The temples at Drākshārāma, Laḍḍigam, Toṇḍamanāḍ, Kālahasti and Nandalūr are instances in point. Several temples in Chōḷa style and with Chōḷa nomenclature were built during the Chōḷa and Chālukya-Chōḷa period in Āndhradēśa by their loyal subordinate rulers. The Pāṇḍyan architecture found expression in Tirumala-Tirupati and Nandalūr, while Vijayanagara monuments are found as far north as Udayagiri and at Pushpagiri, Mārkaṭpur, Lūpākshi, Penugoṇḍa, Tāḍapatri, Tirupati and Chandragiri.

Literature

Of the several types of literary works in Telugu, the *kāvyas* are mostly renderings from Sanskrit. The *Basavapurāṇa* by Pāḷkurike Sōmanātha of the Kākatīya period combines the story of sixty three *nāinārs*, the Tamil Śiava saints, with that of Basava, where as *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra* has several Tamil passages in introducing the pilgrims from Tamilnadu to Śrīśailam. *Haravilāsamu* by Śrīnātha, dedicated to Avachi Tippayasetṭi (1360 A.D.) of Kāñchi has devoted the first two cantos to the narration of the story of Siriyāḷa i.e. Chirutōṇḍanambi, the original ancestor of Tippayasetṭi. This family originally hailed from Nellore and had been carrying on trade on a large scale and maintained contacts with almost every important ruler in the Deccan and South India. The *Āmuktamālyada* also known as *Vishṇuchittiyamu* by king Kṛṣṇadēvarāya deals with the life of Ālvār Vishṇuchitta (Peri-ālvār) and the marriage between Gōḍa, his foster daughter and god Raṅganātha. The *Parama-yōgivilāsamu*, the story of the 12 Ālvārs was by Siddhīāju Timmarāju, a nephew of Aḷiya Rāmarāya. The *Kañchikāvyamu* or *Hariśchandrōpakhyāna* was by Kañchi Virāṣarabhayya. *Śrīraṅgamahātmyam* was rendered into Telugu by Mukundayōgi. The *Rājagōpālivilāsamu* was by Kāḷayya of the time of Raghunātha-nāyaka (1614 - 1633 A.D.). The *Mannārūdāsvilāsaprabandha* after the title of Vijayarāghava-nāyaka, the son and successor of Raghunātha-nāyaka was by Raṅgājamma. The *Vijaya-rāghavachandrikāvilāsamu* was by Kumāra Veṅkaṭapati, the court poet while *Vijaya-rāghavābhyudayamu* was by Mannārūdāsa, son of Vijayarāghava-nāyaka. The *Peddaḷagirivijayamu*, dedicated to Muddaḷagiri (2nd half of the 17th century), the Nāyak of Madurā, in *Uṭpalamālā* metre was written in 530 lines on four walls of the fort of Tanjore. It deals with the conquest of Ēkōji, the Marāṭha ruler. The Nudurupāṭi family of poets, of whom Veṅkana wrote the *Raghunāthīyam* was patronised by Vijayaraghunātha-nāyaka of Pudukkōṭai. The *Pañcharatnaprabandha*, a work on dancing was by Sāhaji, the ruler of Tanjore (1683-1712 A.D.). While the *Rāmēśvaramahātmyamu* was by Ēnugulakshmaṇakavi of the court of Peddāpur, the *Kañchī-puramahātmyamu* was by Maṇḍapāka Pārvatīśvarakavi of the court of Bobbili.¹⁰

Among historical works figures the *Raghunāthābhyudayamu* by Vijayarāghava-nāyaka describing Tanjore and its court. *Rājavarṇasapraśasti* (of the Rājas of Pudukkōṭai) was by Nudurupāṭi Veṅkana. *Maṅgadushpāṇṭulavilāsamu* by Gōpālayya of the court of Ānegondi defames queen Maṅgamma of Madura (1694-1704). The *Pañchatantra* was treated as a Vaishṇava *prabandha* with the name *Rājanitira-*

tnākara by Nēbaḍi Kṛishṇamūrti, a minister of Kuli Kutb Shah (1580-1612 A.D.) while among ballads of historical import figures the ballad of Dēsiṅgu Rāju.

A comparison of the literary works shows that while the Andhras had been profoundly affected by the Tamil language, the Tamil Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, the Tamil holy centres of pilgrimage and the Telugu principalities in Tamilnadu, the impact of the Andhras on Tamilians seems negligible. The only superb and redeeming feature is the thousands of *kīrtanas* of Tyāgarāja of Tiruvaīyāru on the Kaveri, an Andhra brain nurtured in Tamil soil.

History

While both Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu were the habitats of prehistoric man and subsequently of the Dravidians and the Aryans, the historic age dawns with the Mauryas and the Aśōkan edicts. The Āndhra Sātavāhanas (236 B.C.-218 A.D.) were contemporaneous with the early Chēra, Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍyan kingdoms in Tamilnadu. Among the 31 Sātavāhanas, while the first king Sātavāhana hailed from Tefaiṅgāṇa, the third ruler Śrī Sātakarṇi conquered Vidarbha and Kaḷiṅga, performed *aśvamēdha* and *rājasūya* and assumed the title *Dakṣiṇapathapati*.¹¹ Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi (78-102 A.D.) proceeded southwards and his horses drank waters of the three seas.¹² He conquered the east coast as far as Cuddalore and made coastal Andhra his home province. He came into conflict with the Chēra king Imayavarampan Neḍuñchēral Āthan (27-85 B.C.), a great conqueror who ruled for fifty eight years and married a Chōḷa princess. Āndhra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi (174-203 A.D.) maintained friendly relations with Kādāpirakkōṭṭiya Śēnguṭṭuvan¹³ (c. 135-190 A.D.), the illustrious son of Imayavarampan, a great conqueror whose virtues and exploits are extolled in *Vaṅjikāṇḍam* in *Śilappadikāram*. He built a temple for Kannagi at capital Vaṅji and started the Paṭṭini cult. Among the early Chōḷas, contemporaneous with the Sātavāhanas, Sembion (Sibi), Kākāṇḍān gave his name to Kākāṇḍinagaram same as Kāvērippaṭṭinam, Kāvēran is reputed to have brought the Kaveri to the Chōḷa country, while Manunītikaṇḍa Chōḷan (Manu Chōḷa—perhaps Ealara of *Mahāvamśa*) was reputed for his justice as he is said to have ordered the execution of his son who accidentally drove his chariot over a calf. Possibly the villages Kākaṇḍipura, and Kākāni (Pedda and Chinna) in the coastal Andhra were named after the Chōḷa king.

King Karikālan (c. 190 A.D.), the son of Iṅam set Senni of Uraiūr, and the most distinguished of the Śaṅgam Chōḷas had been claimed as their great ancestor by the imperial Chōḷas in Tamilnadu and the several Telugu-Chōḷa dynasties of Rēnāḍu, Koṇidēna, Pottapi and Nellore in Āndhradēśa. The story goes that he was kidnapped and imprisoned and while escaping from prison which was set on fire, his leg was charred and so he came to be called Karikāla (another version is that he was death to the elephants of the enemies). Karikāla is credited with victories over the Chēras and the Pāṇḍyas, building of embankment to the Kaveri, developing navy and making Puhār (Kāvērippumpattinam), another capital of the Chōḷas. He brought Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam under his control. Of his two sons, Manakkīḷi ruled the

western kingdom from Uuraiyūr while Peruvīrarkijji ruled the eastern kingdom from Puhār. Kiļļivaļavan, the son of the latter married a Nāga princess from Ceylon and their son Iļam Tiraiyan became ruler of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam ruling from Kāñchī. Thus Tiraiyar of Vēnkaṭam (Tirupati region) in Āndhradēśa, who subsequently became rulers of Kāñchī, were related to the Chōļas by a Nāga alliance.

While Āndhradēśa during the post-Sātavāhana period (c. 218-624 A.D.) was under a succession of dynasties, the Ikshvākus of Vijayapuri, the early Pallavas, the Bṛihatpālāyanas, the Ānandas, the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukunḍins, Tamilnadu in this period experienced the rule of the Kaļabhra. Purishadatta II the last of the Ikshvākus succumbed to Simhavarman the Pallava, hailing from Pālṇāḍu¹⁴ in Āndhradēśa who extended his kingdom from the Krishna region and the Bay of Bengal to Banavāsi. He shifted the capital to Kāñchī and converted Dhānyakaṭaka into the headquarters of his northern dominion. Viṣṇugōpa of this dynasty lost Kāñchī to Samudragupta (4th century A.D.) while Skandavarman secured the coastal region, and Vijayaskandavarman acquired Karmarāshṭra.

Simhavarman II appointed Viṣṇugōpa to be in charge of the Andhra area. Yuvamahārāja, son of Simhavarman III, ruled Āndhrāpatha and Vēṅgirāshṭra. Kumāravishṇu ruled the coastal area¹⁵ while Simhavishṇu by overthrowing the Kaļabhra extended the kingdom from the northern Pennar to the Kaveri. With the defeat of Mahēndravarmān II by Pulakēśin II the coastal region was lost by the Pallavas and subsequently was absorbed into the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi. While the Andhras in the Guntur region were subordinate to the Pallavas, the Śālaṅkāyanas with their capital at Vijayavēṅgipura, and devotees of Chitrarathasvāmi were supplanted by the Viṣṇukunḍins with Dendulūru as the capital of whom the founder Mādhavavarman (468-518 A.D.) conquered the Pallavas which accelerated their southward expansion. In Tamilnadu, the Kaļabhra rule brought a transformation in the outlook of the Tamils from secular, plenary and wordly attitude to religious, philosophical and pessimistic attitude.

The Andhra origin of the Pallavas is an accepted fact, whether it is the Pālṇāḍ region near the Krishna or the Vēṅgaḍam region near the Suvarnamukhi. The Tamil origin revolves round the same conclusion by arguing that Toṇḍaiyar, a tribe of Aruvanāḍu, were related to Tiraiyar of the Vēṅgaḍam region, and owing to exploits of Karikāla, both the tribes settled in the Kāñchī region along with the local Iļam Tiraiyar. When Kāñchī was lost, the Tiraiyar moved beyond Vēṅgaḍam, and carved out a principality in the region beyond the northern Pennar in the southern part of eastern Āndhradēśa and styled themselves as the Pallavas (the Sanskrit for Toṇḍaiyār) and became feudatories of the Sātavāhanas and adopted the use of Prākṛit, patronage of Sanskrit, issue of copper-plate grants and coins with double masted ship. In the 4th century, they migrated to Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, their original home which led to the Kaļabhra invasion of Tamilnadu.¹⁶

During the period from c. 600 to 1076 Āndhradēśa was under the sway of the Vēṅgi Chālukyas, while Tamilnadu was ruled over by the Pallavas, the Pāṇḍiyas and the Chōļas. The Chālukyas and the Pallavas in their policies of expansion often

came into clash. Kubja Vishṇuvardhana (624-42 A.D.) and Mahēndravarmaṇ I (606-39 A.D.) were political rivals. As a result of conflicts, the Pallava kingdom became limited to the Vēṅkaṭam region in the north. Narasimhavarman I (630-68 A.D.) Māmaḷla was a contemporary of Vishṇuvardhana. Subsequently the Pallavas were absorbed in conflicts with the early Chālukyas in the north, and the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas in the south and finally Aparājita lost the kingdom to Āditya Chōḷa.

During the regime of the Vēṅgi Chālukyas and the Chōḷas Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu came much closer by a series of dynastic alliances culminating in the succession of Kulōttuṅga I to the Chālukya-Chōḷa empire embracing both the regions. After the Śaṅgam-Chōḷas, a Chōḷa family left for the north beyond Aruvāvaḍatalai-nāḍu, the north-eastern border of Tamiḷaham, and developed into the Telugu-Chōḷas of Rēnāḍu, and in fondness traced their ancestry to Karikāla unlike the imperial Pallavas who forgot their Āndhra origin. Of the imperial Chōḷas, Āditya I 871-907 A.D.), son of Vijayālaya (850-71) married a Pallava princess and died fighting at Toṇḍamanāḍu (near Kāḷahasti). Ariṇḍjaya-chōḷa (956-57 A.D.) had a wife Vīmaṇ Kundāvai, probably a daughter of Chālukya Bhīma of Vēṅgi. Dānārṇava of Vēṅgi conquered the area between Kandukūr and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in the south, Pottapi Three hundred, and upto Kāḷahasti. After him, Jaṭāchōḍa usurped the Vēṅgi throne and ruled for more than twentyfive years (973-99 A.D.). Śaktivarman and Vimalā-ditya, sons of Dānārṇava fled from Vēṅgi to Kaliṅga and finally took refuge under Chōḷa Rājarāja I at Tanjore and stayed at Tiruvaiyāru. Rājarāja I helped the princess with his armies to dethrone and kill Jaṭāchōḍa and enthrone Śaktivarman 999-1011 A.D.). He married his daughter Kundavai to Vimalāditya. On the model of the title *Chōḷanārāyaṇa* of Rājarāja I, Śaktivarman assumed the title *Chālukyanārāyaṇa*. In the subsequent civil war in Vēṅgi, the rival claimants were supported by the Chōḷas and the Western Chālukyas. Śaktivarman was succeeded by Vimalāditya and Rājarāja I by his son Rājēndra I. Rājarājanarēndra (1019-61 A.D.) sought the help of his uncle Rājēndra I against his rival Vijayāditya VII and Rājēndra's expedition against Vijayāditya who took shelter in Kaliṅga, developed into the celebrated expedition to the Ganges which earned him the title *Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷa*. He gave his daughter in marriage to Rājarājanarēndra on the occasion of his coronation. Rājarājanarēndra lost his throne twice to Vijayāditya and regained it with the Chōḷa help. Rājēndra II and Vīrarājēndra recovered Vēṅgi from Vijayāditya VII from the grip of the Western Chālukyas. Rājēndra II son of Rājarājanarēndra, became ruler of Vēṅgi in 1066 A.D., married Madhurāntaki, the daughter of Rājēndra-chōḷa II and succeeded to the Chōḷa throne on the death of Adhirājēndra and Vīrarājēndra. He assumed the name Kulōttuṅga I and ruled from Tanjore, making Vēṅgi a vicereignty, to which he appointed his sons from time to time. Under his successors, Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu continued as parts of the Chālukya-Chōḷa empire. Towards the close of his reign Kulōttuṅga lost the northern portion of Vēṅgi to Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya, but it was recovered by his successor Vikrama-chōḷa. The several subsidiary dynasties as the Vēlanāḍu-chōḷas gradually increased their power. While in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III the coastal area became

free the Telugu-chōlas remained loyal to Rājārāja III (1246-61 A.D.) and later transferred their allegiance to the Kākatīyas.

While Gaṇapatidēva, the Kākatīya founded the second empire in Āndhradēśa, Jaṭāvarman Sundrapāṇḍya formed the second Pāṇḍyan empire. The latter claims to have conquered Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla, king Gaṇapati, captured Kāñchi and Nellore where he crowned himself¹⁷ and restored the Telugu-chōla kingdom to the brothers of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla. Pratāparudradēva, the grandson of Gaṇapati, proceeded to the south in 1309 A.D. and drove the Pāṇḍyas from Kāñchi and beyond Jambukēśvaram (near Trichinopoly). The significant title *Pāṇḍyarāyagajakēśari* or *Pāṇḍyarājagajasinhha* borne by the generals and feudatories of Pratāparudra and subsequently by the Vēlamas, the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu and Rajahmundry is an echo of this great victory of the Kākatīyas over the imperial Pāṇḍyas.

Under the Saṅgama rulers, the Vijayanagara empire touched the southern limits of India and even Ceylon, while their northward expansion was blocked by the Vēlamas and the Redḍis. Whereas Tuḷuva Narasa-nāyaka had victories over the Pāṇḍyas in the south, the Āravīḍu rulers in self protection had to expand towards the south and shift the capital to Vellore in Tamilnadu from where they ruled till the end. During Vijayanagara expansion the Āndhra Nāyak kingdoms in Tamilnadu had flourished and sheltered Āndhra culture, whereas Āndhradēśa had experienced Muslim rule of the Qutbshahis of Gōlkoṇḍa.

While British rule both in Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu had its impact and resulted in full resistance which in its turn marked the dawn of the Nationalist Movement for liberation in the 19th and the 20th centuries in religion, society and finally, politics. Comparatively, Āndhradēśa had a longer and more vigorous and variegated role in the Freedom Movement eg. Vandēmātaram, Swadeshi, Non-cooperation, Non-violence¹⁸ its speciality being the Āndhra Movement resulting in the achievement of Indian Independence (1947), and Andhra Province (1956), with Hyderabad as capital; Tamilnadu state with Madras as capital emerged in 1953.

Administration

Monarchy was a common factor in Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu since historical times till the advent of the British. The power of the monarch, though unlimited in theory was curtailed in practice by several checks. The ideal of kingship had been always lofty and the maintenance of *dharma* was the bounden duty of the king. Joint rule, a common feature in Tamilnadu, particularly under the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas, prevailed under the Kākatīyas, the Redḍis and the Rāyas, and more so under the Kōṇa Haihayas of Kōṇanraṇḍala. Succession by the law of primogeniture was the rule, both in Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu though succession of a brother, or adopted son, disputed successions, and usurpations were not infrequent. The ministers, *mahāpradhāni* and *pradhāni* and *adhyaksha* had to discharge advisory as well executive functions and their number had increased gradually with the growth of the departments of the government. The Sātavāhana model of administration continued under the succession states while the Pallavas carried it to the south.

In the Vēṅgi Chālukyan period there were seventy-two departments known as *niyōgas*¹⁹ under their heads called *niyōgādihikṛitas*. The same administrative machinery continued under the Kākatīyas²⁰ with several modifications introduced by the Chālukya-Chōḷas. For instance, Goṅka I (1076-1106 A.D.) of the Vēlanāḍu-chōḷas (1020-1286 A.D.) ruled Āndhramaṇḍala under orders of Kulōttuṅga I, while his son and successor Chōḷa I (1107-37 A.D.) was adopted as son by Kulōttuṅga and was conferred with the *in signia* of his sons and Vēṅgi Sixteen thousand (country). Similarly many of the local dynasties, the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis, the Kōṇa Haihayas of Kōṇamaṇḍala owed their kingdoms to Kulōttuṅga I. The impact of the Chōḷas is clearly seen in the administration of the various dynasties, for example, in the nomenclature of the kings, geographical divisions, temples, tanks, weights and measures. To quote Prof. Sastri "Vēṅgi was so closely connected with the Cōḷa kingdom that though its separate political existence continued throughout in all vigour, for all practical purposes of inter-state diplomacy, it counted more or less as part of the Cōḷa Empire."²¹ After 1200 A.D. Telugu-chōḷas and the Telugu-pallavas were loyal to the Chōḷas and deservedly succeeded to everything that was Chōḷa in Āndhradēśa.²²

While the Redḍis, the political successors of the Kākatīyas, bore elaborate *prāśastis* like the Chōḷas, their central government also was elaborate and made efficient. The Vijayanagara kings maintained two councils, the *sabhā* and the *mantri-parishat*. The *nāyaṅkara* system of military tenure of Vijayanagara polity was introduced in the entire South India both in Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu and the *pāḷayams* in both the regions are legacies of it, retaining only names without contents.

Territorial divisions in Āndhradēśa as in Tamilnadu constituted for purposes of governance and collection of revenue were dynamic as their areas, limits and nomenclature fluctuated through the ages. While *Sātavāhanāhāra* or *raṭhṭha* of the Sātavāhanas disappeared with them, *Andhakaraṭhṭha* of the Buddhist literature became *Āndhrāpatha* of the early Pallavas, and *Vaḍugavali* of the Bāṇjas. *Kammaṅkaraṭhṭha* of the Ikshvākus changed to *Karmarāshṭra* of the Pallavas. *Āndhrarāshṭra* had become *Āndhramaṇḍala* under the Eastern Chālukyas and subsequently bore the names Kulōttuṅgachōḷamaṇḍalam, Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam and Rājēndrachōḷamaṇḍalam after Kulōttuṅga I and Rājēndra I. The method of adding numerals to divisions was a southern practice and became obsolete after the Kākatīyas and instead *rājya* was suffixed. For example in the 4th century A.D. Āndhramaṇḍala comprised Twelve thousand villages (*Āndhramaṇḍala-dvādaśasahasagrāma*, *Vaḍugavali-panḍreṇḍuvēlu*). *Rājya* was an important division in Vijayanagara empire, a substitute for *maṇḍalam* found both in Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu. *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam* bore the name *Toṇḍākavishaya* and *Toṇḍirarājya* under the Rāyas. *Pallavarāshṭra* in Tamil connoted *Toṇḍai-āḍu* or *Toṇḍamanāḍu*²³, another name for *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam*. *Nāḍu* in Telugu and *vaḷanāḍu* in Tamil denoted synonymous divisions.²⁴ Twenty-five *nāḍus* in Nellore District bear Tamil names as seen from records of Chālukya-Chōḷa. The subdivisions in them are *sīmas* in Āndhradēśa *kōṭṭams* in Tamilnadu. Four divisions figuring among twenty-four divisions in *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam* figure in Tamil records from the southern taluks of Nellore District and the lesser

divisions with suffix *paṭṭai* corresponding to *sīmas* are due to Tamil influence. *Teiṇkaṇarāṣṭra*²⁵ located in Ananthapur District was after a title of the Telugu-chōḷas of Rēnāḍu and Konidena, while *Vānagōppaḍināḍu* between Chittoor and Śrīśailam is *Perumbāṇappāḍi*²⁶ of the Tamil inscriptions. The twentyfive divisions in Chittoor District bearing Tamil names and thirtyfour divisions with suffix *sīmai* show the influence of geographical affinity of Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu and their peoples. Tiruvēṅḡḍakōṭṭam with its divisions is a living monument of Tamil impact in this area of Āndhradēśa.

Society

Hindus in Āndhradēśa as well as in Tamilnadu organised themselves into communities and there prevailed some attachment between community and occupation. All classes of people were eligible for state service, civil, army and navy. Though not common, Brahmin generals and Śūdra ministers are heard of during the Kākaiya, the Redḍi and the Rāya regimes, inspite of the fact that maintenance of *varṇāśramadharma* was considered the prime duty of the king. While the Kshatriyas had resorted to cultivation, the Śūdras changed the plough for sceptre.

As for the mass migration of people, it was sometimes due to conquests, though trade and employment might have been contributory causes. In Āndhradēśa there are Tamils even in the coastal area largely in the Godavari delta—Drāviḍa Brahmins with Tamilian family names but considered as Āndhra Brahmins. Possibly these families migrated from Tamilnadu during the Chālukya-Chōḷa regime, in the wake of Kutōttuṅga's Kaṭiṅga expeditions. Besides in the Nellore, Chittoor and Cuddapah Districts, in areas nearer to Tamilnadu, every village has a large group of working population speaking Tamil and some villages have separate areas for them known as *Aravapalli* (i.e. inhabited by *Aravas*) as *Arava* is a common name for Tamils in Āndhradēśa eg. in the vicinity of Rēpalle near Nandalūr. In later times particularly in the wake of the Vijayanagara expansion to the south large scale migration of the Āndhras into Tamilnadu and their stay there was facilitated by the establishment of the Telugu Nāyak kingdoms eg. Āndhra Brahmins in Pudukkōṭa, near Tanjore in Coimbatore, Trichinopoly and Tinnevely Districts and they had adopted family names from their places of residence unlike several of the Āndhras in Āndhradēśa, large Redḍi population in Coimbatore District.

Religion

The main religions in Āndhradēśa as in Tamilnadu were Brahminism, Buddhism and Jainism from very early times. In the Sātavāhana period and the Śaṅgam age, Vedic Brahminism had taken deep roots and had developed itself in two forms—sacrificial and devotional. While Buddhism had under royal patronage expressed its exuberance in the *mahāchaityas* at Amarāyati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and extended it to South East Asia,²⁷ in Tamilnadu Buddhism and Jainism had risen to the position of rivalry with Vedic Brahminism. Subsequently while in Āndhradēśa rulers performed sacrifices eg. *aśvamēdha*, *rājasūya* and *vājapēya* and made numerous gifts to temples and *vihāras*, in Tamilnadu, the Kaṣabhra rule encouraged Buddhism and

Jainism so much to create an apprehension in the minds of people of the perilous position of Brahminical Hinduism. While the early Pallavas, the Śālaṅkāyanas, the Viṣṇukunḍins and the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi gave an impetus to intense emotional *bhakti* to Śiva or Viṣṇu as seen from their titles *paramabhāgavata* and *paramamāhēśvara* and by conversion of Buddhist *chaityas* into Śiva temples and worshipping Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and building of fresh imposing temples, in Tamilnadu, a great change came, a challenge to everything Buddhist and Jain by parties of devotees led by saints moving about the country. This great wave of religious enthusiasm reached its peak in the 7th century and continued till the close of the 9th century. The sixty three *nāyanārs* including a woman, a *paraiyaha* and a Pallava general were the prominent leaders of the revival in Śaivism, while the revival in Vaiṣṇavism (5th century to end of the 9th century) is represented by 12 *ālvārs* who included a woman (Āṇḍāl or Kōḍai) and Kulaśekhara a ruler of Kerala.

This revival had its other aspect in the work of Kumārilabhaṭṭa an Āndhra Brahmin, and Śaṅkarācārya (788-820 A D). While the former explained Mīmāṃsa, the latter a Nambūdiri Brahmin from Kālēḍi near Alwaye propagated the philosophy of Advaita, organised a monastic order (like the Buddhist order) and established *maṭhas*. The consequence was a triumphant re-enthronement of Brahminical religion with Vēdānta as its essence. The impact of Śaṅkara's Advaitism was profound in Āndhradēśa as the contemporary rulers, the Eastern Chālukyas and subsequently the Chālukya-Chōḷas were pro Śaivite and their state religion was Śaivism as of the imperial Pallavas, the Pāṇdyas and the Chōḷas in Tamilnadu. The Smartaism of Śaṅkara even this day has the largest number of votaries who continue to be conservative and orthodox both in Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu. Under the Vēlanāḍu-chōḷas and the Kākatiyas and the Redḍis and the Saṅgamarāyas Śaivism became firmly established in Āndhradēśa, overthrowing Buddhism and Jainism and its variants were Pāśupata, Kālāmukha and Vīraśaivism.

The Vaiṣṇava revival of the *ālvārs* and *āchāryas* culminated in Śrīvaiṣṇavism of Nāthamuni and his grand son Yāmunācārya. Rāmānuja, the greatest Vaiṣṇava reformer hailed from Śrīperumbudūr (near Madras), studied at Kāñchī, came under the influence of Tirumalanambi at Tirumala, proceeded to Śrīraṅgam, and persecuted by the Chōḷa emperor, had to leave for the Hoysala kingdom. But ultimately he returned to Śrīraṅgam and succeeded Yāmunācārya as the head of the *maṭha* there. His doctrine is Viśiṣṭādvaita or qualified monotheism showing that knowledge alone is not sufficient to save the soul but it should be followed by *bhakti* i.e. devotion to god which could lead man to salvation. He propagated his doctrine all over India and consolidated his missionary activity by organising temple worship and establishing seventy four *maṭhas*. In Āndhradēśa Rāmānuja's centre of activity was Tirumala-Tirupati with which he was intimately associated from childhood. There originally the god was Harihara and His transformation into Śrīnivāsa is a mystery. Rāmānuja's intense devotion to god Śrīnivāsa expressed in a prayer, forms part of the *mantrapushpam* during daily worship. In Tirupati he installed the deity Gōvindarājasvāmī, originally thrown out by Kulōttuṅga I from the temple at Chidambaram. He developed the village and town named Rāmānujapuram around

this temple. Except in Tirumala, in all the temples in Tamilnadu and Āndhradēśa he introduced the *pāñcharātra* system in place of the prevalent *vaikhānasa* system. The chanting of *Tiruvāymoḷi* and *Tiruppāvai* in Vaishṇava temples was in vogue in Āndhradēśa. In Tirumala, the *vaikhānasa* priests, Telugu speaking Brahmins were conservative and stuck to *Chāndramāna pañchāṅgam*. So Rāmānuja could not bring about radical changes here. But he effectively organised the administration of the temple. His worship as an incarnation prevails in all Vaishṇava temples. The effects of Rāmānuja's reforms are more realistic in the Tirupati region of Āndhradēśa than in the interior areas, naturally due to its proximity to Tamilnadu, the real scene of his activities. He spread his doctrine of *bhakti* among the Śūdras and even the outcastes. He arranged for the entry of the outcastes into certain temples once a year. Vīraśaivism and Ārādhyā Śaivism and Vīraśaivism in Āndhradēśa were profoundly influenced by Śrīvaishṇavism. Nimbārka (12th century), a Telugu Brahmin from Nimbāpura in Bellary area and Vallabhāchārya (1479-1531 A.D.), also a Telugu Brahmin, developed Later Vaishṇavism with Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and the Gōpis. Though degeneracy is perceptible in the Rādhākṛṣṇa and Gōpi cult on the whole, Vaishṇavism had a bracing influence on the masses. In the Kākatīya and the Reddi ages, the two forms of Vaishṇavism had become established while in Vijayanagara empire, Vaishṇavism as preached by Vallabhāchārya had become popular.

As for Buddhism, it lingered longer in Āndhradēśa than in Tamilnadu for Vēlanāḍu-chōḍa II (1163-80 A.D.) of Tsandavole was a Buddhist and had the *guru* Bauddhapādāchārya who in a controversy, challenged by Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā, lost the day and Śaivism since then had taken firm roots in the soil. The Kōṭas of Amarāvati (1100-1270 A.D.) also patronised Buddhism. But Brahminical Hinduism established its triumph by absorption of Buddhism into itself and the *pañchārāmas* originally Buddhist *tīrthas* had been converted into Śaivite centres and even of Pāsupata form of Śaivism. Though Jainism prevailed under the Vēṅgi Chālukyas, the Chālukya-Chōḷas and the Saṅgamarāyas, its impact on Āndhradēśa was not so marked as in Tamilnadu.

In Āndhradēśa, as in Tamilnadu, more than the Buddhist *chaitya* and Jaina *basti*, the Hindu temple and the *maṭha* had a superb role in moulding the religious life of the people. The temple was not merely the home of god but the abode of treasure, education, learning, art and architecture and together with the *maṭha* catered to the multifarious desires and needs of the populace.

Literature

While Prākṛit was the court language of the Sātavāhanas Tamilnadu had witnessed the golden age of Tamil literature in the Saṅgam period. Later Sanskrit had usurped the place of Prākṛit in court and in literary composition and its impact on Tamil literature is also clear. The literary works of *Gāthāsaptasatī* by king Hāla, *Bṛīhatkathā* by Guṇāḍhya and *Līlāvatī* are in Prākṛit, composed in the Sātavāhana period. Of these the *Bṛīhatkathā* has been rendered into Tamil poetry as *Peṇṇkathai*

by Koṅguvaḷḷi, a Jaina author. It has the theme of the adventures of Nara-vāhanadatta, the son of king Udayana of Kauśāmbi. The devotional religious literature which was so active in the period (500-850 A.D.) continued with some vigour in the later period (850-1200 A.D.) in Tamilnadu arranged into eleven books (Śaiva canon) by Ambī Āṇḍār Nambī (close of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century) and *Tiruttonḍarpurāṇam* or *Periyapurāṇam* of Śēkkiḷār, of the reign of Kulōt-tuṅga II and *Divyaprabandha* or *Nālāyiradivyaḥaribandha* (the Vaishṇava canon). These works had profound influence on Śaiva and Vaishṇava literature in Telugu in Āndhradēśa. Pāḷkurike Sōmanātha who wrote poetry in eight languages, had extolled the sixty three *nāyanārs* in his *Basavapurāṇa* and *Paṇḍitarādhyacharitra* and enumerated them in the *Sahasragāṇanāmasankhyāna* in the latter. There are variations in the number of saints, their stories, narration and the total number is increased. Sundara-nāyanār is also known as Nambināyanār and Oḍaya Nambī who composed a *Śaiva-stōtra* in Tamil called *Tiruttonḍartōgai*. Sōmanātha partly rendered this work in *Basavapurāṇa*. For Sōmanātha's lives of the saints in this work, no doubt *Periyapurāṇam* by Śēkkiḷār (12th century) was the basis. Thus the lives of the *nāyanāras* reached the Āndhras through Sōmanātha's works, while some of them were presented in local garb by later poets. Udbhaṭa is praised in the *Śivatatvasāra* by Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitarādhyā and the *Udbhaṭarādhyacharitra* is rendered into Telugu by Tenālī Rāmalingakavi. Uḍumūrī Kaṇṇappan is Kaṇṇappan of Kāḷahasti whose story is celebrated by Śrīnātha in his *Kālahastimahātmya* and later by Dhūrjaṭi in his *Kālahastimahātmya*. The story of Chirutoṇḍanambī (Sīryāḷa) and Dabhrabhakta and his wife Tiruvēṅgāṇi and son Sīrāḷuḍu is narrated by Śrīnātha in the *Haravilāsa*. While the *Naishadham* and *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* were rendered into Tamil by the Pāṇḍyan chief Aṭivīrāma of Tenkāsi (c. 1564), roughly two centuries after their rendering into Telugu by Śrīnātha, his contemporary Serai Kavīājapillai wrote *Tirukkālattināḍar ūla* and *Tirukkālattināḍakaṭṭaḷaitturai-mālai* on Kāḷahastīśvara at the request of the king.

On the Vaishṇava side the *Āmuktamālyada* one of the five great *prabandhas* in Telugu marks the beginning of TAMILIAN influence on Telugu literature. The work deals with the life of Āḷvār Viṣṇuchitta (Periyāḷvār), his exposition of Vaishṇava philosophy and love between Gōḍa, his foster daughter and Śrīraṅganātha. The work is dedicated to god Āndhraviṣṇu or Teluṅgurāya or Vallabhāya of Śrīkākuḷam on the banks of the Krishna. Lolla Lakshmīdhara wrote a commentary on *Saundaryalahari*. While the Tuḷuvārāyas patronised Vaishṇava and Mādhva scholars Doḍḍayāchārya, Tātāchārya, Vāsātīrtha and Vijayachandra respectively and showered greater devotion on Venkaṭēśvara of Tirumala than on nearby Virūpāksha among the Nāyaks of Tanjore Vijayarāghava-nāyaka patronised Telugu, Tamil and Kannada literatures.

Art and Architecture

In Āndhradēśa, Buddhist art and architecture is seen at its zenith in the *mahā-chaitya* at Amarāvati, while the temples of the Ikshvāku period (220-75 A.D.) are the earliest monuments in India and as such they inspired and influenced

the temple building movement in Tamilnadu and Karnataka at a later date,²⁸ eg. the foundations of the four temples of Kumārasvāmi, temples of Pushpabhadrasvāmi, Sarvadēva, Nodagirisvāmi, Aṣṭabhujanārāyaṇa and a temple complex of Nava-grahas all found in the excavations in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley. The early Pallavas continued the Ikshvāku tradition as seen from the temple of Viṣṇuhara at Kandu-kūru, and the Kapōtīśvara temple at Chējarla, originally a Buddhist *chaitya* converted into a Śaiva shrine by the Pallaves. The Pallavas carried the tradition to Tamilnadu where it found full exuberance in the temples of the imperial Pallavas. Several architectural features of the temples at Mahābalipuram like the Draupadiratha and the Bhīmasēnaratha, could be traced to the sculptures at Amarāvati, Puṇyaśālā at Jaggayyapēṭa, shrine at Śālihuṇḍam and the caves at Śaṅkaram. The Viṣṇukūṇḍin rock-cut cave temples on either bank of the Krishna, near Vijayawada, Mogalrājapuram Uṇḍavalli, were known to Mahēndravarma I whose rule over the coastal region is proved by his Chējarla inscription and he raised similar and more imposing structures in Tamilnadu at Mahābalipuram and Kāñchī. As for the Pallava temples in Āndhradēśa, at Chebrōle, in the Kumārasvāmi temple, the Kāḍuveṭṭīśvaraliṅga, destroyed earlier by robbers, had been reinstated (1213 A.D.).²⁹ The Chōḷabhīmēśvara temple there, has traces of Pallava architecture. The Gōpālakṛiṣṇa temple on the top of Udayagiri hill belongs to the Pallava type,³⁰ whereas the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at Guḍimallam belonged to the late Pallava period. In the medieval period the Telugu-pallavas built several temples in coastal Āndhradēśa.

While the Āndhradēśa had contributed to Tamilnadu the Pallava art and architecture, the Chōḷas had likewise contributed their art and architecture to Āndhradēśa. The Rēnāṭi-chōḷas in Rāyalasīma raised several temples in the Chōḷa style. The Āḍityēśvara *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāmēśvara temple at Toṇḍamanāḍu³¹ close to Kāḷahasti was raised on the mortal remains of Āḍitya (871-907 A.D.) entitled Kōḍaṇḍarāma, by his son Parāntaka as he lost his life fighting against the Pallavas, though Toṇḍamaṇḍalam was wrested from them. The Perumāḷ temple, in the village was also of the Chōḷa period. The Iruṅḍōlēśvara or Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Laddigam also in Rāyalasīma was built towards the close of the 10th century, as seen from an inscription of the 9th year of Rājārāja I. The tower of this bears resemblance to that of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī.³²

Rājārāja the great by alliances with the Vēṅgi Chālukyas and raising of Rājārājēśvara temple, with the tallest tower in South India, endeared himself to the people of Āndhradēśa and their rulers, the Vēlanāṇḍu-chōḷas. Besides the temples raised by the Chōḷas themselves at Kāḷahasti Drākshārāma etc. the Vēlanāṇḍu-chōḷas and their subordinates raised several new temples and constructed additional structures to the existing imposing temples of the Vēṅgi Chālukyas.

The Rājārājēśvara temple at Paḍamaṭa Vipparru, built by Chōḷa Rājārājanarēndra according to tradition, was built either by Rājārāja himself or a loyal feudatory of his. The Bhāvanārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Ponnūr (the name given by the Chōḷas) was built by the Chōḷas. At Gūḍali the Saṅgamēśvara temple is said

to have been built by Chōḷa Toṇḍamān.³³ The Kāḷahastīśvara temple at Kurichēḍu was built in the Chōḷa regime. The temple of Paraśurāmīśvara-muḍaiyār at Attirāla and Saumyanātha at Nandalūr were built by the Chōḷas, while Raṅganātha temple mentioned as Paḷḷikkonḍapperumāḷ or Chitteramēlivinṇagar at Nellore, Raṅganāyaka temple at Udayagir and Allagunāthasvāmī at Ātmakūr were built by the Telugu-chōḷas of Nellore.

The Pāṇḍyas left traces of their art and architecture as legacies of their rule in Āndhradēśa, at Tirupati, Nandalūr etc. The Vijayanagara style with the distinguishing features of *Dēvi* shrines, *kalyāṇamaṇṭapas* and *rāyagōpurams* is seen in their temples both in Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu and found continuation with small variations in the style developed by the Nayaks of Mādura and Tanjore.

Modern Age

With the formation of the presidencies in India by the English, the major part of Āndhradēśa and the entire Tamilnadu had come under the Madras Presidency with Madras as capital. For all subsequent movements—of the resistance to British expansion, social, religious, economic and political, and beginnings and development of the freedom struggle, Madras remained the principal theatre of activities hailing both from Andhradēśa and Tamilnadu. Leaders of both the regions worked together or at variance in the city of Madras. Mostly, north Madras was for the Āndhras and south Madras for the Tamils. Kandukuri Viresalingam-pantulu, the father of Āndhra Renaissance had his centre of multifarious activities at Madras. Subsequently Nyapati Subba Rao from Āndhradēśa, and C P Ramaswami Ayyar from Tamilnadu Tanguturi Prakasam, C Rajagopalachari and S Srinivasa Aiyangar, Bulusu Sambamurthi and S. Satyamurti, Gurajada Apparao and Subramanya Bharati. Mrs A Lakshmi pati and Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi and Srimati Durga Bai Deshmukh and Mrs Ambujammal from both the regions took part in the movement for Indian Independence. They played significant role, keeping the city of Madras as their centre of activity.

Conclusions

So Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu had mutually benefited by nature-bound regional affinity and man-made unity as under the British and could rise above linguistic differences and the spirit of regionalism in fighting against a third power like the Western Chālukyas, the Muslims and the Europeans and finally in the unique nationwide non-violent resistance and overthrow of the British imperialism and achieve ultimate victory in the establishment of Indian Independence (1947). Such was the nature of the contact and adjustment between Āndhradēśa and Tamilnadu.

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SOUTH INDIA AND CHINA: EARLY CONTACTS

R. ANANDASIVAM

"THE INDIAN OCEAN is not a close basin like the Mediterranean Sea; on the South it opens on an infinite expanse of water. Yet the prevalence of currents and of periodical winds conducive to navigation has maintained here, since very early times, a system of exchanges in which the African coast, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India, Insulindia, Indo-China, and beyond it, China and even Korea and Japan, continually gave and received their quotas."¹

The antiquity of trade connections between India and China through Upper Burma is attested to by several sources. It is said that the movement of men, animals and goods in the area since prehistoric times, in all probability, reaches back to the advent of a people with bronze making skills in the Gangetic basin. In the beginning, the contacts between India and China, no doubt, were purely commercial. Then embassies of different kingdoms in India and of the Chinese Emperors came to be exchanged for the promotion of commerce between these two countries. After the introduction of Buddhism in China, the relation between these two civilizations of Asia became more and more intimate, as missionaries from India went to China to propagate the Buddhist Faith and pilgrims from China came to India in order to earn firsthand knowledge in the 'Laws' and to have *darsan* of the holy places associated with the life of the Buddha.

Though one has to depend largely upon the Chinese sources to form an idea of the Sino-Indian intercourse, the evidence they tender may be considered to be chronologically sound and reliably accurate in details, mainly by virtue of their settled chronology and business-like nature. There were a number of routes between ancient India and China—both by land and by sea. The land routes passed through Central Asia or through Assam, Burma and Yunnan, or through Nepal and Tibet; and the sea-routes *via* Indonesia and Indo-China to Tonkin and Canton, or through a port on the Malay Peninsula and then overland through Thailand and Cambodia. Apart from pilgrims whose sole aim was to visit places of Buddhist importance, traders and ambassadors who visited South India in particular selected largely the sea routes.²

Beginnings

The beginnings of intercourse between ancient India and China may be traced back to a very early period as the name *Chīna* occurs in the epic *Mahābhārata*. Kauṭilya (4th-3rd century B.C.) in his *Arthaśāstra* mentions in clear terms different varieties of Chinese silk (*Kauṣeyarī Chīna paṭṭāścha Chīna bhūmiyāḥ*). It was once believed that the name *Chīna* was derived from that of the first Ts'in dynasty (249-207 B.C.) of China. Now it is generally agreed that "it was the State of Ts'in anterior to the dynasty of Ts'in Che-houangti that gave rise to it."³ Since Kauṭilya who mentions the Chinese silk also knew *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and the commodities from the

region, it is not improbable that the contacts between South India and China were also equally old. Interestingly the earliest specimen of an ancient Chinese coin, that has been found in South India is datable to c. 142 B.C. which was in circulation in China between 142-125 B.C.⁴ Though one gets little evidence in South Indian sources regarding the earliest phase of the contacts between her and China, the Chinese sources are very much helpful, and furnish some information on the same. Pan Kou, a Chinese writer who lived not later than the end of the first century A.D., has something to tell us about a South Indian kingdom in his *Ts'ien han chou*: "... From the kingdom of Fou-kan-tou-lou going by boat for more than two months you reach the kingdom of Houang-tche. The habits of the people there generally resemble those of the people of Tchou-yai. These are extensive and populous lands, full of strange products. From the time of Emperor Wou (140-86 B.C.), all of them have been sending tribute."⁵ The kingdom of Houng-tche has been identified with Kāñchī (modern Kāñchīpuram in the Chingleput District, Tamilnadu) which was later the capital of the Pallavas.

Trade enterprises and Embassies⁶

In the early period much of the sea-trade between India and China was developed by the initiative of the enterprising Arabs and Indians. Even travellers and embassy men had to rely on merchant ships for going over from one country to another. It is distinctly stated by Pan Kou⁷ that the Chinese had to depend for their transport on foreign ships. The *Kao Seng tchouan* of Houei-Kiao, a Chinese biography on Guṇavarman (367-431 A.D.) states that Guṇavarman went to China in the boat of a Hindu merchant named Nandi.⁸

To go over to Southern India from China and *vice versa* generally the sea route was favoured in all the periods. Regarding the sea-routes between China and Southern India "Chou-K'ü-fei and Chau-Ju-Kua indicate a first route by sea *via* Quilon in S.W. India with transshipment in the last port for going to the Coromandel the second along the Burman coast of the Bay of Bengal and without doubt also the east coast of India. The navigation in the bay was thus performed either right across its greatest width from East to West, from the Straits of Malacca to Ceylon and Quilon or from the Strait of Sunda to Ceylon—if one followed the reverse of the route from the countries of the west to China;—or starting from the Strait of Malacca, along the coasts of Burma and of India adjoining the Bay of Bengal."⁹

The itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims Wou-Hing, Tche-hong and Ou-hing are valuable to have a general idea of the places touched while travelling by sea from China to South India, as also the time taken by the travellers to traverse the distance between these two countries.

The details of the itineraries of Wou-Hing and Tche-hong are as follows:¹⁰

From Chen-wan (in Tonkin)	To Che-li-fo-che (Palembang)	one month
From Che-li-fo-che	To Mo-lo-yu (Malayu on the River Jambi, east coast of Sumatra)	5 days

From Mo-lo-yu	To Kie-tch' a (Kedah on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula)	15 days
From Kie-tch'a	To Na-kia-po-tan-na (Nāgapattinam)	30 days
Total time spent on sea....		<u>60 days</u>

The details of the itinerary of Ou-hing:

From Śrī Vijaya	To Mo-lo-yu	15 days
From Mo-lo-yu	To Kie-tch'a	15 days
From Kie-tch'a	To Na-kia-po-tan-na	30 days
Total time spent on sea.		<u>60 days</u>

The details of the itinerary of Ou-hing corroborate the evidence given by Wou-hing and Tche-hong as the time taken to reach Nāgapattinam from Malayu in both the cases was the same i.e. 60 days. The Chinese envoy Yang Ting-pi (13th century A.D.) took nearly three months (three moons) to cover the distance between the port of Chuan-chou and Sri Lanka. But much depended upon the route chosen, season and congenial wind movements. However, the above pieces of evidence may illustrate the time taken in ordinary circumstances.

A perusal of the tributes and presents made to and got from the Chinese Emperors in different periods by the embassies from South India would show the nature of commodities exported to China and imported from her into South India. *Vaiḍūrya*, diamonds, sandal wood, pearls, medicinal plants, live animals like rhinoceros, elephants (of course, with mahouts to train and employ them), cotton stuffs, perfumes, luxury items, etc. to mention only a few, were among the commodities purchased by the Chinese, from the Indian merchants. India did not expect many articles as imports. However, the Chinese silk was favoured very much by her population, and she exchanged her products with China for silk and money (gold, silver, copper, etc.). The *sindhūra* (Chinese *tsin-tung*; vermilion) and bamboo (Chinese *Ki-chok*³; Sanskrit *kīchaka*) were among the other articles imported from China to India including South India. The ports of Ma'bar (coromandel coast) like Sopatma, Poduca, Kāvēripattinam, Nāgapattinam, Toṇḍi, Kayal etc. and those in the west coast like Quilon, Tiruvañjikkalam, Muziris, Koṇḍungalūr etc. were some of the trading centres through which the lucrative commerce with China and other South East Asian and Western countries was carried on.

"The dynastic annals of China are full of the records with dates, of the embassies which visited the Chinese court from the different states of Southern and South-eastern Asia bringing 'tribute' and returning to their respective countries with 'presents' from the Emperor. It has been rightly pointed out that these tributes and presents are really the diplomatic names for imports and exports forming part of the regular commercial relations of China with the rest of Asia."¹² It has been pointed out earlier that the kingdom of Houang-tche (Kāñchi) in South India was sending

tributes to China from the time of the Chinese Emperor Wou 140-86 B.C.). It seems the Kāfichī kingdom continued to maintain this tempo for Pan Kou also states this: "In the period of *Yuan-che* (1-6 A.D.) of the Emperor Ping, Wang Mang desired to transform the government and manifest stately power. He sent rich presents to the king of Houang-tche and asked him to send an embassy bringing a live rhinoceros as tribute."¹³

Thus it becomes manifest that a kingdom existed in Kāfichī in South India as early as the second century B.C., and the embassy contacts between the kingdom of Kāfichī and China began by the second century B.C., if not earlier. However, the pieces of evidence available at present do not help us very much to form a full picture of the contacts between China and South India at such an early period.

The next evidence we consider, relates to an embassy from South India to China some time about 510 A.D. "In the time of Seuen-Woo, of the dynasty of later Wei (500-516 A.D.) South India sent an ambassador to offer as presents some horses of a fine breed. This ambassador stated that the kingdom produced lions, leopards, panthers, camels, rhinoceros, and elephants; that there was a species of pearl there, called *ho-tse*, similar to talc (*yun-moo*), the colour of which was yellowish red (*tse*, reddish blue); if it is divided, it disperses like the wings of the cricket, if it is heaped up, on the other hand, it becomes compact, like the threads of silk strongly woven. There were diamonds resembling amethysts (*tse-shih-ying*). When purified a hundred times in the fire, without melting, this diamond is used to cut jasper (*yu* stone). There were also tortoise shell (*tae-mei*), gold (*kin*), copper (*tung*), iron (*tee*), lead (*yuen*), tin (*seih*), fine muslins embroidered with gold and silver; there were also a variety of odoriferous plants, *yuh-kin*, sugarcane, and all kinds of products; honey-bread (or solid honey), pepper, ginger and black salt."¹⁴

The very exposition of what the kingdom produces by the ambassador of the South Indian kingdom (not identified) would reveal that the purpose of his visit to the Chinese court was purely commercial and for the promotion of trade. The things that are enumerated by the ambassador were not completely indigenous to Southern India; but were probably traded through her.

By the second half of the seventh century A.D., the relation between South India and China acquired new dimensions. The Chinese encyclopaedia of the early eleventh century A.D. called *Ts'o fou yuan Kouei* contains details of certain embassies exchanged during the seventh and eight centuries A.D. between South India and China. "In the third month of the third year *t'ien cheou* (692 A.D.) the king of the kingdom of Eastern India Mo-lo-pa-mo, king of the kingdom of Western India Che-lo-ita (Śīlāditya), the king of the kingdom of South India Tche-leou-ki-pa-lo (Chālukya Vallabha), the king of the kingdom of Northern India Na-na, the king of the kingdom of Central India Ti-mo-si-na and the king of the kingdom of Kieou-tse (Koutcha) Yen-yao-pa, all came to render homage and make presents."¹⁵ Interestingly Chālukya Vallabha was one among those Indian kings who sent ambassadors to China in c. 692 A.D. He has been identified with the Western Chālukya king Vinayāditya. It may be mentioned here that by about 695 A.D. an Imperial decree

issued by the Chinese Emperor facilitated the embassies from South India to get provisions from Court for six months.

By about 710 A.D. a kingdom of South India sent ambassadors to China. "In the reign of the Emperor Joei-tsung in the 9th month of the first year (720 A.D.) the kingdom of South India and the T'ou-po (Tibetans) and in the 10th month the kingdoms of Sie-yu (Zabulistan) and of Ki-pin (Kapiśa) all sent ambassadors bringing in tribute and products of their countries."¹⁶

The Chinese records have more elaborate and valuable account of exchanges between China and South India during the reign of Pallava Narasimhavarman II Rājāsirhha who ruled over the Pallava kingdom from c. 690-1 to 728-9 A.D. The embassies exchanged between the king of the Pallavas and the Chinese Emperor are detailed as follows:¹⁷

"In the eighth year of K'ai-yuen (720 A.D.), the king of the kingdom of South India, Che-li Na-lo-seng-kia (Śrī Narasirhha) proposed to employ his war elephants and his cavalry to chastise the Ta-che (Arabs), as well as the T'ou-po (or Tibetans) and others. Moreover, he asked that a name be given to his army; the Emperor praised it greatly and named his army 'the army which cherished virtue'."

This is an interesting and important information—interesting as it takes the Pallava kingdom into the Tibetan affairs in which China was obviously interested and important as it suggests some common political motive for the alliance between these two distant powers of Asia.

"In the 8th year, K'ai-yuen (720 A.D.), the 8th month, the day Ting-ch'ou a decree was addressed to Tchong-chow-men-hia to inform him that the king of South India having sent from afar (an ambassador) to render homage and pay tribute, and this ambassador being due to return, he must look after him with the greatest care till his departure and act in such a way that his desires might be fulfilled. This ambassador was therefore given a robe of flowered silk, a golden girdle, a purse with an emblem in the form of a fish and the seven objects; then he was sent away."

"In the 11th month, an ambassador was sent to confer by brevet the title of king of the kingdom of South India on the king of the kingdom of South India, Che-li Na-lo-seng-kia pao-to-pa-mo (Śrī Narasirhha Pōtavarman)."

Yet another extract from *Kieou T'sang Chou* adds the following: "The 9th month, the king of South India Che-li Na-lo-seng-k'ia-to-to-pa (Śrī Narasirhha Pōtavarman) constructed a temple on account of the Empire (i.e. China); he addressed to the Emperor a request asking from him an inscription giving a name to this temple; by decree, it was decided that the name should be 'which causes return to virtue' (*koet-hoa*) and it was presented to him."

The above extracts, relating to the reign of Pallava Narasimhavarman II have been considered duly by Professor T. V. Mahalingam and the late T. N. Subramaniam.¹⁸ Both of them have discussed at length the relative value of these for a study of the trans-oceanic contacts of the Pallavas during the period. According to them Pallava Rājāsirhha (Narasimhavarman II) had political supre-

macy over some regions in South-east Asia, though undefined. "The Tibetans had in those days extended the sphere of their influence and activity and occupied all the area to the north-east and south-west of their country. They definitely came down as far as the Gaudadesa and probably had direct contact with the Hinduised kingdoms of South-east Asia in the same way as they had contacts with China. The Arabs had also begun to extend the sphere of their maritime trade as far as the region of Eastern Archipelago and the Chinese coast."¹⁹ These developments in the rise of the Tibetans and the Arabs were resented by both China and South India as the activities of the first two were 'nearer-home' in the South-east Asian regions. Hence the above embassies, clearly different from the ones in which tributes and presents were really meant for imports and exports in the Chinese annals, were taken to show the interest over South-east Asia which China and South India (the Pallavas) had on the one hand and the Tibetans and the Arabs had on the other. The construction of a shrine in South India, obviously a Buddhist one, on account of the Chinese Emperor by Narasimhavarman II was a phase of these vigorous diplomatic exchanges between the Pallavas and the Chinese.²⁰

It is also probable that Pallava Narasimhavarman II would have mooted this embassy to China so as to get the sanction of the Chinese Emperor to employ his army against the Arabs and Tibetans in order to help the Central Indian king (or to help a North Indian king along with the Central Indian king) who also sent an embassy during the period for the same purpose, not in a far away South-east Asian region but somewhere in the north-north-western part of the Indian sub-continent.

We know during the seventh-eighth centuries A.D., the Tibetans played a very important role in Central Asian politics, as also in that of the North-west and North India. At one time following the death of Harsha during the middle of the seventh century A.D., they even attacked the Kanauj empire. The period also witnessed invasions and temporary occupation of Sind by the Arabs. During the eighth century A.D., Tibet "played the game of peace and war with the Tang Empire of China in its eastern and northern frontiers, and allied itself with the Turks and even with the advancing Arabs in Central Asia and Na-chao kingdom in the south-east."²¹

The supremacy of the Arabs and Tibetans bothered very much, not only the Pallavas of Kāñchi in South India, but also some other kingdoms in the North and Central India. They also shared their concern with the Chinese Emperor. For instance "in the years *kae-yuen* (713-42 A.D.), an ambassador from Central India proceeded three times as far as the extremity of Southern India, and came once to offer birds of five colours that could talk. He applied for aid against the *Tashe* (or Arabs) and the *Too-fan* (or Tibetans) offering to take the command of the auxiliary troops. The Emperor *Heuen-tsung* (who reigned from 713-756 A.D. conferred upon him the rank of general-in-chief. The Indian ambassador said to him: "The *Fan* (or Tibetan) barbarians are captivated only by clothes and equipment. Emperor! I must have a long, silk embroidered robe, a leathern belt decorated with gold, and a bag in the shape of a fish. All these articles were ordered by the Emperor."²²

The identification of the Central Indian kingdom whose ambassador went to China some time between 713 and 742 A.D. is not clear. But the above extract shows that more than two kingdoms in India were equally worried over the developments in Central Asia and North India. Interestingly the presents viz. a long silk embroidered robe, a leather belt decorated with gold, a bag in the shape of a fish which the Central Indian ambassador asked for, from the Chinese Emperor, because the Fan barbarians were captivated only by such clothes and equipment, are identically the same which a Pallava ambassador who visited the Chinese court in 720 A.D. with the same purpose was given.

The existence of friendly relations between the Kāñchī kingdom and the Central Indian kingdom is also evident from the fact that one Vajrabōdhi, the third son of a Kshatriya king of Central India named Īśānavarman, came to the Pallava court stayed there for some time during the reign of Narasimhavarman II and then went to China.²³ Moreover, the ambassador from Central India tried to embark three times to China only from the extremity of Southern India, possibly through a port in the coromandel coast in the Pallava kingdom. Further as Rājasimha offered to employ his war elephants and cavalry in the expedition intended against the Arabs and Tibetans, it could be possibly through land. While the Pallava king offered to employ his army, the Central Indian ambassador offered to take command of the auxiliary troops. Thus an organised effort by the Indian kingdoms in collaboration with the Chinese Emperors to drive out the Tibetans and the Arabs from Central Asia and Northern India during the early eighth century is evident.

The available pieces of evidence, drawn largely from the Chinese side, would show that the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. constituted the most active period of intercourse between China and South India. By the close of the rule of the Ta'ng dynasty (618-907 A.D.), as seen earlier, there were political disturbances due to the Arab invasion of Central Asia and the Tibetan supremacy in Bengal which was firmly established to such an extent that the Bay of Bengal was known as the sea of Tibet. This disturbance, no doubt, could have affected the free contacts between China and India. With the advent of the Sung dynasty (960-1279 A.D.) in China, trade and diplomatic contacts were revived between China and South India and the intercourse between these two countries began with fresh vigour and enthusiasm. From its very beginning the Sung government in China took extensive care to develop foreign trade and encourage Chinese and foreign merchants to participate actively in its commercial enterprises. Emperor T'ai-tsu, the founder of the dynasty who ascended in 960 A.D. assured the merchants of his protection, fixed the tax assessments on merchandise and formulated the regulations on commerce. His successors conferred offices, honorary ranks and privileges on the merchants, opened harbours and dredged canals, built breakwaters and warehouses, and suppressed piracy.²⁴ As a measure of drive, to revive the lost connections and to encourage foreign trade the Sung government sent in 987 A.D. "four missions of court officials bearing gold lettered credentails and gifts of textiles to the countries of South-East Asia to invite their merchants to come to China, granting special licenses to those who came."

This drive on the part of the Chinese government paid well, for one finds a number embassies sent to China from the Western countries.

By the end of the tenth century A.D., the Chōlas of Tañjāvūr who succeeded the Pallavas of Kāñichī in the south of the Peninsula had established themselves in South India. From the time of Parāntaka I (907-955 A.D.) they repeatedly invaded Sri Lanka. With the accession of Rājārāja I (c. 985 A.D.) South India entered a period of glory and prosperity. The maritime trade which was carried on by a few well organised and influential trade guilds like the *Maṇigūṇamattār*, *Tiśat-āyirattu-Aiñ-kūṇṇuvar*, etc. was at its peak.

The steps taken to invite the foreigners to take part in its trade by China, it seems, were welcomed and the opportunity was eagerly seized upon by the kingdoms of South India. The Chōlas under Rājārāja I were one among them. The long notice of Ma-Tuan-lin (13th century A.D.) indeed sheds valuable light on the relationship between the Chōlas and the Chinese court. In one of his notices, Ma-Tuan-lin says: "This kingdom which in antiquity never had communications with the Empire, sent ambassadors for the first time under the dynasty of Song. They arrived at the ninth moon, of the eighth year *ta-chong-siang-fou* (1009 A.D.); the chief of them named Cha-li-san-ouen, was one of the four great officers of the reigning king Lo-tcha-lo-tcha (Rājārāja). Then came a second ambassador named Pou-kia-sin and two councillors whose names were Ong-ou-fang and Ya-kin-kia"²⁵ This was probably the first mission from the Chōla kingdom to the court of China.

Another Chōla mission to China was received at the Chinese court in 1015 A.D. and the annals of the Sung dynasty state that the king of the kingdom of Chu-lien (Chōla) was Lo-ts'a-lo-ts'a (Rājārāja). Chau-ju-Kua while writing on the kingdom of Chu-lien has this to record: "in the eighth year of *ta-chung* and *siang-fu* periods (1015 A.D.) its sovereign sent a mission with pearls and the like articles as tribute. The interpreters, in translating their speech, said they wished to evince the respect of a distant nation for (Chinese) civilization." The members of this Chōla mission were asked by the Chinese Emperor "to remain in waiting at the side gate of the Palace and to be entertained at a banquet by the Associates in the College of Court Annalists. By Imperial favour they were ranked with the envoys of K'iu-tz'-i. It happened to be the Emperor's birth day and the envoys had a fine opportunity to witness the congratulations in the Sacred Enclosure."²⁶

Some additional information on the Chōla embassy is available in Ma and the Sung-shī.²⁷ According to the Sung-shī, the principal envoy from Chu-lien was called So-li San-Wōn. An exaggerated description with details of places visited and days taken to travel from the Chu-lien country to the Pi-p'a island of Kuang-tung (Canton) is also given.

The next embassy sent from the Chōla kingdom to China was in c. 1020 A.D. However, this could not complete its work. "In the fourth year *tien-hi* (1020 A.D.) a second (?) embassy from Tchu-lien entered the port of Kouang-tcheou. Hardly had it disembarked when the first ambassador named Pa-lan-te-mo-lie died of an exhausting illness. The credentials brought by him were sent to the court. The

Emperor responded giving orders to treat honourably all the strangers who formed the retinue of the late ambassador and send them away with rich presents."²⁸ The *Sung-Shih* records that an envoy (Pa-lan-te-ma-lih-ti) who reached China in 1020 A.D. from the Chu-lien country died in Kaung-chou, one of the southern districts of China. The accounts given about the unsuccessful embassy in the *Sung-shih* as also *Sung-hui-yo* are very short, devoid of details and it is not possible to get the name of the Chōḷa king who was responsible for it. "The omission of the king's name, as well as the shortness of the paragraph might be explained as, caused by the death of the envoy and the non-completion of his task."²⁹

Yet another embassy from Shi-lo-lo-cha-Yin-to-lo-chu-lo (Śrī Rāja Indra Chōḷa) was received at China in 1033 A.D. Ma-Tuan-lin writes that in the second year *Ming-tao* (1033 A.D.) a new ambassador of Tchu-lien was received at the court. His name was Pou-ya-toli. Honorary titles were conferred on him.³⁰

It seems China was in touch with the Chōḷa kingdom in the subsequent periods as well. Some time between 1068 and 1077 A.D. the correspondence that existed between the two is found mentioned in the Chinese sources. This information is called from the writings of Ma-Tuan-lin. While recording an embassy from Pagan in 1106 A.D. he writes: "The Emperor at first gave order to receive them (i.e. the envoys from Pagan) and treat them as they treated the envoys of Tchoulin (Chōḷa); but the President of the Council of Rites presented the following observations: the Chōḷa is subject to San-fo-ts'i; this is why in the years *hi-ning* (1068-1077 A.D.) we were content to write to the king of this kingdom on strong paper with an envelope on plain stuff."³¹

A mission from the Chōḷa kingdom to that of China was commissioned in c. 1077 A.D. "In the tenth year *hi-ning* (1077 A.D.) envoys of Tchu-lien appeared again at the court. They were twentyseven in number. They offered pearls as big as peas, a big piece of *lieou-li*, camphor, the teeth of rhinoceros, beautiful textiles, incense, diverse perfumes, essence of roses, medicinal plants, borax and spices. The chief among them, having accomplished the ceremony of *Sa-tien* the Emperor conferred on him a very high title and caused to be given to him precious medicines from the Imperial pharmacy. The other envoys were gratified with numerous presents, consisting above all silks, and this embassy bore for the king of Tchu-lien 81,800 strings of cash with 52,000 taels of silver."³²

The Song annals testify to this effect. The embassy was sent by the Chu-lien king called Ti-hua-kia-lo, distinguished as Dēva Kulō (ttuṅga), and was received at China in c. 1077 A.D. It is said that "the embassy was clearly a trading venture and seems to have ended very profitably for the Tamils."³³

It is generally said that the Chinese court looked down upon the Chōḷa kingdom on different occasions. To sum up from the available pieces of evidence the embassy of 1015 A.D. was ranked with that of K'iu-tz-i i.e. Kucha in Eastern Turkistan, a vassal state of China. In the period 1068-77 A.D., the Chinese court was content to correspond with the Chōḷas on strong paper with an envelope on plain stuff only because the kingdom of the Chōḷas was subject to that of San-fo-tsi (Śrī Vijaya).

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri who takes note of this considers it possible that "the *gaucherie* of the Tamil envoys, the ignorance of Chinese officialdom of the true state of politics in remote countries and perhaps the readiness of the ambassadors of Śrī Vijaya to indulge in unjust misrepresentations relating to the Chōla must have combined to bring about the situation."³⁴

The Pāṇdyas of the Second Empire who rose to prominence after the accession of one of its great rulers Māxavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (c. 1216 A.D.) had also their share in South India's contacts with China. By about 1279 A.D. a mission from Ma'bar went to China. At that time the Sung Empire had already fallen before the Mongols, and Kublai Khan, had become the Great Khan in 1260 A.D. after the death of his brother Mangu Khan. From 1260 to 1294 A.D. the Mongol court under Kublai Khan became the cynosure of all the eyes. "Possibly as a result of the arrival at the Mongol court in the 7th moon of 1279 A.D. of missions from Ma'bar and Annam (Chang-ch'eng) which presented the Emperor with a live elephant and a rhinoceros Yang Ting-pi, the able lieutenant of So-tu and now commander-in-chief in Kuang-tung with the title of *Daruga*, was appointed Imperial Commissioner in the 12th moon of the year (early part of 1280 A.D. with orders to proceed to Kulam (Quilon) to invite the ruler (Pi-na-ti) to recognise Kublai as his liege lord and to send an envoy to China; this he promised to do."³⁵

Pi-na-ti has been taken to stand for 'an original Pāṇḍi or Pāṇḍya, the name of the then reigning dynasty of Ma'bar.' Even when Yang Ting-pi was on his sojourn to the Pāṇḍya country, in the early autumn of 1280 A.D. the Mongol received another mission from Ma'bar. This mission sent by the legitimate sovereign of Ma'bar conveyed the message that the king "being most anxious to become, by recognition of Chinese suzerainty, the protection of the Mongols against his domestic foes who were depriving him of all his power." Its leader was Jumaluddin. In the meanwhile Yang Ting-pi returned from his mission to Quilon and was immediately directed to proceed again to the same place, this time accompanying another person, probably in response to the above mission from the Pāṇḍya king. "In the 10th moon (of the year 1280 A.D.) the rank of Envoy to Kulam was given to Ha-sa-erh-hai-ya and he was sent, in company with Yang Ting-pi to summon (the other countries adjacent to Kulam) to come to court. They put to sea from Ch'uan-chou in the first moon of the 18th year (about February 1281 A.D. and after a voyage of three moons arrived in the island of Seng-kia-yeh (Ceylon))."

At this stage, the winds were not favourable to continue their journey to Quilon, from Sri Lanka. According to the advice given by sailors, the envoys set sail to reach the port of Hsin-tsung (identified as Kāvērip(pūm)paṭṭinam) from where it had been suggested, they could proceed to Quilon by land route. While they were waiting to see Pu-ali (Abu Ali) the Secretary to Ma-yin-ti, the Minister of State of the country at Hsin-tsung, they were approached secretly by two men and the latter begged them to convey a message from the legitimate king of Ma'bar to the Chinese Emperor. The message was as follows: "I am sincerely desirous of becoming the subject of the Emperor. My envoy Cha-ma-li-ting (Jumaluddin) has been received at your court.

My Great Pi-she-ch-ih has gone to the Suan-tan (Lord of a kingdom) and asked for a change. The Suan-tan has sequestered my gold and my silver, my lands my property. He has laid hold of my wives and seeks to put me to death. I have only been able to escape by deceiving him. At the present moment the Suan-tan and the (or his) brothers have met, all five of them together in the place and are deliberating about fighting with (Kulam)." The message also goes on to say how, when the Chinese envoys visited Ma'bar, a bad picture was given to them about the country and its wealth and referred to the earlier mission sent to China headed by Jumaluddin.

Of the two Chinese envoys who received this secret message, Ho-sa-erh-hai-ya went back to the Mongol court in order to sound the Emperor on these developments in the Ma'bar country. We do not know the effects this message had on the Emperor. When the northerly winds had set in, in the 11th moon (of 1281 A.D.) a messenger was sent to inform Yang Ting-pi who had been detained at the port of Hsin-tsun in Ma'bar to proceed as per plan to Kulam, evidently "to summon (the other countries adjacent to Kulam) to come to court."

In the 2nd moon of the 19th year (1282 A.D.) he arrived in the kingdom of Kulam where the king (Pi-na-ti) and his minister Mohammed and others received the Imperial letter with the Privy seal with deep prostrations. In the third moon he ordered his minister Chu-a-li-sha-mang-li-pa-ti to depart with presents to Court." A few adjacent kingdoms in South India also requested the Chinese envoy that they be allowed to send annual presents to Court.

In the 4th moon (of 1282 A.D.) Yang Ting-pi started on the return journey to China and possibly reached China in the same year. It has been suggested by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri³⁶ that the legitimate king of Ma'bar who sent a mission to the Chinese court headed by Jamaluddin and whose men approached the Chinese envoys while they were constrained to visit Hsin-tsun (Kāvērippūmpaṭṭinam) was Kulaśēkhara, the Pāṇḍya king of Madurai (Māgarvarmaṇ Kulaśēkhara I) and Suan-tan was his elder son Sundara (Pāṇḍya). From Wassaf, the Muslim historian of Shriaz, we know that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara had two sons, the elder son named Sundar Pāṇḍi (Sundara Pāṇḍya) who was legitimate and the younger son named Tīra Pāṇḍi (Vīra Pāṇḍya) who was illegitimate; because of his shrewdness and ability Vīra Pāṇḍya was nominated successor by Kulaśēkhara, even though he was younger than Sundara Pāṇḍya and illegitimate also. This was resented by the latter and towards the close of the year 709 H. (1310 A.D.) he killed Kulaśēkhara, his father and ascended the throne. A civil war then broke out.

The above embassies from China to South India and *vice versa* around 1281 A.D. and the details (recorded in the *Yuan-shih*) have been taken to indicate that the troubles between Kulaśēkhara's children which culminated in the murder of the former in 1310 A.D. started very early in his reign.³⁶

The numerous envoys from South India and the islands of Archipelago following the missions of Yang Ting-pi clearly show that Kublai Khan succeeded fully in proclaiming 'his vanity or scientific curiosity'. The benefits amassed by South India in her trade with China rose to such an extent that the Chinese government in 1296

A.D. attempted to prohibit the export of gold and silver, as also to limit the value of the trade with Ma'bar (coromandel) and Kulam (Quilon) to a relatively small sum of money. Subsequent to the period of Kublai Khan the embassies exchanged between China and South India gradually diminished in number.

Religious Contacts

Another channel of Sino-South Indian intercourse was religious. "China owed much to India in religion and art and the debt was acknowledged by the scores of learned Chinese pilgrims who travelled in the 'western land', visiting its shrines and gathering manuscripts, teachers, relics, icons and spiritual knowledge which they carried to China." Though the introduction of Buddhism in China is traced back to 217 B.C., by certain Chinese traditions, the official account of the introduction of this religion in China places the event only in 65 A.D. According to a Chinese tradition Ming-ti, the Han Emperor saw a golden man in his dream. He was told that it was none other than the Buddha. The Emperor, out of curiosity, sent his men to the west who returned with two Indian monks respectively named Dharmaratna and Mātāṅga. The two Buddhists brought with them relics of the Buddha, a load of canons on a white horse. The Emperor caused to build a monastery for the Indian Buddhists which came to be called the 'White Horse Monastery'.³⁷

From this period onwards there was much come-hither and go-thither between China and India and quite a number of pilgrims and travellers visited India. A modest estimate shows that between sixth and eighth centuries A.D. as many as one hundred and eighty seven pilgrims and specifically between 964 and 976 A.D. some three hundred scholars paid visit to the Holy Land. In fact we have on record that Emperor Tai-tsu passed a royal mandate to despatch indigenous scholars to India as emissaries for which about 157 Chinese scholars responded.³⁸

Among the numerous pilgrims who visited India, Fahien, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing stand out prominently, because they have left behind for posterity descriptions of their itineraries and partly because of their biographers also.³⁹

As the centres of Buddhist learning and activity were largely confined to Northern India and Sri Lanka where the purity of religion was preserved, most of the pilgrims from China during the period did not visit South India in and out. In this religious movement between South India and China, South India contributed its own mite. A new contemplative form of Mahāyāna Buddhism, it seems, was introduced into China by one of the greatest Buddhist celebrities Bōdhidharma. His new system preached that "the human being could attain Buddhahood only through a consciousness of the identity of both the relative and the Absolute. This system was known as *Dan* or *Ch'an* (Sanskrit *Dhyāna*; Japanese *Zen*) and won over to it a large following in China and a few other Far East countries.⁴⁰ It is believed that he was the son of an Indian king probably, the Pallava king of Kāñchi. His visit to China has been placed some time during the second quarter of the sixth century A.D.⁴¹

Similarly the founding of the *Dhyāna* school of Buddhism in Tonkin is credited to Vinītaruchi of South India who went to China in 582 A.D.⁴² Yet another South

Indian scholar who lived in China from 693-727 A.D. translating religious works into Chinese was Bōdhiruchi. To assist him in his work a regular Board was set up in China. It is said that he went to China at the request of a Chinese envoy at the court of a Chālukya king.⁴³

Vajrabōdhi who was in the court of the Pallava king of Kāñchī (Narasimhavarman II) was another Buddhist scholar to visit China in 719 A.D.

Bōdhisēna, a South Indian Brahmin went to China in 733 A.D. fascinated by her fame and to meet Mañjuri. Then he went to Japan in 736 A.D. and in 750 A.D. he became *Sojo*, the head of the entire ecclesiastical order in Japan and was popularly known as *Baramon Sojo* (Brahman Bishop). "The Japanese alphabet was fixed about this time and shows unmistakable traces of Sanskrit influence, and Takakusa suggests that the studies inaugurated by Bodhisena had some thing to do with it."⁴⁴ Thus instances of such religious contacts between China and South India can be multiplied.

The above glimpses of intercourse between China and South India were mainly provided by the Chinese sources. This well defined cultural process is also corroborated by the data yielded by archaeology.

The extensive commercial contacts between China and South India are corroborated by a number of Chinese coins found in different places in South India. Till recently much of the discussions on the specimens of Chinese coins was centred around the find from Chandravallī. Taw Sein Ko,⁴⁵ who studied the Chinese coin from Chandravallī suggested the dates 138 B.C., 502 A.D. and 886 A.D. and considered the first date to be the most appropriate. Recently Dr. Noboru Karashima has shown that the coin was "Tien-sheng-yah-pao issued by a Sung Emperor in 1023 A.D." He also has stated that Dr. T. Mikami has reported a Chinese copper coin of the Sung dynasty (Yuan-feng-tung-po) issued during the period 1078-1083 A.D. from Chandravallī. Dr. Mikami is also said to have reported the finding of a Sung coin among the materials excavated from Arikamōdu.⁴⁶

Three hoards of Chinese copper coins have been recently found in Tamilnadu and they are now preserved in the Government Museum, Madras. Three hoards consisting of 20, 1822, and 323 coins respectively from the villages of Vikram in the Pattukkottai taluk, Thallikkottai in the Mannargudi taluk, Olayakunnam again in the Pattukkottai taluk (all in the Tanjavur District, Tamilnadu) have indeed added greatly to our knowledge of South India's contacts with China. The coins were examined and classified by Tan Yun Shau and his wife and the list prepared by them is as follows:⁴⁷

Category	Name of the Coin	Date of Coinage	Period of Circulation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	San-chu (Three chu)	142 B.C.	142-125 B.C.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
2	Wu-chu (Five Chu)	First issued by the Han Emperor Wu in 126 B.C. and later by the subsequent rulers of Han, Wei, Tsin, Ch'en, Hou- Wei, Pei-ch'i, Hou- Chou etc.	126 B.C.-620 A.D.
3	K'ai-Yuan-t'ung-pao (Treasure of the K'ai-Yuan, etc.)	621 A.D.	621-665 A.D.
4	Sung-Yuan t'ung-Pao (Treasure of Sung dynasty)	960 A.D.	960-975 A.D.
5	T'ai-Ping T'ung Pao (Treasure of the T'ai-P'ing era)	976 A.D.	976-983 A.D.
6	Ch'un-hua Yuan-Pao (Treasure of the Ch'un Hua era)	990 A.D.	990-994 A.D.
7	Chih-tao-Yuan-Pao (Treasure of the Chih-tao era)	995 A.D.	995-997 A.D.
8	Hsien-P'ing-Yuan-Pao (Treasure of the Hsien-P'ing era)	998 A.D.	998-1003 A.D.
9	Ching-leh-Yuan-Pao (Treasure of the Ching-leh era)	1004 A.D.	1004-1007 A.D.
10	Hsiang-fu-Yuan-Pao (Treasure of the Hsiang-fu era)	1008 A.D.	1008-1010 A.D.
11	T'ien-hsi t'ung-Pao (Treasure of the T'ien-hsi era)	1017 A.D.	1017-1021 A.D.
12	T'ien-Sheng Yuan-Pao (Treasure of the T'ien-Sheng era)	1017 A.D.	1017-1021 A.D.
13	Ming-tao Yuan-Pao (Treasure of Ming tao era)	1032 A.D.	1032-1033 A.D.
14	Ching-Yu Yuan Pao (Treasure of the Ching Yu era)	1034 A.D.	1034-1037 A.D.
15	Huang Sung-T'ung Pao (Treasure of the Imperial Sung dynasty)	1023 A.D.	1023-1040 A.D.
16	Chih-ho Yuan Pao (Treasure of the Chih-ho era)	1054 A.D.	1054-1055 A.D.
17	Chia-Yu-Yuan-Pao (Treasure of the Chia-Yu era)	1056 A.D.	1056-1063 A.D.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
18	Chih P'ing Yuan Pao (Treasure of the Chih P'ing era)	1064 A.D.	1064-1067 A.D.
19	Hsi-ning Yuan-Pao (Treasure of the Hsi-ning era) Hsi-ning Chung Pao (Heavy treasure of the Hsi-ning era)	1068 A.D.	1068-1077 A.D.
20	Yuan-teng-t'ung Pao (Treasure of the Yuan teng era)	1078 A.D.	1078-1085 A.D.
21	Yuan Yu t'ung Pao (Treasure of the Yuan Yu era)	1086 A.D.	1086-1093 A.D.
22	Shao-Sheng Yuan Pao (Treasure of the Shao-Sheng era)	1094 A.D.	1094-1097 A.D.
23	Yuan-fu t'ung-Pao (Treasure of the Yuan-fu era)	1098 A.D.	1098-1100 A.D.
24	Sheng-Sung Yuan Pao (Treasure of the sacred Sung dynasty)	1101 A.D.	1101-1102 A.D.
25	Ta Kuan-t'ung Pao (Treasure of the Ta Kuan era)	1107 A.D.	1107-1110 A.D.
26	Cheng-ho t'ung Pao (Treasure of the Cheng-ho era)	1111 A.D.	1111-1117 A.D.
27	Hsuan-ho t'ung Pao (Treasure of the Hsuan-ho era)	1119 A.D.	1119-1125 A.D.
28	Chien-yen t'ung Pao (Treasure of the Chien-yen era)	1127 A.D.	1127-1130 A.D.
29	Shao-hsing Yuan Pao (Treasure of the Shao-hsing era) Shao-hsing t'ung Pao (Treasure of the Shao-hsing era)	1131 A.D.	1131-1162 A.D.
30	Ch'un-hsi Yuan-Pao (Treasure of the Ch'un-hsi era)	1174 A.D.	1174-1189 A.D.
31	Shao-hsi Yuan Pao (Treasure of the Shao-hsi era)	1190 A.D.	1190-1194 A.D.
32	Ch'ing-yuan t'ung-Pao (Treasure of the Ch'ing-yuan era)	1195 A.D.	1195-1200 A.D.
33	Chia-t'ai t'ung-Pao (Treasure of the Chia-t'ai era)	1201 A.D.	1201-1204 A.D.
34	K'ai-hsi T'ung-Pao (Treasure of the K'ai-hsi era)	1205 A.D.	1205-1207 A.D.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
35	Chia-ting t'ung-Pao (Treasure of the Chia-ting era)	1208 A.D.	1208-1224 A.D.
36	Shao-ting t'ung Pao (Treasure of the Shao-ting era)	1228 A.D.	1228-1233 A.D.
37	Ch'un-yu Yuan-Pao (Treasure of the Ch'un-yu era)	1241 A.D.	1241-1252 A.D.

The earliest coin in this list is San-chu whose period of circulation is said to be 142-125 B.C.; the latest coin is Ch' un-yu Yuan Pao whose period of circulation was 1241-1252 A.D. Thus the coins which are classified into 37 categories, chronologically taken, contain an uninterrupted chain of specimens upto the period 1241-1252 A.D., except for a single noticeable gap between 666 A.D. and 959 A.D. This interestingly coincides with the period immediately preceding the advent of the Sung dynasty in China when political chaos prevailed in the Empire, and with the available finds of Chinese coins in South India it may also be said that the period witnessed much disturbance in the trade contacts between South India and China.⁴⁸

Not only the coins of China, but also a variety of ceramics known as the Celadon ware which was imported from China in medieval times are available in parts of South India. The Chinese pottery is found practically in all countries with which the Chinese traded. "If upon a blank map of the world we were to plot only those places where early Chinese pottery and porcelain have been found, by joining them up we would be able to reconstruct the complete network of shipping-routes used by the sea-borne trade of the Old World."⁴⁹ South India imported the Chinese ware, as was done by several other countries of Asia and even of the west. The flourishing state of exports of this ware in China was in between 960 A.D. after the coming to power of the Sung dynasty and 1368 A.D. during which time most of the products of this ware were manufactured around the Lung region. This ware is reported from Chandravalli, Arikamēdu, Gowrimēdu, Kāvēripūmpattinam, Kayalpattinam, Cranganore, Cheraman Parambu, Tirukkulaśēkharapuram, Mathilakam, etc. This would show the popularity of this ware and the quantity of imports from China into South India.

The regular and continual intercourse between India and China gave rise to Sino-Indian art in China. Tungwang, Yun-Kang and Hon-men enshrine in themselves several rock-cut caves and fresco paintings on the walls which bear evidence to the impact of Indian art on that of China. Particularly caves dated in the Tung period at the first place are illustrative of how the Gāndhāra, Gupta and Iranian models were adopted effectively by the Chinese. South Indian also did contribute something in this direction. The Chinese port-town Chuan-chou in the Fu-kien province, to the north of Hong-Kong on the mainland which in ancient times was known as Zaitun (Zaitan) was a flourishing centre attracting numerous foreigners,

and contains interestingly some relics of Hindu sculptures of South Indian origin. They might have formed part of some South Indian Hindu temple. Ananda Coomaraswamy⁵⁰ has described in one of his papers a temple known as K'ai-yuan at the place. It contains in the main hall (Ta-hsiun-pao-tieu) two pillars and the basement frieze (*vyālavari*) adorned with sculptures of Hindu mythology. The main hall is stated to have been built in A.D. 686 and subsequently repaired in A.D. 1095. Having been ruined in A.D. 1155, it was rebuilt afterwards.

Recently a bilingual inscription in Tamil and Chinese characters has come to light from China. The exact find spot is now known. The late T. N. Subramaniam who made a study of this from photographs thinks that it would have been recovered from the port town Chuan-chou referred to above. It is also not known where the stone bearing the present inscription is preserved. According to the late T. N. Subramaniam the stone should be kept now as an exhibit in some museum as a Chinese label is found at the bottom of each photograph describing the object there. The transliterated text of the Tamil portion of the record and the English translation of it as given by T. N. Subramaniam are as follows:

TEXT

1. *Harah* [11*] *Svasti Śrī* [1*] *Śagāptam* 1203-*vadu Chittirai*-
2. *ch-Chittirai nāl Śrī Cheka* [śai*] *Kāṇ tirumēṇi* (*kadi*) *naṇ-*
3. *xāga Uḍaiyār Tirukada* [ḷi:h*] *churamudaiya Nāyiṇārai*
4. *eṇiyarulaḷ-paṇṇi* [ṇar*] *Śambandap-Perumāl* =
5. *ā-ṇa Tavachchakkarava* [r*] *tti* [k] *a* [1*] *Chekaśai Kāṇ Parmā* [ṇ]
6. *paḍi* [11*] * * * * *

(Each star in the sixth line represents a Chinese character)

TRANSLATION

Obeisance to Hara (Śiva); Let there be prosperity!

On the day (having) the Chitra (asterism) in the month of Chittirai of the (Śaka) year 1203, the Tavachchakkaravarttiḡa] *alias* Śambandap-perumāl caused in accordance with the Firman (*Parmāṇ*) of Chekaśai Khān, to be graciously installed the God Uḍaiyār Tirukkaḍalīśvaram-uḍaiya-nāyiṇār for the welfare of the illustrious body of Chekaśai Khān.

The above survey of early contacts between South India and China would thus show that in spite of the distance and difficulties in the means of communication, the two great countries of Asia namely India and China had from the earliest beginnings of known history close cultural, religious and trade contacts. In fact the vast stretch of water was never a hindrance to the movement between these two, but served as a natural link connecting them. Missions from one country to another were not in-

frequent. There is much evidence to show that India, as also South India have contributed greatly to the Indianised nature of some aspects of the life and thought of the Chinese. Conversely China also which seems to have been attracted towards the people and culture of South India, gave its best to the country. The mutual friendship and exchanges of goodwill which characterised the relations between China and India including South India from very early times deserve to be continued for the mutual benefit of both the nations.

Notes and References

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Foreign Notices of South India (From Megasthenes to Ma-Huan)*, 1939, Introduction, p.1
2. The Buddhist *Jataka* stories and the two Jain works *Samarāichchakaha* of Haribhaṭṭa (c. 750 A.D.) and *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotanaśūri (c. 779 A.D) contain several popular stories of merchants, of which a few refer to the trade contacts of South India with China. (See S.M. Mishra, 'India's Foreign Trade as known from the *Samarāichchakaha* and the *Kuvalayamālā*', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXIV, Nos.1-2, (September-December, 1974), pp. 187-200.
3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Aspects of India's History and Culture*, 'The Beginnings of Intercourse between India and China', p. 316.
4. See *infra* the classified list of Chinese coins in the three hoards from the Tanjavur District, Tamilnadu (Now in the collections of the Government Museum, Madras).
5. *Foreign Notices*, p. 44
6. The writers on the subject generally use the terms embassy, envoy, ambassador, missionaries, etc., to indicate the missions between India and China. Most of them mean the same thing
7. *ibid.* pp. 44-45.
8. *ibid.* p. 77.
9. *ibid.* p. 141, note 20.
10. *ibid.* p. 108.
11. *ibid.* p.115
12. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Aspects of India's History and Culture*, p.212; But not all of them were purely commercial in purpose. When the Chinese as well as the Indian kings were alarmed at the aggressions of the Arabs and the Tibetans in the Central Asian region, there came to be exchanged embassies between China and several kingdoms in India with the intention of stemming them.
13. *Foreign Notices*, p. 44; Ma-Tuan-lin (13th century A.D) also mentions that the kingdom of Houang-tchi (Kāñchi) sent, for the first time, some ambassadors to China at the time of Han and since the reign of Emperor Ou-ti (See *ibid.*, Addenda I, p. 319)
14. *ibid.* p. 83.
15. *ibid.* p.116; From the writings of Ma-Tuan-lin, it is learnt that in the third year *keen-sung* (A.D. 667) the Five Indias, i.e., five kingdoms in India sent ambassadors to the Imperial court (*ibid.* p. 117).
16. *ibid.* p. 116.
17. *ibid.* pp. 116-117.
18. See T. V. Mahalingam: 'Pallava Rajasimha and South East Asia', *Journal of the Madras University*, Section A, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, January, 1961, pp. 317-330; also by the same author *Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History*, chapter viii on Narasimhavarman II (669); T. N. Subramaniam, *The Pallavas of Kanchi in South-East Asia* (1967)

19. T. V. Mahalingam: *Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History*, p.118
20. The Buddhist *Vihāra* which once flourished at Nāgapattinam, Tanjavur District, Tamilnadu and known as 'China Pagoda' has been taken to be the one which was built by Pallava Narasimhavarman II (T. V. Mahalingam: op. cit, p. 125). It was also known as 'the tower of Malla' which strengthens the above identification. The Kalyani inscription from Burma (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol., XXII, p. 45; quoted by T. N. Subramaniam) refers to a monastery at Nāgapattinam which was constructed by the command of the Mahārāja of Chñadēśa on the shore (See *The Pallavas of Kanchi in South-East Asia*, p.11).
21. Jan Yun-hua: 'The Tibetens in North-west India during the VIIIth century A.D.', *Journal of Indian History* (Silver Jubilee Volume), p. 81.
22. *Foreign Notices*, p. 117.
23. C. Minakshi: *Administrtion and Social Life under the Pallavas*, pp. 115 ff.; mentioned by T. V. Mahalingam: *Kancipuram in Early South Indian History*, p. 109.
24. See Jung Pang Lo: 'Maritime commerce, and its relation to the Sung Navy', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. XII, pt. I, January, 1969, pp. 64 ff.
25. *Foreign Notices*, Addenda II, p. 321.
26. *ibid.*, p. 145.
27. *ibid.*, p. 145, note 25.
28. *ibid.*, Addenda II, p. 323.
29. ?ūbōru Karashima: 'Relations between South India and China in Chola times', *Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Volume*, 1971, p. 69.
30. *Foreign Notices*, Addenda II, p. 324.
31. After K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Cōlas* (Second edition), p. 317 (Italics ours).
32. *Foreign Notices*, Addenda II, p. 324.
33. *The Cōlas* (Second Edition), p. 316; This mission has also been noticed in the writings of Chau-Ju-Kua: "in the tenth year *si-ning* (1077 A.D.) they again sent tribute of native produce. The Emperor Shun-tsung sent an officer of the Inner Department (i.e., a Chamberlain) to bid them welcome". (See *Foreign Notices*, p. 146).
34. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Cōlas* (Second edition), p. 318.

The treating of the Chōlā envoys in par with those of K' iu-t'z-I, though intriguing, is understandable as Chau-Ju-Kua who gives the above information also says that "in former times, (The Chōlās) did not send tribute to our court."

In this connection it is to be noted that Ma-Tuan-lin while recording the details of the Pagan embassy of 1168 A.D., registers not his opinion or the contrivences of those envoys of San-fo-tsi (Śrī Vijaya) but the observation of the President of the Council for Rites at the court, the last being simply pointed out a precedent to show the rank of the kingdom of Chu-lōn. It seems there was some confusion regarding the true status of the Chōlās in the Chinese court from the very beginning. The names of the envoy who visited China from Śrī Vijaya in 1067 A.D. and the Chōlā king who sent an embassy to China in 1077 A.D. are the same viz. Ti-hua-kia-lo i.e., Dēva Kulō (tūṅga). On the basis of this, it has been suggested that Kulōttuṅga spent part of the period 1063-1070 A.D. in Śrī Vijaya maintaining the Chōlā power in that quarter. This view is further get strengthened by an inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, p. 105) which says that a beautiful stone was shown to Kulōttuṅga by the king of Kambuja as a curio (*kāṣṭhi*). If we give some weight to the above pieces of information and if it is accepted that Kulōttuṅga could have visited the Chinese court as an envoy of Śrī Vijaya, then there is no wonder in the attitude of the Chinese court towards the Chōlās during the period.

35. This and the following other extracts are drawn from chapter xxiv entitled '1279-92 A.D. Embassies between China and South India' of the *Foreign Notices*, pp. 150-56.

36. *ibid*, Introduction, pp. 28-30; However there are some chronological difficulties in such an identification.
37. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, (The Age of the Imperial Unity), p. 645.
38. See Prabhas Chandra Majumdar: 'A Few Chinese Travellers visiting India during the medieval period', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Seventeenth Session, 1954, pp. 205-08.
39. Of the three, Fahien did not visit the mainland of South India. His account of the Deccan and the 'pigeon monastery' is simply dubbed 'gossip'. The second of the three, Yuan Chwang did visit Kāñcīpuram in South India. The last, It-sing also did not visit South India.
40. *2500 years of Buddhism*, p. 124.
41. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, (The Classical Age), p. 601
42. *ibid*, p. 601.
43. *ibid*, p. 610.
44. *Foreign Notices*, introduction, pp. 18-19.
45. *Mysore Archaeological Report for the year 1910*
46. See Noboru Karashima: 'Relations between South India and China in Chola times', *Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Volume*, pp. 70-71. In fact in the surrounding countries of China in the Far East there was a rush for the copper issues of the Sung rulers and the government of the day perplexed by the alarming drain of these coins had to ban their export (Karashima: *op. cit.*)
47. See N. Sankara Narayana: 'Three hoards of Chinese coins in Madras Government Museum', *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXIII, 1971, part II, pp. 61-68.
48. It is also interesting to note that an inscription (*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1956-57, Appendix B, No. 166) of Rājendra I dated in his seventh regnal year (A.D. 1019) from Nāgapattinam in the Tanjavur District refers to an individual who made three endowments to the temple at the place, two of them being of *Chinakanakam*. Nāgapattinam is known for its ancient Buddhist and Chinese connections. The places from which the coin hoards referred to above are found not far off from this place.

The find spots of the hoards of Chinese coins in Tamilnadu show that only in certain regions the Chinese coins were in current and it is probable that it was mainly used by sections of population only. It is not possible to say any thing about the existence of any standard criterion for fixing the value relationship between different coins of China found in South India and those of the indigenous dynasties and any other foreign coins in circulation
49. William Willets: 'Ceylon and China', *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, Madras (Silver Jubilee Volume), p. 113.
50. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: 'Hindu Sculptures at Zayton', *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1933, pp 5-11; referred to in *The Cōlas* (Second edition), p. 608

SOUTH INDIA AND SOUTH EAST ASIA

H. M. NAGARAJA RAO

THE EXPANSION OF INDIAN civilization and culture to the lands of the East and to the islands of South East Asia is an established fact in the history of the world. This cultural expansion of India has been termed as Sanskritization, Brahminization or, Indianization and the history of these lands as the history of Greater India or Farther India. There are divergent views about the causes for this expansion, the process of 'colonisation' and the impact and influence of the ruling dynasties of North or South India in this cultural expansion. It is rather difficult to draw a line of demarcation between North Indian and South Indian elements in the horizon of Indian culture.

"Whence came the Indians who emigrated to Farther India and where did they embark? Much research has been done on this subject. Unfortunately, those who are most involved in this research, the Indian historians, have not always approached it with the desired objectivity: if they were natives of Madras, they attributed the honour of having colonized "Greater India" to the Tamil lands; if they were from Calcutta, to Bengal."¹ This is best illustrated by the arguments put forward by Prof. R. C. Majumdar in his *Hindu Colonies in the Far East* (1944) and by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry in his *South Indian Influences in the Far East* (1949). Here an attempt is made just to trace the South Indian elements in the history and culture of Greater India and the contact of South India with the countries of Farther India, without entering into any controversy.

South India has played a prominent part in the spread of Indian culture in the lands and islands of South East Asia. "All the eastern ports of India up to Tāmra-lipti (Tamluk) contributed to this Indian expansion", writes La Vallée-Poussin, "but the South played the greatest role."²

The sources for the study of the history of the countries of Greater India are archaeological and epigraphical in the form of monuments, temples, *stūpas*, sculptures and inscriptions on the one hand and foreign accounts (Chinese, Arab and European) and local traditions on the other. From all these data, one safely comes to the conclusion that India maintained regularly cultural contacts with those regions, more by sea-routes than by land-routes from the beginnings of the Christian era to the 15th century A.D. and beyond. By cultural contacts in the present context it is meant all aspects of civilized life—social, religious, philosophical, political, commercial and the like.

It is noteworthy that in most cases, we pass without transition from the late Neolithic to the first Indian remains in these lands and islands. "On the coast of Vietnam and in Cambodia, there is nothing between the Neolithic strata of Sa-huynh and Samrong Sēn and Xuān-lōc megalith on one hand and the first monuments of Champa and Cambodia on the other. The Indian establishments of Oc Eo (in Cochín

China) and of Kuala Selinsing (in the state of Perak in Malaya), from which come seals engraved with Sanskrit names in the writing of the second to fourth centuries, have also yielded instruments of polished stone. In the Celebes a bronze Buddha of Amarāvati school was found at Sempaga above a Neolithic layer. So we can say, without great exaggeration, that the people of Farther India were still in the midst of late Neolithic civilization when the Brahmano-Buddhist culture of India came into contact with them."³

This late Neolithic contact was not, however, the first contact. The excavations by Prof. Beyer in the Philippines has yielded much evidence to show the cultural affinities between South India and South East Asia. In the words of R. B. Dixon ".... both the iron and glass objects are similar to and in some cases identical with the prehistoric glass and iron finds in the South India. These occur in the dolmen tombs and urn burials which are found by hundreds of thousands.....the inference is inescapable that we have clear evidence of a trade contact between northern Philippines and southern India, running well back into the first millennium B.C."⁴ Thus it is possible to surmise that South India had contact with these lands and islands.

Some scholars regard the Andhra country as the original home of the emigrants to overseas countries. R. Sewell states: "The Andhra period (c. 200 B.C. to 250 A.D.) seems to have been one of considerable prosperity. There was trade, both overland and by sea with western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt as well as with China and the East."⁵

Some Sātavāhana coins of c. 2-3rd centuries A.D. containing the device of two masted ships have been found. According to Vincent Smith "some pieces bearing the figures of a ship suggest the influence that Yājñasrī's (184-213 A.D.) power was not confined to the land."⁶ These coins testify the existence of maritime commercial activities in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The existence of Talainga language and people by that name in Burma also points to a very early migration of the people of that name from the Telangana region of Andra to Burma. Ptolemy in his *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* mentions Triglypton which has been identified by Lessen with the capital of the silver country, Arakan of the present day. "Triglypton is an attempt to render into Greek the meaning of Triliṅga, the three liṅgas of Mahēśvara in Purāṇas"—thus opines Wilford. According to Ramakrishnayya, the Telugu philologist, the word Teliṅga might have been Sanskritized into Triliṅga. He says further: "This must have been a later one for the various terms like Telugu (as applied to language) and Teliṅgāṇa (as applied to country)."⁷

The earliest sculptures of Funan are the statues of Buddha at Vat Rōmlōk and at Preikrābas. The heads of these images resemble that of a marble head from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa datable to c. 3rd century A.D. There is no doubt that the influx of these forms was from the Vēṅgi region of Andhra country under patronage of the Ikshvāku rulers. Thus, in the opinion of Ludwig Bachhofer, the export of Buddhist sculptures from Vēṅgi to the East must have started as early as 2nd century A.D. It may also

be noted that there was a place known as Amarāvati in the region of Champa in Indo-China.

Bantey Stei inscription of Jayavarman V of Cambodia, dated 968 A.D. contains a verse which mentions *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and *Śrīparvata*. *Śrīparvata* may be identified with Nāgārjunakoṇḍa or Śrīśaila of Andhra Pradesh. The author of the inscription appears to have belonged to this region.

At Srideb in central Siam remains of Hindu temples, images of Viṣṇu and Sanskrit inscriptions are discovered by Quaritch Wales who conducted extensive excavations and explorations in Malay Peninsula. He states: "From the shape of characters employed in writing the inscription, one was able to deduce that the colonists originated from Northern part of Deccan probably somewhere between the mouth of Krishna and Godavari rivers."⁸ The script used in the records of Śālaṅkāyanas may favourably be compared to the script of inscriptions of Far Eastern countries.

Prof. Saletore, Dr. S. Nagaraju and some other scholars propounded the theory according to which the original home of these emigrants was Karnataka. We know that the descendants of Nānyadēva went as far as the city of Mithilā where they established a kingdom. Nepalese chronicles mention some kings hailing from Karnataka as ruling over that country. A coin of Chinese emperor Wu-Ti of 2nd century B.C. is found in the excavations at Chandravalli, near Chitradurga. This establishes the diplomatic and commercial contact between Karnataka and China. It is also possible to surmise that Karnataka from ancient times had trade relations with foreign countries. Some are of the opinion that certain monuments of Java exhibit features of the Chālukya style.

Ptolemy in his work mentions places like Banavāsi, Mudgal, Nitre (Nētrāvati—Mangalore) and states that precious gems were imported to Rome from the Punnāṭa region (Heggaḍadēvanakōṭe and Hassan area). The reference to Puridvīpa in the famous Aihole record proves that the Chālukyas of Bādāmi had a naval force too. A record of Satyāśraya, the Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇa, dated 1088 A.D. refers to the tax levied on the incoming ships from the foreign lands and islands.⁹ As early as in 1904, Dr. Kern had recognized the affinities in the scripts used in the Cherok Tekun record of Malaya (4th century) and in a record of Bhavavarman of Cambodia and a record from Paṭṭadakal in Karnataka.¹⁰ The oldest records of Burma resemble palaeographically the Kadamba and Chālukya records. Letters *ka*, *ga*, *ja*, *ta*, *na*, *pa* and *bha* are identical to those of the Kadamba and Chālukya records, while there are slight variations as regards the letters *a*, *ṇa* and *la*. The affinities between the Pyu and Kannada scripts have been noticed and emphasised by some scholars.¹¹ U Tha Myat has shown with illustration how the script of Burma developed from the Kadamba script. The use of Śaka era began during the Chālukya times; we find the use of Śaka era in the records of the same period in the regions of Farther India. Further, rulers of Cambodia in particular bore the names like Chitrasēna, Diṇḍiga, Śrī Māra and Koṅgavarma which were in vogue only in Karnataka and nowhere else in India. The term *Praṇavēśvaralinga* used in a record of 892 A.D. belonging to

Champa reminds the god of the same name of Tālagunda. Karnataka is referred to in an inscription of Airlaṅga, the ruler of Java and another record refers to the trade relations between Karnataka and the Majapahit kingdom. Dr. Sircar opines that Karnataka played a very important role in the spread of Hinduism in South East Asia.

According to Dr. S. Nagaraju, Karnataka also played an active part in Cambodian politics and it had cultural contacts with South East Asia. "The eulogistic portions of the copper-plate charters of the early Chālukya kings, Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya II and Kīrtivarma II invariably contain a long epithet regarding Vinayāditya wherein there is a mention that Vinayāditya had made the kings of Kamēra, Pārasika and Simhaḷa to pay tributes to him."¹² Dr. Nagaraju identifies this Kamēra with Cambodia—the land of the Khmers. Suffice to say that it would have been possible for the Chālukya king to extract tributes from the countries of Khmer, Persia and Ceylon, only after suppressing the Pallava power.¹³

It is noteworthy that Śrīkshētra, the kingdom of Prome appears to have had alternative name Vanavasi which reminds one of the capital of the Kadambas in the western part of South India; this becomes clear from an old inscription on a metallic image of the Buddha from Prome, which begins: *idam Vanavāśtraṭṭhavāsinam pūjanat-thāya* meaning, this is for the worship of the residents of the kingdoms of Vanavāsi.¹⁴ A record of the Kambuja ruler Īśānavarman from Sambor¹⁵ dated 627 A.D. comprises fifteen Sanskrit verses the opening verse of which is an invocation of Kadambēśvara. The terms Vanavāsi and Kadambēśvara do not appear to be a mere co-incidence. The Kadambas of Banavāsi might have had cultural contacts with these regions. Much later, in the days of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya an embassy from Malaya came to Vijayanagara.

Among the scholars who advocate the Tamil origin for the establishment of the Indian colonies in the lands and islands of South East Asia, late Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry is the most prominent. He argues that the early Pallava kingdom was the original home of the emigrants of Indian culture to these regions.

Ptolemy, the author of *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, recognizes three great ports adjacent to one another in South India and he records them particularly as ports from which great ships called 'Calandia' sailed to the land of 'Chryse'—Malay Peninsula. They are Kamara (Kāvēripaṭṭinam), Paduca (Pondicherry) and Sopatma (formerly called Śōpaṭṭinam in East Arcot District). From these ports spice, pepper, gold and precious gems were imported. *Paṭṭinappālai*, a Tamil work of c. 5th century A.D. refers to the import of certain goods from a city called Kaḍāram during the reign-period of Karikāla-chōḷa. This clearly establishes the trade relations between the Chōḷa country and the regions of South East Asia.

It is noteworthy that most of the inscriptions found in the regions of Farther India are South Indian in character. One of the inscriptions of Funan of the 5th century exhibits a marked similarity to that of the Uravapalli grant of Pallava Viṣṇu-gōpa as regards the script. Further, most of the inscriptions, of 5th century A.D., of Cambodia are written in a script which in every respect is identical with the Grantha

character used at that time in the coast of Coramandal. "Even more significant" says Dr. Chhabra "is the phenomenon that for several centuries the Pallava Grantha remained the only script in vogue both in Farther India and Indonesia."¹⁶ Voger points out the affinities between the scripts used in the records of Greater India and the script of Pallava records.

The Tamil inscription of Takua-pa, discovered in 1902 by Mr. Bourke, records the construction of a tank named Avaniṇārāyaṇam evidently after the Pallava ruler Nandivarman III (826-50 A.D.) by a person who is described himself as the lord of Naṅgūr. Though there are some discrepancies, this record is a valuable and conclusive proof of the active contact maintained in the 9th century between the two shores of the Bay of Bengal. Also there are some Tamil records in the Peninsula.

In the field of art and architecture the Pallavas have contributed a distinct style of their own. The Pallava influences in the monuments of Greater India confirm the cultural contacts that existed between Tamilnadu and those regions. There is good reason to believe that the monolithic *rathas* of Mahābalipuram offer the closest similarity with the ancient Hindu monuments of the Far East.

Some Kurumbar or Pallava coins found along the Coramandal coast bear the figure of a ship. According to Sir Walter Elliot, Kurumbar, during the early centuries of the Christian era, occupied 'the country from the base of the table land to Palar and Pennar rivers of South India.' An inscription of Kula Prabhāvatī, the chief queen of Jayavarma I of Cambodia refers to the installation of a golden image in a town called Kurumbanagara which is inhabited by Brahmins (*viprāṇām bhavanē Kurumbanagarē*). The word Kurumbanagara may be a reminiscent of the Kurumbar of Palar-Pennar region of the Pallava dominion who might have migrated to Kambuja.

The similarities in the legends regarding the origin of the rulers of Funan and the Pallavas is another noteworthy factor. According to a Sanskrit inscription of Champa the Brahmin Kauṇḍinya, having received a javelin from the Brahmin Aśvatthāma, threw it to mark the location of his future capital, then married Sōmā, a daughter of the king of the Nāgas. The Chinese version of the dynastic origins of Funan is slightly distorted. According to a Cambodian dynastic legend preserved in a record of the 10th century, the origin of the kings of Cambodia goes back to the union of the sage Kambu Svāyambhuva, eponymic ancestor of the Kambujas, with the celestial nymph Mēiā, who was given to him by lord Śiva. The legend connected with Kauṇḍinya noted above may be compared with a similar legend regarding the origin of the Pallava rulers of Kāñchi.

Certain names of unmistakably South Indian origin found in the tribal subdivisions among the Simbiring, a branch of Karo-Batak race, like Chōḷiya, Pāṇḍiya, Meliyāla and Pelavi (Pallava), as well as Tekang (Tekkaṇam, Deccan) are interesting to study. "Though there were many occasions in later history when these names might have been introduced, it is not altogether impossible that they came in early, or at least the ground was prepared early for their reception at a later time. The social organization of the Karo-Bataks seems to date from a very remote past and

it is quite probable that these names were taken over when they were still powerful realities in South India."¹⁷ Rankel has traced several common Malay words like those for washerman, marriage pledge, leaf, couple etc. to indubitably Tamil origin.

The explorations conducted in Malaya by Quaritch Wales have brought forward important archaeological evidences to establish the fact that from very early times Takkōla (on the western coast of Malaya) and Tāmraliṅga (on the eastern coast of Malaya) formed two important out posts through which Indian culture radiated and spread over to Cambodia, Siam, Champa and other parts of South East Asia. Further Wales conducted extensive study of Kheda—Kaḍāram of Tamil classics—which was an important Hindu settlement in Malaya.

Various references to the sage Agastya and his cult in Farther India suggest the contribution of the Pāṇḍyas of South India. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry argues that the Śailēndras of Śrīvijaya were doubtless a race of Hindu-Javanese rulers and not without south Indian affiliations of their own. Jayanagara, the ruler of Śrīvijaya, adopted the characteristic Pāṇḍyan title *Sundarapāṇḍya* at his coronation early in the 14th century and adopted the Pāṇḍyan emblem of *minadvaya* (two carps) for his seal. The successful Chōla expedition to the islands of South East Asia is a well known fact.

Funan

Funan occupied the lower valley of the Mekong, the area now known as Cambodia and Cochin-China. Its capital was probably Vyādhapura or modern Ba Phnom. It was a strongly Hinduised land from 2-3rd centuries A.D. The story about the union of the Brahmin Kauṇḍinya and Sōmā of the Nāga race and their descent has already been noticed above.

The famous Vo-Canh Sanskrit record of 3rd century A.D. is in South Indian characters. Śrī Māra mentioned in the record has been identified with Fan-che-man of Chinese chronicles. He was the first to assume the title of 'Great king of Funan'. Funan was conquered by Chitrasēna, the ruler of Tchen-la, in the second half of the 6th century A.D.

The monuments of the country of these periods remind us the well known Pallava and Indo-Javanese forms of a pyramidal *vimānas* on a square base characterized by diminishing stages culminating in a *śikhara*, each stage being ornamented by *kūḍus*, pilasters etc.

Kambuja

The Kambuja princes traced their descent from the sage Kambha and the celestial nymph Mērā, which is another version of the motif of foundation myths of Indian royal families of South India and the colonies.

There are some epigraphs of Chitrasēna bearing a close resemblance to South Indian Pallava inscriptions of the early 7th century. Two identical records found in two places, Phou Lakhon in Laos and Khan Thevada in the province Udon, states that Chitrasēna took the name of Mahēndravarmaṇ at his consecration and after having conquered the entire country set up a *liṅga* of Girīśa on the mountain as a

symbol of his victory. It may be recalled that more or less about the same period the Pallava ruler Mahēndravarmān I erected a shrine to god Śiva on the rock of Tiruchirāpalli overlooking the Kaveri. A record from Sambor of Išānavarmān, dated 627 A.D. opens with an invocation of god Kadambēśvara and refers to the erection of a Śiva temple and registers a grant of the village Śākatīrtham by Vidyā-viśēsha, well versed in many sciences. The earliest record from the temple of Bayang bears two dates Śaka 526 and Śaka 546 (604 and 624 A.D. respectively) and is in South Indian characters. Its language is flawless Sanskrit and certain terms used in the record belong to Pāśupata lore.

The atmosphere of Śaivism which prevailed in the court and dominated the minds of the court-poets is best illustrated by a verse in an inscription of Jayavarman V, dated 968 A.D. The king is compared in the record to Śrīparvata in a manner that brings out powerfully not only the Śaivite leanings of the author of the record but also the source of Kambujan Śaivism. The verse:

*Dakṣiṇāpatha vinyasta-sarassiddhipradōrthinām
yuktam yō yuktinipuṇais-Śrīparvata itīritah¹⁸*

This striking reference to the Śaiva centre of the Deccan reflects the strength and continuity of South Indian influences on the culture of the colonies.

Two facts of particular interest may be noted here: First is the direct reference to a Pallava ruler of Kāñchī (*Kāñchīpura-nṛipa*)¹⁹ in a damaged record that eulogises Jayavarman I (7th century). The other is the reference to Śaṅkara, the great South Indian teacher of Advaita Vēdānta, in an inscription of Indravarmān, dated Śaka 80. the last digit being lost. However, the record must have been issued in between 878 and 887 A.D. Śivasōma, the royal preceptor is described thus in the record:

*yēnādhītāni śāstrāṇi bhagavach-Chhaṅkarāhvayāt
niśśēshasūrimūrdhālī-mālālīdhāṅghripīrīkajāt²⁰*

This not only establishes that the leaders of Hindu society in the colonies eagerly kept up contacts with the original springs of Hindu culture, but throws a welcome light on the date of Śaṅkara.

Some of the old Hindu customs and ceremonies have survived in Cambodia to this day. The Bakus, the court Brahmns, still play a part in the administration of oaths to officials, in ploughing the first furrow, and at the 'Feast of the Waters'. The prayers they recite or chant on such occasions are in corrupt Sanskrit, often intelligible, but still written in the Grantha characters.

Champa

The present Annam played a dominant role in the spread of Hindu culture in the Far East. It may be recalled that Champa was also the name of the capital of the Aṅga country in the lower Gangetic valley. Kāvēripaṭṭinam, the the Chōla capital, also had this name.

The oldest epigraph of this land so far known is the Vo-Canh rock inscription in South Indian characters of 2-3rd centuries A.D. It mentions Śrī Māra. However, this record does not belong to the history of Champa proper. The earliest records of Champa are the inscriptions of Bhadravarman of about 350 A.D. The Cho-dinh record refers to a sacrifice performed on behalf of *dharmamahārāja* Bhadravarman or possibly one of his descendants. The identity between this title and that of the Kadambas and the Pallavas is noteworthy.

The bronze image of Buddha of Dong-Duong, over a metre in height, is a beautiful work of art in the true Amarāvati style. The treatment of the robe which leaves the right shoulder bare and falls in a straight fold at the back is unmistakably inspired by Amarāvati style. It is noteworthy that the Dong-Duong region is also known by the name of Amarāvati. The numerous lions and elephants sculptured in the relief and in the round in the principal group of temples of 7-8th centuries at Tra Kieu in the province of Quang-nam clearly recall the Kailāsa temple of Ellōra.

The cult of Bhagavatī held a prominent place in the hearts of ancient Chams. The worship of Bhagavatī is a cult very popular on the west coast of South India.

"The Chams" says Finot "have to this day the custom, in certain festivals, of smearing on the face of the deities a thin layer of paste". This is no doubt a paste of sandal mixed with scents and the practice is in vogue in South India.

Siam

Excavations at P'ong Tuk have brought to light the foundations of two small buildings which exhibit strong influences from Amarāvati. The Greco-Roman lamp of the 1-2nd centuries A.D. seems to be an Indian copy rather than an original brought from the Mediterranean; the Amarāvati style of the bronze Buddha discovered here and the mention of a similar lamp in an early inscription from Alifū in the Krishna valley support this hypothesis. The village P'ong Tuk is also near or on the highways of commerce. Till 6th century A.D. this was a South Indian colony and later came under North Indian influences.

The grinding stones with rollers (*rasang batau*) found at Dong-Lakhon used for grinding colours like the curry stones are still in use in South Indian homes.

A record from Srideb of c. 5-6th centuries A.D. is in South Indian characters. A torso of a *yakṣiṇī* found in the same place is in a style which may be considered as a transition from Amarāvati to the later forms of the Pallava art of the time of Mahēndravarman. But Coedes sees the Gupta influences on this sculpture.

Malay Peninsula

Regarding the early history of a number of independent states established by the early Indian colonists, our knowledge is very limited for want of sources and we have to depend entirely on Chinese notices. About the 8th century A.D. these states began to attract the attention of their powerful neighbours in the southern islands. The whole region may be said to have been under the political tutelage of the Śailēndras of Śrīvijaya till the end of 13th century, after which the

region came to be divided between the Siamese power and the Javanese empire of Majapahit.

I.H.N. Evans has identified the village Kuala Selinsing on the coast of the Matang District of Perak as an ancient Hindu settlement on the basis of a cornelian seal bearing a Sanskrit inscription in box-headed characters of South Indian variety of about the 6th century A.D. or even a little earlier.

Dr. Quaritch Wales has investigated more than thirty sites round about Kedah. The results attained reveal that the area was in continuous occupation by people who came under strong South Indian influences, Buddhist and Hindu, for several centuries. Coedes has identified Kedah with Kaḍāram of Chōḷa literature and inscriptions and Kaṭāha of Sanskrit literature. His identification has, however, been questioned by many.

The ruins of the Śiva temple on a low spur of the Kedah peak may be considered, according to K. A. Nilakanta Sastry, "to be an important link in the transition from the sepulchral shrines of South India with *lingas* in them to the developed *caṇḍis* (tomb-shrines) of Java enshrining the portait figures of particular monarchs."²¹

Takua-pa, at the mouth of the river of that name, was identified by Gerini with the Takola of Ptolemy and Takkola of the *Milindapanha*. A number of antique sculptures and monuments were brought to light by Lajonquiere. Hence Takua-pa may be considered to be a well known harbour and trading centre in the early centuries of Christian era.

The three Brahminical figures on an ornate stele on the opposite side of the Khlong Ko Srok are South Indian in inspiration. Lajonquiere identifies the figures as Śiva, Pārvati and a danseuse, while Prof. Sastry identified them to be Viṣṇu with his two consorts. Lajonquiere says "the costumes, in numerous folds treated with details, the profusion of jewels, the elegant movements of the body, recall very nearly the oldest sculptures of Dravidian India." The inscribed stele by the side of this sculpture bears a Tamil record of the 9th century, which has been noticed above.

Among the statues found in the neighbourhood of Jaiya, on the southern shore of the Bay of Bandon, belonging to different periods and styles, the bust of Lōkēśvara, now in the museum of Bangkok deserves special notice. It is one of the outstanding bronzes of Śīvijaya art of the 9th century. It is one of the master pieces of Indian sculpture in Indo-China as Coedes describes.

There is a Tamil record of the 9th century from Vat Phra That. Two inscriptions from Vat Sema Muang in Ligor are in South Indian script and one of them bears a Śaka date corresponding to 775 A.D.

Two figures of 9-10th century. A.D. —a standing Viṣṇu and a Vaṭuka-Bhairava form of Śiva—in stone come from the temple of Vieng Sra. Every detail in these figures is decidedly South Indian except the facial features which are indigenous.

The Malay Peninsula continued to be in the debt of India to this day and the contact between the two lands is being actively maintained along many channels, primarily economic.

The Southern Islands

The earliest epigraphs from the islands which attest the establishment of Hindu culture belong to the end of 4th century A.D. However, there are external evidences to show that this movement began much earlier.

A Chinese source states that in 132 A.D. a king of Yetiao (generally taken to mean Yavadvīpa) named Pien or Tiaopien (Dēvavarman?) sent an embassy to China and received a present of a gold seal and violet ribbon in return. Iabadiou of Ptolemy's account has generally taken to be a representation of Yavadvīpa. The *Rāmāyana* describing this island for the benefit of the apes that were sent out in search of Sitā states thus:

*yatnavantō Yavadvīpam saptarājyōpaśōbhitam
suvarṇarūpyakam chaiva suvarṇākāramaṇḍitam
Yavadvīpam atikramya Śīśirō nāma parvataḥ
divam spṛśati śṛiṅgēṇa dēvadānavasēvitaḥ*

The Canagal inscription of Sanjaya (732 A.D.) seems to justify Ptolemy's view of Iabadiou is no other than the island of Java, possibly including the island of Sumatra also.

The Sanskrit names for cinnamon and nutmeg imply that they were brought to India from across the seas at an early date. It may be taken to suggest the most ancient trade relations between India and the Archipelago.

The Sanskrit inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman are among the earliest traces of Hindu culture in the island of Java. These inscriptions are engraved in the distinctly South Indian characters described as 'Vēṅgī' and 'Pallava'. These are four in number and may be assigned to the middle of the 5th century A.D. The reckoning of the month from the newmoon (*amānta* system) used in the Tugu rock inscription is a characteristic of South Indian calendar.

The Rambi-poedji rock inscription noticed by Stutterheim in 1933, is engraved on a megalith and reads *Parvatēśvara*, i.e. the Lord of the Mountain, a name of Śiva. The record belongs to the same period as those of Pūrṇavarman. Prof. Sastry questions: "Was this big boulder a primitive Indonesian object of worship and did the incoming Hindus continue to recognize its sanctity in the new order by treating it as a *liṅga* or symbol of Śiva?"

The most interesting and instructive evidence of South Indian influences at work in the colonies is furnished by the Buddha statues found in various places in the island. These show indubitably the features of the Amarāvati style. A bronze Buddha from South Djember (42 cms.), another found in Sikendeng on the west coast of Celebes (75 cms.), larger than the usual run of Javanese statuettes and the colossal stone Buddha of Bukit—"are all in the characteristic Amarāvati style, even the differences noticeable among them exactly reproducing similar differences in the Amarāvati images. It is probable that the bronzes were brought from Amarāvati by the colonists, or imported from there by colonists already established overseas; the transport of

the large stone Buddha of Palembang must have been more difficult, though by no means possible. If that image was made locally, it must have been the work of an artist who went to school at Amarāvati. The art of Amarāvati, it should be noted, reached all its high watermark in the latter half of the 2nd and early 3rd centuries A.D. and the Buddha of Palembang shows affinities with the earliest phase of this art. It is thus very likely that this Buddha image is the oldest relic of Hindu culture in the archipelago. And Palembang deserves to count among the oldest centres of this culture."²²

The Celebes Buddha, according to Dr. Bosch who has studied it in detail, has no features of early Sumatran Hindu-Javanese art and it must have been imported directly from the Amarāvati region during or after the blossoming of Amarāvati art and before the rise of Śrīvijaya, i.e. between 2nd and 7th centuries A.D.

A bell and a pair of cymbals, presented to the musical collection of the Batavian Society of Science and Arts by an official of the Loewoe District in Celebes are very similar to those still in daily use in South Indian domestic worship and otherwise.

The role of Agastya as the promoter of Hinduisation in Java and the preacher of Śaivism is well attested by epigraphs, literature as also sculptures. The Dinija record, dated 760 A.D., records how the ruler of East Java got erected a fine abode for that sage and installed therein a stone image of Agastya in place of the wooden image set up by his ancestors. This shows the importance and popularity of that sage. It is to be noted that even in India Agastya is represented as the pioneer of Indo-Āryan culture in the region south of the Vindhyas.

The affinities in architectural features between the Hindu-Javanese *chandi*s and the Pallava temples of South India has closely been studied by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch. But Stutterheim considers the *chandi*s to be purely Indonesian on the ground that "the entomling of old Javanese kings, a thoroughly Indonesian ceremony". K. A. Nilakanta Sastry commenting on this states: "Temples dedicated to dead kings and warriors are not so entirely unknown in South India as Stutterheim seems to think." According to him it was a South Indian practice being carried 'much farther than the mother country.'²³

The frequency with which the images of Gaṇeśa occur in Java is paralleled only by the innumerable shrines dedicated to that god in South India. The Bhīma cult, the Śivāditya cult are the curious developments in the field of religion. Names like Śivabuddhōdaka shows very close connection between Śaivism and Buddhism prevailing in Java unlike India. The indebtedness of old Javanese literature and sculpture to Indian originals is well known.

There are two scales in Javanese music—the *slendra* with five tones in the octave and *pelog* with seven. Tradition treats *slendra* as a gift of Girinātha, a name of Śiva and synonym of the name Śailendra, a dynasty of the soil the rulers of which were definitely a race of Hindu-Javanese rulers and with South Indian affiliations of their own.

The contact between the Śailendra empire of Śrīvijaya and the Chōla empire of South India is to be studied at this juncture. We learn from a Chōla record that the

Śailendra ruler Śrī Māravijayōttuṅgavarman completed a monastery begun by, and named after, his father Chūḍāmaṇivarman, at Nāgapaṭam in Tamilnadu. The Chōḷa emperor Rājārāja I, in his 21st regnal year (1005 A.D.), made a grant of the revenues of the village Ānaimaṅgalam for the upkeep of the shrine of Buddha in the monastery. Rājendra I, son and successor of Rājārāja I, confirmed the grant after his father's death and caused it to be engraved on copper-plates.

This friendly relation between the Chōḷa and the Śailendra rulers, however, did not last long. In a few years hostilities broke out, though the reasons for which are not quite clear, perhaps owing to expansionist tendency of the Śailendra ruler. This resulted in Rājendra-chōḷa's sending a naval expedition against his adversary beyond the sea. This overseas expedition against Kaḍāram is mentioned for the first time in his inscriptions of fourteenth year. The Tamil record at Tañjore²⁴ states that after having sent "numerous ships into the midst of the rolling sea and seized Saṅgrāmaṇijayōttuṅgavarman, king of Kaḍāram" Rājendra-chōḷa I conquered successively:

Śrīvijaya (Palembang)

Paṇṇai (Panai on the east coast of Sumatra facing Malacca)

Malaiyūr (the Malāyu of the seventh century, that is, Jambi)

Māyirudīṅgam (the Jih-lo-ting of the Chinese, some part of the Malay Peninsula)

Ilaṅgāsogam (Langkasuka)

Māppappālam (Papphāla, located by the Singhalese chronicle, *Mahāvamsa*, on the coast of Pegu)

Mevilumbariṅgam (identified by Sylvain Lévi with Karmaraṅga, or Kāmalāṅka, on the Isthmus of Ligor)

Vaḷaippandūru (perhaps Pāṇḍur(āṅga) in Champa, preceded either by the Tamil word *valai* ["fortress"] or the Cham word *palei* ["village"])

Talaṭṭakkōlam (Takkōla of Ptolemy and of the *Milindapaṇha*, on the Isthmus of Kra)

Mādamālīṅgam (Tāmbraḷiṅga, or Chinese Tan-ma-ling, whose center was at Ligor)

Iḷāmuriḍēśam (Lāmurī of the Arabs and Lambri of Marco Polo, at the northern tip of Sumatra)

Māṇakkavāram (the Nicobar Islands)

Kaḍāram (Kedah)²⁵

Thus we come to know that the Chōḷa expedition was crowned with brilliant success, and various parts of the Śailendra empire was conquered by Rājendra. But the task of maintaining hold upon a distant land across the sea was too great to be borne by the successors of Rājendra-chōḷa. Evidently friendly relations were re-established by the end of the 11th century A.D.

The contact between Java and South India continued in the later period also. The *Nāgarakṛtīśāra* mentions that Buddhāditya, a *bhikṣu* of Kāñcīpura, sang

verses in praise of the Javanese ruler Hayam Wuruk in the 14th century. We have already noticed above that Jayanagara adopted the Pāṇḍyan title *Sundarapāṇḍya* at his coronation early in the 14th century.

Borneo

At Kutei at the mouth of the Mahakam, and at Moeara Kaman are found the oldest epigraphs (4th century A.D.) of the Archipelago. These are engraved on four stone pillars, sacrificial posts (*yūpas*). In 1940, three more records of the same period were discovered. All these records in South Indian characters register the gifts made by Mūlavarman.

A bronze Buddha from Kota Bangoen recalls the Amarāvātī style, though Hindu-Javanese influences also seem to be present. Unfortunately this image was destroyed by fire in the Paris exhibition of 1931.

In West Borneo in the Kapuas region and in Batoe-Pahat at the source of the Tekarek are found *stūpas* engraved on rocks with inscriptions on their sides in some what late Pallava script, containing the Buddhist *Ye-te* formula etc. A Pallava inscription from near Sang-betrang, a Gaṇeśa image from Sarawak, and a *liṅga* and *śūni* in the upper Malawie are other relics to be noted.

A short survey of the South Indian elements and influences in the spread of Indian culture to the lands and islands of these regions has enabled us to form at least a rough idea about the role of South India in this great endeavour. The merchant, the adventurer, the priest and also the exile perhaps brought the elements of Hindu culture to these lands. "Religion has all been" says Dr. Chhabra "the pivot around which all the activities of Hindus revolve. The same is noticeable in the lands and islands that came under the influence of Hindu colonists".²⁶ However, it should be noted that the motive of this colonization was not political but cultural—more a case of willingly accepting what was lovingly given. The first ever International Rāmāyaṇa Festival, celebrated in Indonesia so recently as in 1971, is a telling proof thereof.

Notes and References

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7. *Annals of Madras Oriental Researches*, Vol. V, pt. I, p. 4.
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13. The original text runs as follows: *pituraṅṅaya Balānduśṣkharasya Tārakaraṣṭir-iva daityabalam-atisamuddhataṁ Trairaṅṅya-Kaṣṭhapatibalam-avashṭabhya karadṛkṛita-Kaṁṣa-Pāṣṭka-Siṅha-jādi-dhṛpādhipasya Vinayādityasya.*
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18. Coedes: *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. I, p. 149, verse 7.
19. *ibid.*, p. 8.
20. *ibid.*, p. 40, verse 39.
21. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry: *op. cit.*, p. 84-85.
22. *ibid.*, p. 119.
23. *ibid.*, p. 130.
24. *SII.*, Vol. II, p. 105 and *EL.*, Vol. IX, p. 231.
25. As given by Coedes in his *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, p. 142-43.
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THE PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH INDIA

B. S. SHASTRY

I. Introduction

17 MAY 1498 is an epoch-making date in East-West relations. On that day, Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese nobleman and navigator, reached Kapukad, a few kilometres north of Calicut in Malabar. He had set sail from Portugal on 8 July 1497 with four ships and 170 men. Doubling the Cape of Good Hope he reached Malabar with the help of Ahmad-ibn-Majib, a Muslim pilot of Gujarat, whom da Gama had met at Malindi in East Africa. Da Gama's arrival at the Indian shore marked the beginning of what K. M. Panikkar calls the "Vasco da Gama epoch"¹ of East-West relations. The epoch lasted about 450 years during which India and other parts of Asia were subjugated to the political, economic and cultural dominance of Western powers.

Of course, Vasco da Gama does not deserve full credit for the discovery of the sea route from Europe to India via the Cape of Good Hope. In 1488 his compatriot, Bartholomeu Dias, had doubled the Cape and da Gama sailed across the Arabian sea from the east coast of Africa to Malabar with the help of the Indian pilot already mentioned. Nor was da Gama the first Portuguese national to reach India. In 1488 Pero de Cavilhão had come to the Malabar coast and had stayed at Cannanore and Calicut for a considerable time. He had come by the traditional land route from Europe, passing through Arab states. He could do so because he knew Arabic well and could go about as an Arab. He had forwarded to his king a report of his experiences in the East.²

The Portuguese came to India "in search of Christians and spices."³ There was a common belief in Portugal that India had been converted to Christianity by Apostle Thomas, who in fact had come to India some time in the first half of the first century A.D. Vasco da Gama supposed that the Malabarese were Christians and their temples were chapels. He and his companions therefore offered prayers before the image of 'Mary' in a temple in Calicut.⁴ The mistake was discovered later and then the Portuguese decided to convert the Indians to the extent possible.

The spices of the East, including the pepper of Malabar, were in great demand in Europe; but the spice trade was in the hands of the Arabs. The Portuguese were determined to capture this trade. They succeeded in doing so to a great extent within two decades after Vasco da Gama's discovery of the sea route to India.

Da Gama himself was received well by the king of Calicut, the Samudri. Yet, he could not establish a firm commercial relationship with the Malabarese there owing to his high-handedness and the hostility of the Arab merchants who were present at Calicut. Nevertheless, he could load his ships with spices and other articles. On the return voyage, he sailed along the coast northwards upto the Anjediva islands, off Karwar.⁵ He came into contact with the people of Kanara at Kundapur

and Anjediva, exchanged articles with them, and collected samples of spices from them, though he does not seem to have known of the Vijayanagara empire. His voyage was a great success indeed. He could show his king the articles available on the west coast of India and could tell him what merchandise the Indians demanded.

The second Portuguese voyage to India was in 1500 under the command of Pedro Alvares Cabral, with 13 ships and 1,200 men. 17 Franciscan priests and missionaries were also sent with him to convert Indians. Cabral fared no better than Vasco da Gama at Calicut. But at Cochin he received much co-operation from its king who was a feudatory of the king of Calicut. He welcomed the Portuguese with a view to using them for gaining independence from the king of Calicut. Cabral left 30 Portuguese in a factory at Cochin and returned to Portugal. It was the first Portuguese factory in South India.

In 1501 too a fleet was sent to India. The king of Portugal had decided by then to send such a fleet every year. The fleet of 1502 was commanded by Vasco da Gama himself. He was ordered to block the Muslim trade between India and the Arab states, and to divert all the eastern trade to Portugal. In keeping with these instructions he attacked every Muslim ship that he came across on the sea. At Calicut he demanded that all Muslim traders should be thrown out. The king of Calicut naturally refused. Da Gama met the refusal with wanton destruction of vessels, ports and people under the jurisdiction of Calicut. He left for Portugal after leaving seven vessels to guard the coast.

In 1503 and 1504 also the annual fleets were sent. But in 1505 the king of Portugal changed his policy of sending annual fleets. Instead, he decided to appoint a resident viceroy in India for a term of three years to guard and promote Portuguese interests. Francisco de Almedia was the first viceroy. He was instructed, *inter alia*, to build forts at Anjediva and Cannanor, and to develop friendly relations with the emperor of Vijayanagara.

Almeida fulfilled the instructions and did much more to strengthen the Portuguese control over the seaborne trade of India. He built a fort in Anjediva in September 1505, and another in Cannanor in 1505-58. He developed friendly relations with the chiefs of Kanara though not without skirmishes in the beginning. His friendship was sought by emperor Vira Narasimha of Vijayanagara. His greatest achievement, however, was his victory over the combined fleets of the Sultans of Egypt and Gujarat in February 1509 off Diu. It marked the beginning of the Portuguese naval supremacy in the Arabian Sea.

Almeida was succeeded by Afonso de Albuquerque (1509-1515), the greatest of the Portuguese conquerors to have been sent to the East. He captured the Island of Goa from the Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1510. Goa became the headquarters of the Portuguese empire in the East. He also encouraged mixed marriages between Portuguese men and native women of good looks. Such men were given lands in Goa to cultivate. Their progeny was expected to be loyal to the king of Portugal. Albuquerque employed natives in revenue collection. Timmayya, commander of the fleet of Vijayanagara on the Kanara coast, and Malu Raya (Melrao of the Portuguese

documents), chief of Gersoppa in the empire of Vijayanagara, assisted Albuquerque in the conquest, administration and defence of Goa.

Another significant achievement of Albuquerque was the conquest of Malacca in 1511 and Ormuz in 1515, the two keys to the East Indies and the Persian Gulf, respectively. Aden, the key to the Red Sea, alone was not captured by him or his successors. During the next three quarters of a century the Portuguese had virtual monopoly over the Indian trade. Their supremacy in the seas was not challenged until the appearance of the Dutch towards the end of the 16th century. Their control of the sea enabled them to establish factories, build forts and acquire territories all along the western coast of India and in two places on the east coast as well during this period.

II. Territorial Acquisitions

We shall consider the territorial acquisitions of the Portuguese in South India in a chronological order.

Cochin (1503). The first ever Portuguese fort in India was built by them at Cochin on the island of Vaipcen, off the Malabar coast, in 1503.⁶ The Raja of Cochin, Unni Rama Varma, was a feudatory of the Samudri of Calicut who was already hostile to the Portuguese. The Raja intended to use the powerful Portuguese to free himself from the suzerainty of the Samudri. He therefore extended all the trade facilities to them and ceded them a site to build a fort. In doing so, however, the Raja merely exchanged king log for king stork, for he was made a puppet in the hands of the Portuguese.

Their hold on Cochin was so firm that the Portuguese made it their headquarters in the East. The Raja and his successors were compelled to obey the Portuguese who used to imprison the Raja in his own palace when he refused to do their bidding. They also interfered in the succession to the throne of Cochin and saw to it that the successor was a candidate of their liking. The Raja was made to wear a crown sent from Portugal and in the correspondence between the Portuguese authorities in India and Portugal, he was referred to as a 'faithful servant'.⁷

In 1532 the Portuguese shifted their capital from Cochin to Goa. In 1530's they were engaged in acquiring Diu and Bassein. Goa was a nearer and better place than Cochin for preparations. Hence the transfer of the capital. The fort, however, was not abandoned, nor was the control over the Raja of Cochin, until the Dutch appeared on the scene in the 17th century.

Anjediva (1505). The Anjediva islands were virtually no man's land, though they were within the jurisdiction of the Vijayanagara empire. There were very few settlers there in those days owing to bad climate; nor was there any cultivation. But the Portuguese made the islands their own because of the strategic position. The islands were located at the centre of the west coast of India; they were not far away from the mainland; they could be used to shelter Portuguese ships in monsoons; ships could be repaired there; fresh water could also be obtained.⁸ The Portuguese

built their first fort there in 1505. Neither the emperor of Vijayanagara nor his vassal, the Gersoppa chief, within whose jurisdiction the islands lay, challenged the Portuguese possession of the place. On the contrary, the emperor and the chief sought Portuguese friendship. However, the latter destroyed the fort in 1506 when they discovered that it could hardly be defended against enemy attacks. The islands, however, continued to be used by them for the purposes already indicated. In 1682 they fortified it again when they learnt that Sambhaji, the Maratha king, intended to entrench himself there to use it as a base of operation against them.⁹ The islands remained under the control of the Portuguese until they were expelled from India in 1961. Today the islands form part of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu.

Cannanor (1505). The Kolattiri Raja of Cannanor was an enemy of the Samudri of Calicut and therefore he befriended the Portuguese who had incurred the determined hostility of the Samudri. The Raja allowed the Portuguese to erect a fort at Cannanor. Francisco de Almeida built it in 1505-08.¹⁰

The Kolattiri Raja was wiser than the Raja of Cochin. The former never allowed the Portuguese to interfere in his affairs. His capital, Chirakkal, was a few miles away from the shore and the Portuguese could not harm him there directly.¹¹

Goa (1510). We have already noted that the Island of Goa was conquered by the Portuguese in 1510 from the Adil Shah of Bijapur. They obtained two more adjacent regions, namely, Bardes and Salset, including Marmugoa, from the Adil Shah in 1543 by a treaty. The Island of Goa, Bardes and Salset came to be known as the Old Conquests. Goa was expanded further in the second half of the 18th century by the addition of Perne, Dicholi, Sattari, Sankhali, Sange, Kepe, Ponda and Canacona. These additions came to be known as the New Conquests.

Calicut (1513). Calicut, as we have seen, was the first place to have been visited by the Portuguese in South India. But they did not succeed in establishing a firm friendship with the Samudri. Their arrogance and high-handedness were the main causes of their failure. The Samudri became their determined foe and opposed them tooth and nail. In 1513 the reigning Samudri was murdered at the instance of Afonso de Albuquerque and the murderer ascended the throne. Albuquerque endeavoured to dictate peace to the new Samudri. On 24 December a treaty of peace was in fact signed. It allowed the Portuguese to erect a fort at Calicut. It was an uneasy peace and did not last long. The Portuguese fort, which was built promptly after the conclusion of the treaty, could not be defended against the Calicut forces for long. It was abandoned in 1525.

Quilon (1519). The Portuguese developed commercial relations with Quilon on the Malabar coast right from 1498. But the usual high-handedness of the Portuguese led to frequent skirmishes. However, on 25 September 1516, a treaty was concluded whereby the Portuguese were given a site to build a fort. They built one in 1519 and named it São Tomé.

Chaul (1521). In 1521 the Portuguese obtained the permission of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar to build a fort at Chaul in South Konkan. The fort was constructed in the same year.

Chaliam (1532). The fort of Chaliam was built by the Portuguese in 1532. It was located on the bank of a river in the principality of Tanur whose chief was a feudatory of the Samudri of Calicut. Like the Raja of Cochin, the chief of Tanur also thought that he could get rid of the suzerainty of the Samudri with the foreigners' help. He was disillusioned shortly. In 1571 the Samudri himself drove the Portuguese away from Chaliam.

Bassein (1534). Bassein was secured by them in 1534 by a treaty with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat who was under Mughal attack. He ceded the place in the expectation of some aid against the Mughal forces. The Portuguese built a fort in Bassein in 1536. The territory of Bassein included Thana and the islands of Bombay and Karanja. In 1556 Asheri and Maneri too were annexed.¹²

Diu (1535). Diu was another place secured by the Portuguese from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat by another treaty in 1535. The Shah was still under the attack of the Mughals against whom he hoped to get Portuguese aid. Diu is an island, about 11 kilometres long and 3 kilometres wide. It lies to the south of Gujarat.

Cranganore (1536). The Raja of Cranganore was a feudatory of the Samudri. He endeavoured to become independent, taking advantage of the bitter hostility between the Samudri and the Portuguese. He allowed the latter to build a fort at Cranganore in 1536. The Portuguese built their fort,¹³ but they could hardly defend the Raja against the Samudri.

Daman (1559). Daman on the mainland of Gujarat was secured from the Sultan of Gujarat in February, 1559.¹⁴

Mangalore (1568). The Portuguese had contacts with Mangalore on the Kanara coast since the days of Afonso de Albuquerque. On several occasions the place was subjected to their blockade, attack, looting and massacre. In 1530 they attacked the place because its merchants traded with the Samudri of Calicut. Many residents were massacred; a large booty of copper, coral, mercury, grains and velvet was gathered; several houses and shops were set on fire; gardens were destroyed; local ships in anchor at the port were sunk.¹⁵ In 1555 again they attacked the place, killed numerous inhabitants, burnt part of the town and looted a temple.¹⁶ In 1558 another wanton cruelty was perpetrated. Men and women, young and old, were put to death; the city was set on fire; a temple was robbed; some ships were burnt.¹⁷

In 1568 the Bangawadi chief, to whom Mangalore belonged, gave the Portuguese a site to build a fort and acknowledged their suzerainty. He did so in order to secure their help against the local Muslims who used to defy his authority,¹⁸ and also against the Chautar chiefs of Ullala, lying to the south of Mangalore. The Portuguese built a fort there in the same year.

Honavar (1569). The Portuguese acquired the fort of Honavar on the Kanara coast in 1569 after defeating the Queen of Gersoppa to whom the place belonged. The Queen's land was rich with pepper and rice supplies which they constantly required.

Kundapur or Basrur (1569). The Portuguese acquired another fort in Kanara in the principality of the Tolar chiefs in 1569. The Portuguese documents refer to

it as the fort of Basrur or Barcelore. It seems that they were not satisfied with the fort and built a new one on a more secure site.¹⁹ Henry Heras located the ruins of the new fort in the centre of the modern town of Kundapur in South Kanara.²⁰

Mylapur (1614). The Portuguese became interested in Mylapur, near Madras, owing to the remains of St. Thomas there. In 1507 the Portuguese authorities began to send men to learn more about the place. Regular missionaries began to arrive a decade later. In 1521-23 a small Portuguese settlement came to be established with the permission of the emperor of Vijayanagara in whose jurisdiction Mylapur lay. In 1614 the settlement became independent of Vijayanagara when the Portuguese captured a fort there, taking advantage of the war of succession to the imperial throne of Vijayanagara.²¹

Nagapattanam. A Portuguese settlement came to be established at Nagapattanam, near Tanjore, about the same time when such a settlement came up at Mylapur. Nagapattanam also was within the jurisdiction of the emperor of Vijayanagara. In 1542 the Portuguese built two churches there. It must be noted that they exercised no sovereign authority in the area and that they were not permitted to build forts. Nevertheless a Portuguese captain was sent from Goa regularly, for a term of three years, to look after the settlement as well as trade and commerce.²²

Gangolli (1630). Venkatappa Nayaka, the powerful king of Keladi, to whom Gangolli belonged, died on 10 November 1629. His successor, Virabhadra Nayaka, was attacked by the Adil Shah of Bijapur and other neighbouring kings. What is more, the feudatories of Keladi raised the banner of revolt everywhere and a relative of Virabhadra claimed the throne of Keladi, thus setting up a civil war. The Portuguese fully exploited the troubles in which the new king of Keladi found himself. Early in 1630 they took possession of Gangolli and began to erect a fort there which was completed in 1633.²³

Dadra and Nagar Haveli (1783, 1785). In 1783 the Marathas gave the Portuguese some villages in the *pargana* of Nagar Haveli, south east of Daman, in the form of a *jagir* or *saranjam*, yielding a revenue of Rs. 12,000 a year. In 1785 some more villages of the *pargana*, including Dadra, were added to the *saranjam*. No sovereign authority was conceded to the Portuguese in the *pargana*, but only, the right to collect the revenue through their own officials.²⁴ Daman, Dadra and Nagar Haveli were separated from each other by Maratha territories.

From the foregoing account it is evident that the Portuguese acquired most of their possessions in the 16th century. By the end of that century they had the following pockets of territory, beginning with the island of Diu, south of Gujarat, and coming downwards along the west coast: (1) Diu; (2) Daman, including Danu, Tarapur and Maim; (3) Bassein, consisting of Maneri, Asheri, Thana, Bombay and Karanja; (4) Chaul; (5) Goa, comprising only the Old Conquests; (6) Anjediva; (7) Honavar; (8) Kundapur; (9) Mangalore; (10) Cannanor; (11) Cranganore; (12) Cochin and (13) Quilon. All these were on the west coast and the Portuguese exercised sovereign authority within these pockets. There were two settlements on the east coast, namely, Mylapur and Nagapattanam. In addition, they had two forts in Mala-

bar for a short period; one at Calicut from 1513 to 1525 and the other at Chaliyam from 1532 to 1571.

There were several causes for the Portuguese success in the 16th century. They had the finest navy of the day. This enabled them to control the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. The strongest of the South Indian powers, namely, the emperor of Vijayanagara, the Adil Shah of Bijapur and the Samudri of Calicut were weaker in naval power. The build of the Indian ships, their tonnage and their equipment were far inferior to those of the Portuguese.

Further, there was no unity among the kings of India. In Malabar the Portuguese could play one chief off against another and reap advantages for themselves as pointed out above. Diu and Bassein were obtained by them because the Shah of Gujarat to whom these places belonged was under Mughal attack. Goa fell to them as the Adil Shah was in war with Vijayanagara and the latter co-operated with them. In 1568 and 1569 they could build forts along the Kanara coast because the might of the Vijayanagara empire, to whom Kanara belonged, had been shattered in 1565 by the combined forces of the Muslim rulers of the Deccan.

Of course, the Portuguese were not allowed to enjoy their possessions undisturbed. The local kings and chiefs made several bids, some times jointly, but most of the time individually, to oust the Portuguese from the latter's possessions. In 1525 the Samudri compelled them to abandon their fort in Calicut. João de Castro, Governor, could defend Diu in 1545-47 only with great difficulty against the forces of Gujarat. In 1570-71 the combined forces of the Adil Shah of Bijapur, the Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, the Samudri of Calicut and the Queen of Gersoppa put the Portuguese under great pressure. The Samudri ousted them from Chaliyam in 1571.

III. Decline and Downfall

The appearance of the Dutch on the Indian waters towards the end of the 16th century marked the sure decline of the Portuguese power in India. The latter had incurred the hostility of the former since 1580 when Portugal came under the authority of the Spanish Crown with whom the Dutch were at war. The Dutch decided to attack the Portuguese colonies throughout the world. The Portuguese proved to be weaker as deterioration had already set in in their seaborne empire.

There were several causes for the deterioration of Portuguese India. (1) The men who were sent to govern Portuguese India after the middle of the 16th century were not of the calibre of Francisco de Almeida, Afonso de Albuquerque and João de Castro. The earlier governors and viceroys came with great zeal for the expansion of the Portuguese possessions in India and they worked with energy and vigour. Many of them were honest and sincere in promoting the king's interests. The later governors were corrupt men and had little interest in governing well or in expanding territories. They feathered their own nests and could not help spreading corruption among lower officers. Administration suffered in efficiency and finances.

(2) The hostility of some Indian rulers was ever present and the Portuguese suffered losses now and then. The Samudri of Calicut was their determined foe as

has already been stated. He took their fort of Calicut in 1525 and that of Chaliyam in 1571. In 1545-47 Diu was defended with great difficulty. In 1570-71 the Portuguese were hard pressed by the combined forces of the Adil Shah, the Nizam Shah, the Queen of Gersoppa and the Samudri.

(3) The finances of Portuguese India were in an unenviable position. The governors and other servants of the Crown were allowed private trade as their salaries were low. But the private trade came in the way of the king's commerce. The officials diverted into their own pockets the profits that ought to have gone into the royal treasury. The result was that the soldiers could not be paid regularly, and the fleet and the army could not be organized and equipped well.

(4) The army and the navy were badly organized. The modes of recruitment, training, equipment and payment were faulty. Even criminals were recruited as soldiers and mariners. The first recruits were not paid salaries for a quarter or half or even a full year after their landing in India. Their voyage to India was full of woes. They had no arms supplied to them as soldiers. As a result of all these many soldiers were forced to beg or become thieves or desert on landing in India. Such men could not make a fine army and win wars.

The *fidalgos* (the higher nobility) from among whom captains and generals were drawn were men who loved ease, and shunned danger and risk. They led their soldiers without plans. Hardly any drill or training was provided to the soldiers or their captains and generals.

(5) Religion was another cause of deterioration. The Crown spent a large sum on religious establishments. The clergy interfered in state affairs. The religious zeal of the advocates of Catholicism and the Inquisition led to persecutions and consequent migration of even converts from Portuguese colonies. The converts could not develop a sense of loyalty to the crown in such a situation.

(6) It may also be pointed out that the Portuguese colonies were dispersed in three continents—Asia, Africa and South America. A large manpower was necessary to defend and develop them. Portugal was not in a position to provide the required manpower as its own population was hardly a million and a half in the 16th century. Those who came to India were mostly unmarried men and very few women were sent out to this country. The climate and food did not agree with many of them and deaths owing to diseases and sexual excesses with slave girls were numerous. Battles and shipwrecks took their own toll. As a result of all these, hardly a thousand Portuguese fighting men could be gathered for an expedition at any time.²⁵

The Portuguese were thus weak already when the Dutch challenged them in India in the 17th century. Their colonial rivalry had commenced in 1598-99 and it ended in 1669 in Dutch favour. The Portuguese were driven out of the East Indies first, beginning with 1605. Ceylon was taken from them between 1638 and 1658. Sivappa Nayaka of Keladi, encouraged by the Dutch, fully exploited their weak and losing position. He attacked their forts in Kanara and took them one by one.²⁶ Kundapur fell to him in August 1652, Gangolli in January 1653, Mangalore in August 1653 and Honavar in September 1654. The Dutch themselves took Naga-

pattanam on the east coast of India in 1659 and all the colonies in Malabar between 1661 and 1663. The Samudri co-operated with them in Malabar and was rewarded with some of the Portuguese possessions. In 1661 the Portuguese ceded Bombay to the English in order to gain their alliance against the Dutch. In 1662 the Qutb Shah of Golkonda took Mylapur from them. Thus, during the decade from 1652 to 1663 they were deprived of several possessions in Malabar, Kanara, Konkan and Coromandal. Only the old conquests of Goa, and the territories of Anjediva, Chaul, Bassein (excluding Bombay), Daman and Diu were left with them.

The Portuguese losses were not merely territorial. They lost also much of the trade and the profits thereof as their markets dwindled. The battles depleted their men, money and material. They were no more a great power. The Dutch won against them owing to their superior manpower, economic resources and sea power. Their soldiers were better trained and led.

The Portuguese lost further territories in the first half of the 18th century. The Marathas took Bassein in 1739 and Chaul in 1740.

During the second half of the 18th century, however, they were compensated somewhat for all the earlier losses. Canacona, Kepe, Sange, Ponda, Sankhali, Dichuli, Sattari and Perne were added to the existing territories of Goa, as already mentioned. In 1783-85 Dadra and Nagar Haveli were made over to them by the Marathas in the form of a *saranjam*.

In the 19th century and thereafter the Portuguese survived in India owing to their friendship and alliance with the British who were well on their way, at the opening of the 19th century, to master the whole subcontinent of India. The British tolerated them in Indian pockets of Goa, Daman, Diu, etc. The Portuguese had no intention of leaving these colonies unless they were forced to.

Rumblings against their yoke began to be heard within Goa in the last quarter of the 18th century itself when the Conspiracy of the Pintos took place in 1787. The leaders of this movement were inspired by the French political thought then current. The principal leaders were some Goan clergy who had visited France and had returned with the French "Enlightenment". They were also moved by a desire to put an end to the colour bar being practised by the Portuguese authorities. In 1761 and 1774 Prime Minister Pombal of Portugal had issued orders that employment opportunities should be open to all, that merit alone, not colour, should be the criterion of employment, and that native Christians should in fact be given preference. In spite of these, nonwhite Christians of Goa were not admitted to high civil and military offices, and to the upper hierarchy of the church. Therefore several non-white Christian civilians, militiamen and clergy participated in the movement. But the government obtained intelligence of the movement when it was still at the stage of discussion. The participating civilians and military personnel were put to death barbarously. The clergymen were imprisoned and many of them were allowed to die there.²⁷

The French Revolution of 1789 and the subsequent Napoleonic wars affected Portugal. Constitutionalism caught the imagination of the Portuguese and a con-

stitutional monarchy was established in 1820's. Goa too was affected by these developments. Liberalism spread and the colour bar disappeared gradually.

Along with the spread of liberalism in Portuguese India, other events of importance also took place. The Ranes of Sattari revolted against the Portuguese authority now and then throughout the latter half of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th. And there were army revolts in 1870 and 1895.

By 1910 constitutional monarchy too was found unacceptable to the Portuguese. In that year a republican form of government was established in Portugal. A democratic government came to power. Portuguese India benefited by this as the Hindus and other non-Christians were now placed on a footing of equality with the Christians. Catholicism was no more a state religion. Educational institutions, and civil and military offices, were thrown open to all.

After World War I (1914-18), the national movement in British India was intensified under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It influenced the Goans as well.²⁸ Under the leadership of Tristão de Braganza Cunha, the Goa Congress Committee was established in Goa in 1928. It was affiliated to the Indian National Congress and was given representation in the All India Congress Committee. But in the meantime came the dictatorship of Oliveira Salazar in Portugal. The Goa Congress Committee was given very little chance to intensify the freedom struggle. Censorship of the press, ban on the parties other than the National Union which was the party of Salazar, secret police and such other repressive measures thwarted the Goan freedom movement.

Nevertheless in June 1946 the freedom movement in Goa received considerable encouragement from the socialist leader of India, Ram Manohar Lohia. He came to Goa and inspired a civil disobedience movement on 18 June. Purushottam Kakodkar, Tristão de B. Cunha and a host of other Goans led the movement. The Portuguese government arrested Lohia and left him outside the Goan border. Goan leaders were arrested and tried. Several of them, including de Cunha and Kakodkar, were deported for various terms.

When India became independent on 15 August 1947, it was hoped that the Portuguese colonies also would be given freedom by Portugal. That hope was belied. The Government of India adopted diplomatic and other peaceful means until 1961 to get Portuguese India freed. Its efforts were not fruitful.

In the meantime, the Goans living in other parts of India and their sympathisers became increasingly impatient. In 1954 a *satyagraha* movement was launched. All the *satyagrahis*, who entered Goa and numbered 47, were Goans as the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, did not allow non-Goans.²⁹ The *satyagrahis* entered Goa on 15 August of that year. The Portuguese government arrested all of them. In the following year, on 15 August, again the *satyagrahis* marched into Goa and other Portuguese territories in India. This time there were several thousands of them, including non-Goans. The Portuguese shot down many of them. Thereafter Nehru did not allow the *satyagrahis* to enter Goa. There was no fun in unarmed men being shot dead.

Meanwhile, however, Dadra and Nagar Haveli were freed. The *satyagrahis* had succeeded there in planting the Indian flag in July 1954, defeating the Portuguese police. Portugal attempted to regain the territory by requesting India to allow Portuguese troops to be taken from Daman to Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The Government of India refused such a passage. The Portuguese took the case to the International Court of Justice, claiming the right of passage. The Court upheld India's contention that Portugal had no such right.

Having failed to get Portuguese India freed by peaceful means, Nehru decided in 1961 to use force. On 17-18 December Indian troops entered Goa. Within 36 hours Goa was free. 19 December 1961, thus saw the final expulsion of the Portuguese from their Indian possessions.

IV. Administrative Institutions

Let us now turn to examine the important administrative institutions of the Portuguese in India from 1505 to 1961. We may begin by a reference to the form of government in Portugal itself. Absolute monarchy prevailed in that country until 1820. After this a constitutional monarchy was established and it lasted until 1910 when a republican form of government was introduced. The republican form has continued to this day.

The following were the significant administrative institutions located in Portugal but in charge of certain Indian affairs. (1) An India House (*Casa da India*) looked after trade and commerce, shipping and navigation between Portugal and India. A factor, a treasurer, an accountant and a revenue magistrate were its chief officers. (2) By 1568 the office of a Secretary 'for the state of India' was created. He was in charge of the correspondence with the authorities in India. (3) The king and his council of ministers or later the president and his colonial minister were the highest authorities dealing with the affairs of Portuguese India.

The highest officer sent from Portugal to administer Indian possessions was a governor or viceroy or governor general. The first two titles were common during the period from 1505 to 1835. The title of viceroy indicated merely the higher rank of the incumbent among the nobility of Portugal. There was no difference between the authority of the governor and that of the viceroy. The title of governor general was used after 1835. The term of office of the highest officer was normally three years until 1835, but was increased to five years thereafter. Sometimes he enjoyed a longer term. For instance, Afonso de Albuquerque was governor from 1509 to 1515 and Nuno da Cunha held office from 1529 to 1538. João de Castro was governor from 1545 to 1548 and would have continued as viceroy for three years more but for his death in 1548.

The governor (or viceroy or governor general) was entrusted with civil, judicial and military authority. He was assisted by a secretary appointed directly by the government in Lisbon. The governor was to exercise his powers and discharge his functions with the advice of a council of state. It was purely an official body in the beginning and was rarely in a position to check the powerful governor. In 1604 its

constitution was defined: the governor was its president; the archbishop, the captain of the city of Goa, the chancellor and the controller of finances were its members; in addition, important nobles were invited to attend. In 1868 the council was named the government council. All its members continued to be officials until 1917 when ten elected members were introduced. The official majority, however, continued. In 1955 a separate legislative council was created. It consisted of 23 members, of whom 18 were elected and 5 were nominated.³⁰ Since one party dictatorship prevailed in Portugal ever since Salazar came to power in 1926-28, the elected majority in the legislative council did not imply democracy as only one party, the National Union of Salazar, was allowed to function in Goa.

For the sake of administrative convenience the Indian possessions were divided into three provinces in the 16th and 17th centuries: (1) the Province of the North, consisting of Chaul, Bassein, Daman and Diu with Bassein as capital; (2) Goa, with the city of Old Goa, or, later, Panaji, as its capital; and (3) the Province of the South, comprising their possessions in Kanara and Malabar, with Cochin as capital. Each province was under a captain-major, with a fleet at his disposal. There was a separate arrangement for the Portuguese settlements of Mylapur and Nagapattanam on the east coast.

In each of the territorial possessions there was a fort, or more than one. And wherever there was fort there was also a factory. The fortress-factory system was at once military, administrative, commercial and religious in nature. Usually the following officers were to be found at each fort: a captain, a factor, a writer or secretary, one or more judicial officers, a surgeon, a linguist, a chief artillery officer, a door keeper, a superintendent of sentinels, a *naik* or more of foot soldiers, and several church officials. The captain was in charge of the fortress. He used to be appointed directly by the king in the beginning, but later the governor appointed him. Usually the captain had much military and civil service behind him and was appointed for a term of three years. Sometimes a captain combined in himself the functions of a factor if the fort was a minor one. There are also instances when the captain was also the factor, controller of finances and judge.³¹

Every principal fort was also a trading centre. Therefore a factor was appointed by the governor for a term of three years. The writer or secretary of a fort was also appointed by the governor for a term of three years. Assigning lodging to the guests who were eligible for such lodging was one of his functions. The judicial officer of a fort had a separate writer to assist him. Armed footmen helped the judge in discharging his functions. Each fort had a religious establishment headed by a vicar. In the 16th and the 17th centuries the forts were centres not only of trade but also of missionary activity. The state spent much on the church establishments and missionary activities.

The salaries and emoluments of the officials of equal ranks were not always equal in amount. The amount varied with the income of the fort or of its strategic importance. The payment of salaries was usually made four times a year. A register of payments was maintained by the factor which was sent to the governor for inspe-

ction every year. Another register was kept to show the receipts and the dispatches of the fort and the factory. The cash box was under the joint control of the factor and the writer, who had separate locks and keys to the box.³²

The captain was to administer and defend the fort and its establishments in accordance with the governor's instructions. If the captain had to act urgently on a matter in respect of which the governor's instruction was not available, he was to consult the factor and the writer. Thus, there was a council of three practically at every fort. Minutes of the proceedings was maintained.³³

Sometimes the Portuguese had factories along the coasts of India without forts. For instance, they had a factory at Bhatkal in Kanara in the 16th century. Such a factory was usually looked after by a factor, assisted by a writer, a linguist and some footmen.

We come across two interesting administrative institutions in Portuguese pockets wherever there were numerous Portuguese settlers and their descendants by mixed marriage. The institutions are the municipal chamber (*câmara municipal*) and the holy house of mercy (*santa casa da misericórdia*).

The municipality of Goa was founded by Afonso de Albuquerque in 1511.³⁴ It consisted of ten members with voting rights: one alderman of higher nobility (*vereador fidalgo*), two aldermen of lesser nobility (*vereadores nobres*), two justices of peace (*juizes ordinários*), the attorney of the city (*procurador da cidade*) and four attorneys representing the guilds of craftsmen (*procuradores dos mesteres*).³⁵ The number of members however varied from time to time. It was seven under the Act of 1842 and nine under that of 1911.³⁶ The members were elected³⁷ or selected³⁸ from among the *casados*, namely, the Portuguese men who married local women and settled down in the city, and their descendants. The captain of the city of Goa, an employee of the crown, had the right and the duty to attend the meetings of the chamber whenever he thought fit or whenever he was invited. The charter of privileges granted to the *casados* by Albuquerque was confirmed by the king in 1518 with some modifications. They were allowed freedom of trade, except in pepper and some other royal monopolies. Almost all municipal offices were reserved for them and their descendants. Neither the governor nor any other authority was to interfere in the day to day administration of the municipality.³⁹ The charter was confirmed from time to time and additional privileges were granted to the *casados*, and their municipality.

The members of the municipal chamber or senate (*senado*) were elected by a complicated procedure, for a term of one year. The representatives of the craft guilds were elected indirectly. The guilds elected a council of twelve representatives and these twelve on their turn elected four among themselves to the municipality.⁴⁰

The *vereador fidalgo* presided over the meetings which were held twice a week or more often whenever it was necessary. The municipality had the privilege of corresponding directly with the king of Portugal. The latter welcomed it as he could keep himself informed of the doings of his servants in India. The Chamber used to complain to the king whenever its privileges were violated by the governor or any other authority and the king used to take the complaints seriously and warn the

authority concerned.⁴¹ The chamber used also to tender advice to the governor or even the king on matters of high policy, including war and peace. For example, on 9 May, 1654, the municipality submitted a memorandum to the governor urging him to conclude peace with Shivappa Nayaka of Keladi "with the greatest speed that is possible", so that food and other supplies from the kingdom of Keladi could come to Goa which was suffering from acute scarcity, and the men, money and equipment being employed against Sivappa could be diverted against the Dutch who were more dangerous enemies.⁴²

Some governors resented the privileges granted to the municipalities. Conde de Linhares, viceroy, advised the king in 1632 to abolish the municipality, saying that cities without municipalities were better governed. It was an exaggeration and the king did not accept the advice. However, it must be noted that the governors and the municipalities were not always at loggerheads, but that they co-operated with each other. João de Castro, governor, could get a loan from the municipality of Goa in 1547 on the simple security of a hair from his beard. And on several occasions it extended financial aid to the government for various purposes.⁴³

The routine functions of the Goa municipality included maintenance of city fortifications, regulation of trade by fixing prices and issuing licences, and helping the poor. The variety of its day-to-day functions and how they were distributed among its members can be understood better from the provisions of the constitution of the municipality promulgated in 1842. The chamber consisted of 7 members. One of them was its president and another, vice-president. The municipal functions were divided into seven categories and each was entrusted to the care of a member:⁴⁴ (1) secretariat, municipal works, cemeteries and the chamber building; (2) slaughter houses and butchers' shops; (3) merchants, fairs and markets; (4) lighting and arborisation; (5) cleanliness, watering the streets and construction of pavements; (6) municipal establishments and gardens; and (7) supply of potable water; fountains and wells.

The income of the municipality was derived mostly from its landed properties and buildings leased to shopkeepers, etc. But its income usually tended to fall short of its expenditure as it was compelled to give loans to the Crown and to finance government projects. It used to borrow from the holy house of mercy to make up the deficit. It repaid the loan slowly and some times only partly.

Until the beginning of the 19th century the membership of the chamber was confined to whitemen born in Portugal who came to Goa and settled down there. *Mesticos*, namely, the offspring of mixed marriages, were not eligible, though the original charter granted privileges not only to the original settlers but also to their descendants by mixed marriage.⁴⁵ During the 19th century however, the *mesticos*, as well as full blooded native Christians were also made eligible. Towards the end of the 19th century non-Christians too were granted franchise. But the composition was predominantly Christian even in the 20th century.

The municipal chamber was located in Old Goa until 1835 when it was shifted to Panaji to a rented house. By 1869 it had its own building in Panaji⁴⁶ wherein it functions to this day.

There were municipalities in other parts of Goa. Bardes and Salset were allowed municipalities in the last quarter of the 19th century. In 1880 municipal committees were created in Perne, Sankhali, Ponda, Sange, and Kepe.⁴⁷ There were municipalities also in Diu, Daman and Cochin.

The holy house of mercy was a charitable institution. Its functions were:⁴⁸ (1) giving food to the hungry, (2) giving drink to the thirsty, (3) clothing the naked, (4) visiting the sick, and prisoners, (5) giving shelter to the weary, (6) ransoming the captives, and (7) burying the dead. In some places it maintained a hospital. The charity of the house was meant mostly to the Christian community of the locality.

The membership of the governing board of the house was as prestigious as that of the municipal chamber. Men of standing and wealth aspired to be members of one or the other, if not of both. The board consisted of elected officials for a term of one year. Its president was expected to be a man of authority, prudence, virtue and reputation. He was also expected to be a 'gentleman of leisure' so that he could devote much time to its service. But governors, archbishops, inquisitors, captains, secretaries of state, high court judges and other state officials became presidents. On such occasions the secretary of the board had to do most of the work.⁴⁹

The number of members which constituted the brotherhood of the house varied from place to place and from time to time. The house of Goa began with 100. It rose to 400 in 1595 and to 600 in 1609. The law did not permit more.⁵⁰ The brotherhood elected the governing board annually.

The house collected its funds mostly from private charity and legacies. Many a man and woman on their death beds bestowed much to the house so as to purchase heavenly mercy for their sins. Pure philanthropic motives also led to gifts and donations to the house. The vast funds at the disposal of the house enabled it to give loans to the Crown and the municipal chamber.

As in the case of the municipal chambers, the brotherhood of the house also was open only to whitemen for centuries. It was only in 1720 that a full blooded Goan Christian was made member of the house in Goa.⁵¹

V. Religious Policy

It has already been stated that the king of Portugal had decided in 1500 to convert Indians to Christianity and that some Franciscan missionaries had been sent to India that year. At Anjediva where these missionaries landed first an attempt was made to propagate and convert. It is claimed that 22 or 23 local people were in fact converted.⁵² From Anjediva the missionaries proceeded to Malabar. One of them, Luis Salvador, went to Vijayanagara and emperor Vira Narasimha allowed him to propagate the 'holy faith' in the empire and erect churches.⁵³ Thus began the Portuguese missionary activities in South India.

The Portuguese adopted different modes to propagate and convert in different areas. Every fort had its own chapel or church with a dual function: to perform sacraments for the Christians within the fort and its neighbourhood and to promote missionary activities, including conversion. The church was usually headed by a

vicar, assisted by several other priests. The Crown shouldered most of the expenses of the church, including the salaries, certain costs of the sacraments, and some items of the routine expenses like the cost of oil, bread and wine.

Whenever the Portuguese entered into treaties with local chiefs or kings, they managed many a time to include clauses favourable to Christians and missionary activities. For instance, the treaty of 15 December 1678, between them and Basavappa Nayaka of Keladi provided⁵⁴ that (1) the Portuguese could erect churches within their factory of Mangalore and also at other places, especially in Mirjan, Chandrapur, Honavar, Bhatkal and Kalyanpur; (2) disputes among Christians, even if they were residents in the territories of Basavappa, should be subject to settlement by the factor and the priests; and (3) priests and missionaries travelling through his kingdom on their way to other kingdoms should be allowed free passage. At the same time the treaty laid down that the priests residing in the Nayaka's lands should not convert his subjects by force. This implied that peaceful conversions were permitted. In return for the various religious concessions given to the Portuguese, the latter were asked not to take orphans and not to kill cows. But the priests frequently tried to convert by means other than peaceful and the Nayaka and his successors used to complain.

The method of conversion within the territories directly under the control of the Portuguese was entirely different. In Goa for instance, all possible means, except that of offering the alternative between the cross and the sword to the non-Christians, were adopted to convert. Here they acted under the principle that the subjects should accept and live according to the religion of the ruler. The king of Portugal was a Catholic. Therefore all his subjects should be Catholics. So those who were not Catholics were subjected to all sorts of persecutions so that they would accept Catholicism out of sheer helplessness.

In 1540 an order was issued to destroy all Hindu temples in the Island of Goa. Another order of 1541 provided for the transfer of the properties belonging to such temples to various religious orders.⁵⁵

No doubt that the Religious Council of 1567 at Diamper piously decided that conversions should not be made by force or threat of force. But the measures that were subsequently adopted in practice could hardly be described as peaceful. The viceregal decree of 4 December 1567,⁵⁶ provided again for the destruction of heathen temples in Portuguese controlled territories. Under the same decree non-Christian priests, teachers and holy men were to be expelled from Portuguese lands; sacred books like the *Koran* were to be burnt when found; and pilgrimages were not to be permitted. Indeed the list of measures that were adopted to persecute non-Christians is long. Public performance of non-Christian marriage ceremonies and religious processions were prohibited; orphans were taken away from relatives and handed over to Christian fathers; if either partner in a non-Christian marriage was converted, all the property and children belonged to the convert; Hindus were compelled to listen to Christian propaganda in local churches; and public offices were open only to old and new-Christians.

The church and its missionary activities drained the royal treasury considerably. Some kings of Portugal shouldered the burden willingly as they thought it a duty under the terms of the *padroado* or the privileges of the patronage they had received from the Pope to look after the church, its organization and its missionary activities. The cost however, was excessive and went on increasing as years rolled by.⁵⁷

The ecclesiastics were influential and meddled in state affairs. Many bishops and archbishops, particularly the Jesuit ones, were confessors to high officials and even to kings themselves. Church dignitaries had seats in the state councils. Under the circumstances only powerful governors could keep the church and its officials under control. Afonso de Albuquerque mastered them.⁵⁸ When the priests complained that the mixed marriages ordered by the governor were not in accordance with the church rites, he silenced them by saying that the marriages were in accordance with his system of rites. The successors of Albuquerque could not always keep the church under their control.

As already pointed out, the heavy burden of expenses on the church and its undue influence on state affairs constituted one of the causes of the decline of the Portuguese in India in the 16th century.

After the 16th century the missionary zeal of the Portuguese subsided. This explains why the Christian population was in a minority in the New Conquests of Goa, whereas it was in a majority in the Old Conquests, at the time of liberation of Goa in 1961.

The Catholic missionaries usually participated in the wars with the local chiefs or kings. After all, the success of their missions depended largely upon the political success of the Portuguese in the region. Some times therefore it was a priest, with a cross aloft in his hand, who led the vanguard.⁵⁹ The missionaries acted as ambassadors too. Priests, working in churches built in territories belonging to local kings, often acted as informers when the Portuguese fell out with such kings.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, the missionaries rendered a great service to mankind in general and historians in particular by writing letters and reports from India to their superiors and friends in Europe. These letters constitute a valuable source material for the history and the way of life of the people in India at the time.

VI. Concluding Remarks

Portuguese colonialism lasted in certain areas of South India from about 1500 to 1961. During this long period of more than 450 years, the Portuguese influenced Indian society in several ways and were influenced in their turn by Indians.

The religious legacy of the Portuguese to India is considerable indeed. Whatever the methods adopted by them to convert Indians, today the Catholic community has become part of Indian society. Christians and non-Christians have to live as the nationals of a single state, India. The converts and their descendants might have accepted an alien religion; but their way of living is a mixture of Indian and European ways. The most glaring Indian influence on the Catholics, whether for good or

for bad, is the survival of casteism among them, as there are Brahmin, Kshatriya and other Christians. The non-Christians have taken to certain modes of dress which indicate Portuguese influence.

A valuable contribution of the Portuguese to the growth of modern India was the introduction of the printing press in Goa in 1556. It was the first press in India. To be sure, the press was used by the Portuguese missionaries primarily to print Christian literature for propaganda purposes. In the 16th and 17th centuries only two of the 34 works printed in Goa were of secular character.⁶¹ The others were purely religious ones. But the press did not remain a tool of the church alone for long. In the 19th and 20th centuries it was used for secular purpose to disseminate knowledge among people in general.

The role of the Portuguese in the field of education, particularly the role of the Jesuit missionaries, can hardly be exaggerated. The splendid schools and colleges established by them continue to render service to this day.

The Portuguese influenced the Mughal painting to some extent. The Jesuit missionaries sent to Akbar took with them miniature paintings and engravings of Europe. The Mughal artists were impressed and their paintings reveal European influence.⁶²

Portuguese art and architecture are attractive in their own way. The fort and the main church of Diu, both built in the 16th century, combine sturdiness and beauty in them. "The castle of Diu... is perhaps, the most impressive of the surviving strongholds; its cylopean walls and bulwarks recalling those of Malta and Rhodes."⁶³ The church of Bom Jesus at Old Goa is remarkable for its sculptural works and statuary. The silver casket in which the body of St. Francis Xavier is kept and the tomb on which the casket is placed are known for their fine engravings, depicting some incidents in the saint's life.⁶⁴

The Portuguese influenced Indian languages and literature too. The Konkani language spoken in Goa contains a large number of Portuguese words—direct or derived. Many such Portuguese words are found in Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Kannada, Tulu, Malayalam and Tamil.⁶⁵ Indian words, particularly the names of various boats, articles of trade, and weights and measures peculiar to India, are found used in the Portuguese language.

The Portuguese may be given credit for preserving certain Indian institutions which they came across in their Indian colonies. The village community (*comunidade*) is such an institution in Goa. They preserved it as an economic, social and administrative institution.

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Religion and Philosophy

ŚAIVA PHILOSOPHY

V. A. DEVA SENAPATHI

THERE IS AN oft-quoted verse in Tamil which can be paraphrased thus: 'The *Vedas* are the cow; the *Āgamas* are the milk; the Tamil verse of the Four (Tirujñānasam-bandhar, Tirunāvukkarasar, Sundarar, and Māṇikkavāchagar) is melted buttēr; the excellence of the Tamil work of Meykaṇḍār is the fine taste of melted butter.' This verse gives an idea of the richness of śaiva-Siddhānta which draws on the resources of Sanskrit and Tamil works. The contents of the Vedas are fairly well-known to students of Indian Philosophy and culture; not so well known are those of the Āgamas, and still less well-known are those of Tamil works. So this paper aims at giving an account of Śaiva-siddhānta mainly from Tamil sources.

The earliest Tamil work available to us is the *Tōlkāppiyam*, a work on Grammar. But it does not confine itself to the language side only as is generally the case. It is a grammar of life as well, treating it under two main headings, *aham* and *puram*. *Aham* is concerned with love that an ideal man and an ideal woman feel for each other. It is love at first sight, finding consummation later on in marriage. *Puram* deals with warfare, offensive and defensive. It is worth noting that while the ostensible purpose is to deal with love and warfare at the human level, there is an implicit suggestion that love between the sexes is a preparation for love between the human and the divine, and, similarly, that human warfare between two or more groups of human beings is to be transformed into fight within oneself of the good tendencies against the evil ones. When a man and a woman have lived an ideal life, there comes a stage in their life when, in the company of, and as a guide for, their relatives and friends, they start pursuit of perfection. In other words having lived a full life, discharging their personal and social obligations, they take to a sustained pursuit of spirituality. In this context, we may understand the concept of *kandaḷi*, apart from the regional deities spoken of in the *Tōlkāppiyam*. *Kandaḷi* stands for the transcendent aspect of the Supreme Spirit, which requiring no support for itself, is the support for everything, and which, though beyond physical perception and beyond the reach of thought, pervades everything like the fragrance of flower, which cannot be grasped or seen.

We may also notice the similarity between the pattern of letters etc. of Tamil language and the basic concepts of Śaiva-siddhānta. Śaiva-siddhānta speaks of *Paṭi* (The Supreme Being), *paśu* (souls) and *pāśa* (triple bond of *aṇava* (egoism), *māyā* (material stuff) and *karma* (action, which as meritorious and sinful, is the cause of the pleasures and pains we experience). Tamil alphabets are classified as *uyir* (vowels), *mei* (consonants) and *uyirmei* (combination of vowels and consonants). Just as consonants by themselves do not constitute a word but require vowels, *pāśa* cannot act by itself. In this respect, God and souls are like vowels. But even as the letter *a* has primacy among the vowels, God has supremacy over souls and *pāśa*. This aspect is emphasised by a language convention in Tamil according to which

though the letters *ḍ* and *ṛ* belong to the strong group of letters (the other two groups are called the *middling* and the *soft* groups), they cannot be the initial letter of words. Likewise, though souls as conscious entities are different from *pāśa*, they cannot be equal to or take the place of the Supreme Being.

Tamil grammar speaks of a 'high' class (*uyartṭai*) and 'not-high' class (*ahṛṭṭai*). Human beings, as conscious and intelligent entities, are assigned to the high class. Now, there is felicity in the Tamil word *uyar* meaning 'to ascend' which can be understood in the past, present and future tenses. Hinduism in general and Śaiva-siddhānta in particular, hold that only souls at the human level are capable of assisting in the process of their spiritual evolution. By realising the possibilities for spiritual regeneration that human birth offers, they can use them to get over their bondage.

Thus Śaiva-siddhānta can, without ceasing to have universal appeal, find a link between its language patterns and patterns of philosophical thought. The *Śaṅgam* classics have references to Śiva. After the *Śaṅgam* classics, we have the age of the Nāyanmārs (the Śaiva devotees), the compositions of some of whom go by the collective name of *Pannirutirumurai* (the twelve sacred works). The verses of Tirujñāna-sambandhar, Tirunāvukkarasar (also known as Appar) and Sundarar go by the name of *Tēvāram* and constitute the first seven works—three, three and one respectively: The eighth work consists of two collections, the *Tiruvāchakam* and the *Tirukkōvaiyār*. The *Tirukkōvaiyār* is an elaborate treatment in four hundred verses of bridal mysticism. While it is usual in bridal mysticism to treat the Lord as the Hero and the soul as the Heroine, the *Tirukkōvaiyār* reverses the position and makes the Lord the Heroine. The ninth work is a collection of songs by various saints. The tenth is the *Tirumandiram* of Tirumūlar. The eleventh is, like the ninth, a collection of works by several devotees. The twelfth is the *Tiruttonḍarapurāṇam*, popularly known as the *Periya-purāṇam*. This work gives an account of the lives of Śaivite saints traditionally numbered as sixtythree. It is a vivid description of the lives of various devotees, differing in sex, age, social status, intellectual equipment (or lack of it) etc. but all of them united by a common bond of love for Śiva and/or His devotees.

There are fourteen works expounding Śaiva-siddhānta, known by the collective name of Fourteen *Siddhānta-sāstras* or Fourteen *Meykaṇḍa-sāstras*. The *Śivajñānabōdham* of Meykaṇḍār, is the basic text, giving in a brief compass of twelve *sūtras*, the central teachings of siddhānta. This is considered to be the earliest systematic exposition of Śaiva-siddhānta, though two other works in this group (The *Tiruvundiṣār* and *Tirukkaḷṟuppaḍivār*) and *Tirumandiram*, mentioned above, preceding it in point of time, also deal with the Siddhānta concepts. The verse commentary on the *Śivajñānabōdham*, is known as the *Śivajñānasiddhiyār*. This work consists of two parts. The part known as *supākkam* (*svapaksha*) is the commentary on the *Śivajñānabōdham*. The other part known as *parapākkam* (*parapaksha*) states the views of other schools and refutes them from the standpoint of Śaiva-siddhānta. We have seven (according to some eight) works in this group by Umāpati Śivāchārya.

Of them the best known are the *Śivaprakāśam* (which is said to be closely dependent on the *Siddhiyār*), the *Tiruaruṭṭayan* and the *Saṅkarpanirākaraṇam*. The *Saṅkarpanirākaraṇam*, like the *parapakkam* mentioned above, is concerned with statement and refutation of some of the other schools of philosophy.

We may note here the Siddhāntin's fourfold classification of systems as outermost, outer, outer-inner and inner according to their closeness to or distance from the Siddhānta. To the outermost group belongs the Chārvāka, the Jaina and Baudha systems. The Siddhāntin claims that he tries to retain the valuable insights of all systems incorporating them in his own in such a manner as to avoid contradictions. He arranges them in an order so that each succeeding system will be seen to be an enrichment of the previous one, the consummation being in Śaiva-siddhānta, the 'accomplished end'—as it is usually translated. In this sense, the Siddhāntin claims that his system has a *yōga-rūḍhi* significance. Śaiva-siddhānta is the *Siddhānta* or the final conclusion. It is important to note that such a claim is not made to foster spiritual pride or superciliousness in respect of other systems. It is to be understood as an insistence on seeing Śaivism in the widest perspective possible, losing nothing of the insights of other systems.

The *Meykaṇḍa-śāstras* were followed by many other works. Mention may be made of the *Tattvaprakāśam* of the 14th century, the *Śivanēriprakāśam* of the 16th century and a collection of small works known under the collective title of the *Tiruvavaduturai Paṇḍāra-śāstras*. The commentary on the *Śivajñānabōdham* by Śivajñāna-yōgin is known as *Śivajñānamāpādiyam* (*mahābhāṣya*). The Śaivite *maṭhas* of Tiruvāvaduturai, Dharmapuram and Tiruppanandāi have been publishing or republishing important Śaiva-siddhānta works.

On the Sanskrit side, the Siddhāntins while accepting the authority of the Vedas in general, consider Upanishads like the *Śvētāśvatara* as specially valuable. Śrīkaṇṭha has written a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*. The Siddhāntins consider this commentary as being close to their own system in many respects as upholding the supremacy of Śiva. Śrīkaṇṭha holds, like Tirumūrti, that the Vedas and the Āgamas are equally authoritative, the only difference being that the former are general and the latter, special.

A word may be said of the Śaiva Āgamas. Of the twenty eight Śaiva Āgamas, few have survived in their completeness. They deal with *charyā*, *kriya*, *yōga* and *jñāna*. The first two deal with worship in its individual and collective aspects. Instructions in respect of building of temples, installation and sanctification of idols are very necessary in systematising worship. In so far as Śaiva-siddhānta is not merely a theoretical system, but is also vitally connected with spiritual life on the practical side, the value of the Āgamas for Śaiva-siddhānta will be readily appreciated.

As a philosophical system, Śaiva-siddhānta operates with three categories, *Paṭi*, *paśu* and *pāśa*. It accepts three *pramāṇas*: *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *śabda*. But these are subsidiary to *chitśakti* (Intelligence Energy) of the *jīva* (soul) as informed and illumined by Śiva Chitśakti. In other words, it is only when the Lord's grace illumines our understanding that the usual means of valid knowledge can help

us to know the truth. The Siddhāntin's theory of Truth which has been characterised as the coherence theory helps him in trying to include all insights, starting from that of the Lokāyata in a harmonious whole.

The Siddhāntin gives arguments for the existence of *Pati*, *paśu* and *pāśa*. These arguments are helpful as suggested above, only when the Lord's grace has illumined our understanding. The two arguments given in the Siddhānta texts are similar to the arguments based on cause-effect relationship and the requirements of morality. 1) The Universe, as composite and as subject to the three processes of creation, maintenance and destruction, is an effect and therefore requires a cause. 2) *Karma* is not self-operating or operable by the souls. Hence there should be a moral governor (*karmādhyaaksha*).¹

Arguments are given for accepting (1) soul (*paśu*) as different from body, sense-organs, internal organs, vital air, the aggregate of all these, and as different from God and (2) for a plurality of such souls.

Pāśa is a collective name for its three constituents, *āṇava*, *māyā* and *karma*. *Āṇava* is *mūla mala*, primal impurity which is beginninglessly associated with the soul even as green matter (verdigris) is associated with copper. It prompts the sense of 'I' and 'mine' (*ahamkāra*, *mamakāra*). It is the cause of all our woes. We can see how egoism, the sense of 'I' and 'mine' is an inevitable concomitant of our self, till by God's grace, we have grown out of it. It is this impurity which is responsible for *māyā* and *karma* also becoming impurities. Instead of being helpful to our spiritual progress as they are meant to be, they become hindrances thereto. *Māyā* is the stuff out of which the world we live, in our body and all objects of experience, are made. These are provided by the Lord so that we can use them to His glory and in the service of His creatures. But, actuated by egoism, we use them for our selfish enjoyment. Hence *māyā* (through its products) binds the soul. *Karma* is what we do with our thoughts, words and physical deeds. Either as they are good or bad, i.e. either as they promote or hinder the welfare of others, they build our stock of spiritual merit and demerit, whose consequences as pleasure and pain we have to experience. Thus *karma* also becomes a link in the chain that binds us. So long as we act using our body and the objects of the world for our enjoyment and, act with a view to accumulate merit and to avoid demerit, we are involved in a cycle of births and deaths. When gaining ethical and spiritual maturity, we act without egoism and without a desire for the fruits of our actions, we attain a stage which is called *iruvīṇai oppu* (an attitude of treating consequences of good and evil deeds alike as fetters). It does not mean that we have blotted out the distinction between good and evil deeds. It only means that there is a change in our attitude to them. We continue to perform good deeds and refrain from doing evil deeds, in scorn of consequences when we have reached this stage, God's grace descends upon us (*śaktinipāta*). The speed of descent is very slow, slow, fast or very fast according to the condition of the soul to receive it. God appears as *guru* and reveals the real nature of the soul as divine. The redeemed soul is a *jīvanmukta* continuing to exist in the world as long as the body lasts, doing good to others and helping them in their spiritual progress.

We may note some distinctive features of the Siddhānta. The Siddhāntin uses inference in formulating arguments for the existence of God. Śrīkaṇṭha's view is that God's creatorship cannot be a matter of inference because (1) we can infer only creators like potters who are subject to ignorance and *karma*; (2) we have no instance of a cause that is at once material and efficient; and (3) diversity in creation would call for a plurality of creators. The Siddhāntin's reply to the first objection is that even as the potter may be ignorant in many respects but not of pot-making, the universal creator cannot be ignorant of the universe or of the mode of its creation. Since the universe is all that is, God cannot be ignorant of anything. God is not subject to *karma*, like the souls. It is under His guidance that *karma* operates. We may also recall the Siddhāntin's view stated earlier that *pramāṇas* are helpful only when the soul's intelligence is illumined by God's intelligence. So *tarka* or *anumāna* has to be combined with insight provided by Grace.

As for the second point that we have no instance of a cause that is at once material and efficient, the Siddhāntin's reply is that he takes God only to be an efficient cause. Hence he does not have to provide such an instance. To this the objection would be that unless we take God to be both material and efficient, the promissory statement *eka vijñāna sarvavijñāna pratijñā* and the example would be falsified. The example is that from one (clay), knowledge of everything made of clay, the pots etc, results. The promissory statement is that if we know Brahman, we know everything. The Siddhāntin's reply is that scriptural statements regarding the immutability of Brahman are more direct and authoritative than any promissory statements. So we must understand such statements only figuratively. Śiva is the Lord of the Universe and knowledge of the owner implies knowledge of His possessions. He who understands the king may be said to understand his ministers as well. In fact, we can take this reply with the reply to the third objection that diversity of the universe would imply a plurality of creators, not just one. The Siddhāntin's reply is that beyond this diversity, there is a unity, that of the purpose served viz. enjoyment with a view to release. The unity of purpose implies a single creator. If we take into consideration this purpose, it stands to reason that with a knowledge of the creator of this universe and of His purpose, we shall understand everything else. The promissory statement *eka vijñāna sarvavijñāna pratijñā*, becomes more meaningful if we apply it to the Creator and take Him as efficient cause rather than apply it to Him as material cause.

The Siddhāntin's conception of *advaita* may also be said to be distinctive. We shall recall Umāpati Śivāchārya's statement of this conception. The Scripture speaks of *abhēda* (non-difference), *bhēda* (difference) and *bhēdābhēda* (difference cum non-difference). There are those who take texts emphasising non-difference as primary, illustrating the relation between God and the world as similar to the relation between gold and ornaments made of gold. There are others who emphasise difference as obtains between light and darkness. There are yet others who stress difference cum non-difference in the manner of a word and its meaning. Umāpati finds these analogies unsatisfactory. He suggests instead (1) soul-body (2) eye-sun and (3) light

of the eye-light of intelligence relationships as more appropriate to illustrate respectively the three concepts, non-difference, etc. In the soul-body relationship we have close association or oneness (*onrāi* is the Tamil word used in this context), almost to the point of identity; in the eye-sun relationship we have difference as between two different entities (*vērāi* is the Tamil word) and in the light of the eye-light of intelligence relationship, we have a relation of togetherness (*uḷaṇṇāi* is the Tamil word).

Śivajñāna-yōgin, the great commentator discusses three interpretations of the word *advaita*, choosing one of them as the most appropriate one. *Advaita* may mean non-existence of a second entity (*iṇmai*-Tamil word) as when we speak of *aprakāśa* (*aprakāśa* is non-existence of *prakāśa* or light, not a second entity); exact opposite as when we speak of *adharma*, downright iniquity not just the absence of *dharma*; *abrāhmaṇa*, neither total non-existence nor opposite existence, but otherness, one who is other than a *brāhmaṇa*. The Siddhāntin thus reconciles the oneness of the Lord with the plurality of the universe of souls and inert things without compromising His supremacy or denying their existence.

The Siddhāntin's conception of the soul as *sadasat* has a double significance. It reveals the nature of the soul to reflect its environment. In bondage it reflects the nature of the world which is its artificial environment whereas in release, it reflects the nature of the Lord, its natural environment. Secondly, the word *asat* is used only in a valuational sense in the Siddhānta. God is the Supreme value. Souls and the world have value in proportion to their association with or dissociation from Him. As servants of the Lord, souls have infinite value. In claiming sovereignty for themselves, they are virtually non-entities. Likewise, the world has no value as an independent object of experience or enjoyment. As serving the Lord's purpose in being a locus for the experience of Souls, the world has value.

In regard to *āṇava* (egoism) also, the Siddhāntin's view is interesting. Egoism is the common concomitant of our personality. But it needs to be removed so that God can be realised to be the Centre of our being. Thus though *āṇava* is the *sahaja mala*, it is *mala* (or impurity) none the less. It survives in the state of release when its nature is transmuted so that instead of promoting self-consciousness it enhances God-consciousness.

We may invite attention to two more features which enrich Indian culture. One is the figure of Naṭarāja which has metaphysical and aesthetic significance. Metaphysically, it calls attention to the fivefold functions of creation (symbolised by the drum in His hand), maintenance (by Lord showing this hand in a protective gesture), destruction (by fire in His hand), obscuration (by His foot planted on a prostrate figure) and Grace (by His foot lifted up). On the aesthetic side, the dance pose and the sweet smile of Naṭarāja have a fascination all their own.

The second is the rich devotional music of the *Tēvāram*, the *Tiruvācham* and the other songs of the sacred collection. Even as the Upanishads have provided the inspiration for the *Brahma-sūtras*, and the *Dīvyaprabandham* (the sacred four thou-

sand verses of the Vaishṇavite Ājvārs) for Viśiṣṭādvaita, the *Pannirutiṇṇuṇṇai* has inspired the *Siddhānta-śāstras*.

Śaiva-siddhānta has an active ethics, a God-centered ethics, in as much as love for the Lord has to be expressed in love for and service to His creatures. He is the indweller in all souls, on whatever level they exist. The blue-throated Śiva, Who drank poison to save souls, allowing them to drink nectar, is a pattern for the Śaivite, to follow in his own life. The Śaivite, if he is loyal to his Lord, is to exemplify in his own life such sacrificial love. Śiva wears the crescent on His head as a mark of His disposition to forgive sins. This is, again, a call to the Śaivite to be forbearing and forgiving in his own attitude to others. Śaiva-siddhānta is a system of philosophy which not only tries to interpret Reality but also tries to change the assumed nature of souls to conform to their real nature as the children of God. The eighth *Sūtra* of the *Śivajñānabōdham* which uses the *nyāya* of the prince kidnapped in his infancy being reclaimed by the king and restored to his royal status emphasises this truth. The history of Śaiva-siddhānta justifies the hope that it will continue to be a living system as long as the ideals of love and sacrifice appeal to man.

Notes and References

1. The present writer has invited attention to the possibility of formulating two more arguments, the teleological and the ontological. See editorials in *Śaiva Siddhānta* Vol. V, No. 2 and Vol. VIII, No. 2.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ADVAITA

N. VEELZHINATHAN

Introduction

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ADVAITA involves the doctrine of *māyā-avidyā*. It is based on the *Prasthānatraya*—the triple canon of the Vedānta, that is, the Upanishads, the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Brahma-sūtra*. The ultimate reality is termed *Brahman*—*Ātman* which is existence, consciousness, and bliss. Owing to *māyā-avidyā* it appears as *Īśvara*, *jīva*, and the world. The world is not real. *Īśvara* is a complex of Brahman and *avidyā*, and *jīva* is a complex of Brahman and *avidyā* and its product-mind. *Īśvara* is always aware of His identity with Brahman and is therefore ever-released. *Jīva*, on the other hand, falsely identifying itself with body-mind complex, loses sight of its identity with Brahman and undergoes transmigration. The realisation of its identity with Brahman and remaining as Brahman is the ultimate goal, that is, liberation. This is possible only by transcending *avidyā*. *Avidyā* has Brahman as its content (*vishaya*) and hence it could be removed only by the direct experience of Brahman. And in order to achieve this direct experience, the Upanishadic texts are studied and their import is enquired into. This, in short, is the philosophy of Advaita as expounded by Śrī Śaṅkara in his commentaries on the Upanishads, the *Gītā* and the *Brahma-sūtra*.

Different are the ways in which the above doctrine has been taught by successive teachers after Śrī Śaṅkara considering the fact that the tastes of pupils differ.

Of the four direct disciples of Śrī Śaṅkara, namely, Padmapāda, Surēśvara, Hastāmalaka and Tōṭaka, Padmapāda wrote *Pañchapādikā* which is a commentary on Śrī Śaṅkara's commentary on the first four aphorisms of the *Brahma-sūtra*. *Pañchapādikā* was commented upon by Prakāśānanda (1200 A.D.) in his *Pañchapādikā-vivaraṇa*. The latter was further commented upon by Chitsukha (1200 A.D.) in his *Tātparya-dīpikā* and by Akhaṇḍānanda (1350 A.D.) in his *Tattvadīpana*. Nṛsiṃhāśrama (1500 A.D.) wrote his *Vivaraṇa-bhāva-prakāśikā* on it. Vidyāraṇya (1350 A.D.) wrote his famous work *Vivaraṇa-pramēya-saṅgraha* elaborating the ideas of the *Pañchapādikā-vivaraṇa*.

Surēśvara, another disciple of Śrī Śaṅkara wrote the *Naishkarmya-siddhi* which is probably the earliest independent treatise on Śrī Śaṅkara's philosophy expounded in his *bhāṣyas*. It has been commented upon by Jñānōttama. Surēśvara wrote commentaries in verse form on Śrī Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Bṛhadāraṇyakoṇishad* and the *Taittirīyōpanishad*. Of these two, the former was summarised by Vidyāraṇya in the work *Vārtikasāra*. He also wrote a verse commentary entitled *Mānasōllāsa* on Śrī Śaṅkara's *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stōtra*. Surēśvara, before he became a *saṁnyāsin* disciple of Śrī Śaṅkara, was known as Māṇḍana and he wrote the treatise entitled *Brahma-siddhi*.

Sarvajñātman, a disciple of Surēśvara, wrote the *Samkshepasārīraṇa* wherein he sets forth, in verses, the views of Śrī Śaṅkara as expounded in his *bhāṣya* on the

Brahma-sūtra. Nṛsiṃhāśrama wrote a commentary *Tattvabōdhiṇī* on it. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and Ramaṭīrtha who flourished in the middle of the 16th century wrote commentaries entitled *Sārasaṅgraha* and *Anvayārthaprakāśikā* respectively on it. Sarvajñātman wrote another work called *Pañchaprakriyā* wherein he explains the logical significance of the major texts of the Upanishads. Sarvajñātman refers to a particular view on the nature of *avidyā-nivṛtti*, and it has been identified by his commentators as that of Vimuktātman who is the author of the work *Ishta-siddhi*.

Vāchaspatimiśra who flourished about 841 A.D., wrote the commentary *Bhāmātī* on Śrī Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtra*. Amalānanda Vyāsāśrama (1300 A.D.) wrote his *Kalpataru* on it, and Appayya-dīkshita (1550 A.D.) wrote his *Kalpataru-parimala* on the *Kalpataru*.

Jñānaghanapāda (1000 A.D.) wrote his *Tattvasūddhi* wherein he explains the basic concepts of Advaita. Ānandabōdha (1100 A.D.) wrote three works on Advaita, namely *Nyāya-makaranda*, *Nyāya-dīpāvalī* and *Pramāṇa-mālā*. Anubhūtiśvarūpa (1300 A.D.) wrote commentaries on all the three works.

In the 12th century A.D. flourished three preceptors of Advaita, namely, Śrīharsha, Chitsukha, and Ānandānubhava. Śrīharsha wrote his *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya*. Chitsukha his *Tattvapradīpikā* and Ānandānubhava his *Padārtha-tattva-nirṇaya* and *Nyāya-ratna-dīpāvalī*. All these works are mainly critiques of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika categories. Pratyagsvarūpa (1400 A.D.) wrote a commentary *Nayana-prasādinī* on the *Tattvapradīpikā* of Chitsukha.

Anubhūtiśvarūpa wrote an independent commentary known as *Prakāśārtha-vivaraṇa* on Śrī Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtra*. He wrote commentaries on the *Ishta-siddhi*, and on the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya* of Śrīharsha. He also wrote commentaries on the three works of Ānandabōdha.¹ Amalānanda besides his commentary *Kalpataru* wrote an independent work *Śāstra-darpaṇa* explaining the tenets of Advaita Vēdānta as embodied in the *Brahma-sūtra*.

Vidyāranya besides his works *Vivaraṇapratīkṣasāṅgraha* and *Vārtikasāra*, wrote *Pañchadaśī* which is a very popular and illuminating treatise on Advaita Vēdānta.

Ānandagiri (1400 A.D.) wrote commentaries on Śrī Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtra*, the Upanishads, and the *Gītā* following the *Vivaraṇa* line of interpretation. Gōvindānanda wrote another commentary *Ratnaprabhū* on Śrī Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtra*.

Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara (1400 A.D.) wrote his *Nyāyachandrikā* wherein he explains the concepts of Advaita and critically examines the Vaiśeṣika categories. Rāmādvaya (1400 A.D.) wrote his *Vēdānta-kaumudī* which is celebrated for its merits in interpreting the concepts of Advaita. Nṛsiṃhāśrama wrote many works such as *Advaita-dīpikā*, *Bhēdadhīkāra*, *Vēdānta-tattva-vivēka* and commentaries on the *Saṁkshēpa-śārīraka* and the *Pañchapādika-vivaraṇa*. Prakāśānanda (1550 A.D.) wrote his *Vēdānta-siddhānta-muktāvalī* wherein he expounds one type of *eka-jīva-vāda* which is known as *drishṭi-sriṣṭi-vāda*.

Appayya-dīkshita, a versatile scholar, is the author of many books of which *Parimala* also known as *Kalpataru-parimala* (a gloss on the commentary on *Bhāmātī*),

Nyāyarakshāmaṇi (an independent commentary on the first *pāda* of the *Brahma-sūtra*) and *Siddhānta-lēśa-saṅgraha* are held in high esteem.

Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (1600 A.D.) wrote a large number of works, the chief among them being *Advaita-siddhi*, *Advaitaratna-rakṣaṇa*, *Vēdānta-kalpalatikā*, besides his commentaries like *Siddhānta-bindu*, *Gūḍhārtha-dīpikā* on the *Gītā* and *Sārasaṅgraha*. Brahmānanda wrote his commentary *Laghū-chandrikā* on the *Advaita-siddhi*.

Apart from these preceptors, there flourished three noteworthy writers, namely, Advaitavidyāchārya and *Kavīrārka-chakravartī* Nṛsiṁha-bhaṭṭopādhyāya and the author of a work *Nyāya-sudhā*. Their views are known only from references to them in the *Siddhānta-lēśa-saṅgraha*.

The ultimate reality, according to Advaita, is Brahman which is *nitya-suddha-buddha-mukta*—eternal, pure, consciousness, ever-released—, *sat-chit-ānanda*—truth, existence, and bliss. It is identical with the essential nature of the individual soul. And this is the logical significance of the major texts such as *tat tvam asi*.

It is said by the dualistic school that the non-dual nature of Brahman would hold good only when there is no second entity apart from it. But perception gives us the knowledge of the existence of the world. Hence Brahman cannot be non-dual.² Advaitins answer the above objection by saying that the non-dual nature of Brahman could be contradicted only when the world that is perceived is real. But it is not so. The Upanishadic texts such as 'objects are merely referred to by names such as pot', etc.³ affirms that the world is *mithyā* or indeterminable. They are, therefore, known as *mithyātva-śruti*. The existence of an indeterminable world does not in any way contradict the non-dual nature of the world.⁴

Now it is objected that one cannot conclude that the world is indeterminable, as it is opposed to perception. The latter in forms like 'The pot is real' (*ghuṭaḥ san*) comprehends the reality of objects of the world like pot, etc. This objection is answered in five ways:

1) Maṇḍana in his *Brahma-siddhi* and Jñānaghanapāda in his *Tattva-siddhi* argue that perception comprehends neither the objects nor reality in respect of them, but only *sat* or Brahman which is associated with *avidyā* and which is constant in objects as their substratum. The perceptual cognition of objects is only illusory. The content of the knowledge arising from the *mithyātva-śruti* is the indeterminability of objects of the world. Thus there is no conflict between the two.⁵

2) The author of the work entitled *Nyāya-sudhā* states that the perceptual cognition 'The pot is real' refers to the reality which is the essential nature of the substratum Brahman and which is falsely imposed upon the object. In other words, perceptual cognition points out that objects like pot, etc. do not possess any independent, reality. *Mithyātva-śruti* too conveys that the objects of the world are indeterminable. Thus there is no conflict between the two.⁶

3) Sarvajñātman in his *Saṁkshēpaśāstraka* argues that the Upanishad alone can be termed *pramāṇa* in the strict sense of the term. And perception etc. are only *pramāṇābhāsa*. And a *pramāṇābhāsa* can never contradict a *pramāṇa*.⁷

4) Some other preceptors hold the view that the *sat* element in the cognition *ghaṭaḥ sat* does not stand for the reality of pot. On the other hand, it stands for the genus or the universal (*sattā-jāti*) or spatial and temporal relation or the essential nature of the object itself. None of these is in conflict with the indeterminable nature of pot conveyed by the *mithyātva-śruti*. Hence there is no conflict between perception and the *mithyātva-śruti*.

5) Other preceptors hold the view that perception cognizes the objects of the world to be *sat* or unsublated till there arises the knowledge of Brahman. *Mithyātva-śruti*, on the other hand, conveys that the objects of the world do not have unsublatedness for all time. And hence there is no conflict between the two.

Adhering for the moment to the standpoint that perception comprehends the objects of the world as unsublated for all time, it is admitted that perception and the *mithyātva-śruti* are in conflict with each other. But just as the subsequent knowledge revealing the true nature of a barren land arises only by invalidating the knowledge of mirage which arose earlier, so also the knowledge from the *mithyātva-śruti* arises only by invalidating the perceptual cognition which arose earlier. This principle of the subsequent one depriving the earlier one of validity is known as *apachchhēda-nyāya*.⁸

The dualistic school argues that on the basis of the maxim known as *upakrama-nyāya* according to which the initial cognition is more powerful than the subsequent one, it must be held that perception which is antecedent must be taken to be more powerful than the *mithyātva-śruti* which is subsequent. Hence perceptual cognition invalidates the *mithyātva-śruti*.⁹

Advaitins answer the above objection by saying that *upakrama-nyāya* is applicable only when there arises contradiction between two sentences which come under a single *pramāṇa*—verbal testimony. In the present case, the contradiction is not between two sentences but between two different *pramāṇas*. Hence the *upakrama-nyāya* does not apply here.

The dualistic school further argues that *mithyātva-śruti* cannot contradict perception because the latter is its sustaining factor. The *mithyātva-śruti* in order that it may give rise to the knowledge of indeterminability of objects and thereby sublate the perceptual cognition, requires the perceptual knowledge of the sentence consisting of words. Thus the *mithyātva-śruti* does depend upon perceptual cognition. The latter, therefore, constitute the sustaining factor of the *mithyātva-śruti*. Hence it is not proper to hold that the latter sublates the former.

This objection is answered by saying that the sustaining factor of the *mithyātva-śruti* is only the perceptual cognition of words, constituting the *mithyātva-śruti*. This aspect is not sublated. What is sublated is the absolute reality in respect of perceptual cognition of the words. And it is not the sustaining factor of the *mithyātva-śruti*.¹⁰

Advaitins, therefore, conclude that Brahman is conveyed by the Upanishads as *nitya-buddha-buddha-mukta* and *sat-chit-ānanda*. And its non-dual nature is not contradicted by perception.

The Upanishadic text—'That from which these beings arise, by which the created beings are sustained, That into which they lapse at the time of dissolution—seek to know That, That is Brahman'¹¹ states that Brahman is the cause of the world. Now the question arises as to how Brahman which is self-luminous, consciousness and non-dual bliss could be the cause of the world. It is with reference to this question the concept of *māyā* has been formulated. The *Śvetāśvatara* text—'The sages absorbed in meditation discovered the creative power which is present in Brahman and which consists of the three strands of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*'¹² introduces the principle of *māyā*. It follows that Brahman associated with *māyā* is the source of the universe. *Māyā* possesses a two-fold power of concealment (*āvaraṇa-śakti*) and power of projection (*vikshepa-śakti*). The former is that power which gives rise to usages such as 'Brahman does not exist', and 'Brahman is not manifest'. The latter is that power which gives rise to the erroneous notions such as 'I am an agent, enjoyer', etc., and also to the appearance of the world.

Māyā is identical with *avidyā*. Śrī Śaṅkara in his commentary on the *adriśyatvādhikaraṇa*¹³ uses the terms *māyā*, *akshara*, *avyakta*, and *avidyā* as synonyms. Padmapāda in his *Pañchapādikā* speaks of the identity of *māyā* and *avidyā*.¹⁴ Surēśvara in his *Mānasōllāsa* affirms the identity between *māyā* and *avidyā*. Sarvajñātman in his *Samkshepaśārīraka* takes the two to be identical and further states that according to the *Bhagavadgītā* also *māyā* and *avidyā* or *ajñāna* are identical as both are described there as possessing the same characteristics of veiling the true nature of Brahman and of being removable by the true knowledge of Brahman.¹⁵ Prakāśātman in his *Vivaraṇa* maintains the identity of *māyā* and *avidyā*.¹⁶ Anubhūtiśvarūpa and Vidyāraṇya state that *māyā* and *avidyā* are two aspects of one *prakṛiti*. According to Vidyāraṇya, *māyā* is that aspect of *prakṛiti* wherein the *sattva-guṇa* is predominant; and, *avidyā* is that aspect of *prakṛiti* wherein the *rajō-guṇa* and the *tamō-guṇa* are predominant.¹⁷ Anubhūtiśvarūpa in his *Prakāśārtha-vivaraṇa* states that the primal cause of the world which is known as *māyā* possesses innumerable parts which are indeterminable. And each part consists of *āvaraṇa-śakti* and *vikshepa-śakti* and is known as *avidyā*.¹⁸ Thus according to Anubhūtiśvarūpa and Vidyāraṇya, *māyā* and *avidyā* are two aspects of *prakṛiti* which is one. Prakāśātman in his *Vivaraṇa* states that the *vikshēpa*-phase of *prakṛiti* is *māyā* and the *āvaraṇa*-phase of *prakṛiti* is known as *avidyā*.¹⁹ The *vikshēpa*-phase of *prakṛiti*, that is, *māyā* is active in respect of *Īśvara* and the *āvaraṇa*-phase of *prakṛiti*, that is, *avidyā* is active in respect of *jīva*. Hence it is usually said that *māyā* and *avidyā* are respectively the limiting adjuncts of *Īśvara* and *jīva*. Further, since *prakṛiti* is under the control of *Īśvara* and as related to *Īśvara* is termed *māyā*, it is said that *māyā* does not delude its abode, that is, *Īśvara*. In the same way, since *prakṛiti* influences *jīva* and as related to *jīva* is termed *avidyā*, it is said that *avidyā* deludes its abode, that is, *jīva*. It should be noted here that *māyā* and *avidyā* are only two aspects of *prakṛiti* and they are not two distinct entities. And this is the prevalent view in Advaita.

Avidyā is one according to the *Vivaraṇa* school and many, according to the *Bhāmāṭī* school.²⁰ But both the schools admit derivatives of *avidyā* known as *tuḥ-*

jñāna or *avasthājñāna* or modal ignorances to account for the illusory appearances of shell as silver, rope as snake, etc.²¹ The modal ignorances are beginningless according to *Bhāmatī* and the *Vivaraṇa* school.²² And according to Vidyāraṇya, they have a beginning. According to the *Vivaraṇa* school, the modal ignorance is present in the consciousness delimited by objects, while according to the *Bhāmatī* school it is present in *jīva*.²³ But according to both the schools, its content is the consciousness delimited by an object.²⁴ There is yet another view which holds that modal ignorance is present in the consciousness delimited by an object and has for its content that object itself and not the consciousness delimited by the object.²⁵ And the modal ignorances are removed by the immediate knowledge of their respective objects.²⁶ *Avidyā* is manifested by the witness-self. And, perception, inference, verbal testimony, and presumption go to prove that it is positive in nature.²⁷

All Advaitins agree that the content of *avidyā* is only pure consciousness—Brahman. As regards the locus of *avidyā*, there are two different views in Advaita, one advocated by Surēśvara, Sarvajñātman, and Prakāśātman, and the other advocated by Vāchaspatimiśra. According to the former three preceptors, pure consciousness as the inner self is the locus of *avidyā*.²⁸ According to Vāchaspatimiśra, *jīva* is the locus of *avidyā*.²⁹

Avidyā is removed by the direct knowledge of Brahman. The latter is viewed either as the mental state inspired by the reflection of Brahman in it or as Brahman reflected in the mental state.³⁰ According to the former view, the knowledge of Brahman causes its own destruction along with *avidyā* and its products. According to the latter view, Brahman reflected in the mental state removes the mental state along with *avidyā* and its products. There is yet another view which holds that the destruction of the knowledge of Brahman is caused by the removal of *avidyā* which alone is in direct conflict with the knowledge of Brahman. And knowledge of Brahman according to this view may be viewed either as the mental state inspired by the reflection of Brahman in it or as Brahman reflected in the mental state.

The removal of *avidyā* or *avidyā-nivṛtti* caused by the direct knowledge of Brahman is viewed as identical with Brahman by Maṇḍana, Sarvajñātman, Nṛsiṃhāśrama and others. It is viewed as different from Brahman, and yet it is not considered to be *anirvachanīya* but of a fifth kind by Vimuktātman and Ānandabōdha. Thirdly, it is viewed as different from Brahman and is *anirvachanīya* by Advaitavidyāchārya.³¹ Lastly it is viewed as identical with the knowledge of Brahman by Maṇḍana, and Chitsukha makes a reference to this view in his *Tattvapradīpikā*.³² It is because of *avidyā*, Brahman—the self-luminous consciousness and non-dual bliss, appears as *jīva*, Īśvara and the world.

Advaitins seek to explain the nature of *jīva* and Īśvara in two different ways: *pratibimba-vāda* and *avachchhēda-vāda*. Of these, the former is the theory that Brahman undergoes reflection in *avidyā* and mind. This view known as the *pratibimba-vāda* is advocated by Sarvajñātman, Prakāśātman, Anubhūtiśvarūpa, Vidyāraṇya, and Advaitavidyāchārya.³³

Among the preceptors who advocate the *pratibimba-vāda* Surēśvara, Sarvajñātman, Anubhūtiśvarūpa, and Vidyāraṇya have taken the view that both *Īśvara* and *jīva* are reflected images, while Prakāśātman has taken the view that *jīva* alone is the reflected image of Brahman and *Īśvara* is Brahman which remains as the prototype or original. It must be added here that Sarvajñātman subscribes to this view also.

According to Surēśvara and Sarvajñātman, *Īśvara* and *jīva* are the reflected images of ultimate reality in *māyā-avidyā* and mind respectively.³⁴ According to Anubhūtiśvarūpa and Vidyāraṇya, *Īśvara* and *jīva* are the reflected images of the reality in *māyā* and *avidyā* respectively.³⁵

Vidyāraṇya in another section of his *Pañchadaśī* gives up the threefold classification of reality into Brahman, *jīva*, and *Īśvara* and advocates a four-fold classification of it into *kūṭastha*, Brahman, *jīva* and *Īśvara*. Of these, the reality conditioned by the subtle and the gross body is *kūṭastha*; and the reality that transcends the subtle and the gross body is Brahman. The reflection of the *kūṭastha* in mind is *jīva*, while *Īśvara* is the reflection of the reality in *māyā* which is present in Brahman.³⁶

Vidyāraṇya sets forth another view in his work *Drigdrīśya-vivēka* according to which *jīva* is threefold as absolutely real, empirically real, and apparently real. Of these, the former is the reality that is conditioned by the subtle and the gross body, and the latter two are the reflected images of the reality in mind which is empirically real and in mind which is apparently real. The apparently real mind is created in the state of dream. And *Īśvara* is the reflection of reality in *māyā* which is present in Brahman.

Īśvara, if He is viewed as a reflected image of Brahman in *avidyā*, then the latter being a reflecting medium will present its characteristics upon *Īśvara*. *Īśvara*, then, under its influence would lose sight of His identity with Brahman. He cannot, therefore, be considered as an omniscient entity. Sarvajñātman recognises this difficulty and hence he advocates the view that the reflected image of Brahman in mind is *jīva* and Brahman which remains as the original or prototype is *Īśvara*. Prakāśātman also subscribes to this view.³⁷

Surēśvara, Vidyāraṇya, and Advaitavidyāchārya differ from Sarvajñātman, Prakāśātman, and Anubhūtiśvarūpa as regards the conception and interpretation of the nature of the reflected image.

The latter three hold the view that there is no difference between the reflected image and the original. The reflected face in a mirror, for example, is not different from the prototype. It is the same as the original with certain characteristics of being present in the mirror, facing oneself, and difference as prototype and image being superimposed owing to the defect, namely, proximity of mirror. So the image is nothing but the prototype with the above properties superimposed thereon. These properties constitute what is known as the state of reflection (*pratibimbatva*) and they are indeterminable. The reflected face, however, is the same as the prototype face. When viewed in this light, *jīva*, the reflected image of Brahman is Brahman itself

with the characteristics such as agency, etc. superimposed thereon, owing to the defect namely, *avidyā*. When the latter is removed by the direct knowledge of Brahman, the characteristics such as agency, etc. presented upon Brahman will be removed and what would exist then is the non-dual Brahman. The major texts of the Upanishads which speak of the identity of *jīva* with Brahman would hold good only if we admit that *jīva*—the reflected image is the same as Brahman with some characteristics superimposed thereon.

Vidyāraṇya and, following him, Advaitavidyāchārya hold the view that the reflected image is different from the original and hence it is indeterminable. The original face and the reflected image can never be identical in view of the fact that certain parts of the original face like eye-balls etc. are not directly perceived, while all parts of the reflected image are directly perceived. This suggests that the two are different.

Jīva also being a reflected image is illusory and hence it cannot be identical with Brahman. Vidyāraṇya, therefore, admits an absolutely real *jīva* over and above the empirically real *jīva* which is a reflected image of reality in mind. The major texts of the Upanishads like *tat tvam asi*, etc. convey the identity between the absolutely real *jīva* and Brahman.

Vidyāraṇya in his *Pañchadaśī* says that *jīva* is illusory as it is a reflected image. It is superimposed on *kūṭastha* which is real. The major texts like *tat tvam asi* convey the negation of *jīva* in *kūṭastha*.³⁸

Surēśvara holds that *Īśvara* and *jīva* being reflected images, are illusory. And they are identified with the original consciousness and are viewed as the source of the world, and as agent, enjoyer, etc. respectively. The terms *tat* and *tvam* totally abandon their primary senses of *Īśvara* and *jīva* as the latter are illusory by being reflected images. And they convey the original consciousness with which their primary senses are identified.³⁹

Jīva, the reflected image is real according to Saivajñātman and others in his line of thinking. It is illusory according to Vidyāraṇya and others. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī characterises the former view as *partibhūta-vāda* and the latter one as *ābhāsa-vāda*.

Vāchaspatimiśra advocates *avachchhēda-vāda* according to which Brahman delimited by *avidyā* is *jīva* and Brahman which transcends *avidyā* and yet remains as the content of *avidyā* is *Īśvara*.⁴⁰

All the preceptors who subscribe to the above two views hold that *jīvas* are many. These two views are, therefore, known as *aneka-jīva-vāda*.

Apart from the above two views, there is another view which is known as *ēka-jīva-vāda* or the theory of only one *jīva*. There are three types of *ēka-jīva-vāda*. Brahman itself when associated with *avidyā* becomes *jīva*. Since *avidyā* is one, *jīva* is one. The latter posits through its *avidyā* other *jīvas*, *Īśvara*, and the world. The latter are illusory and are similar to the ones seen in dream. It is only one body that has a *jīva*. Hence it is known as *ēka-sarīra-ēka-jīva-vāda*.⁴¹

Some other preceptors maintain the view that one principal *jīva* animates one body, while other bodies are animated by the reflections of the principal *jīva* known as *jīvābhāsas*. Hiraṇyagarbha is the principal *jīva* and He is taken to be the reflection of Brahman in *māyā*. Brahman which remains as the prototype is *Īśvara*. *Īśvara*, the other *jīvas*, and the world are empirically real. Since this view admits that one body is animated by the principal *jīva* and the rest by His reflections, it is characterized as *saviśeṣha-anēka-śarīra-ēka-jīva-vāda*.

Yet others maintain the view that Brahman reflected in *avidyā* is *jīva*. Since *avidyā* is one, *jīva*, also is one. It is all-pervasive. And, it animates all bodies without distinction. Brahman that remains as the prototype is *Īśvara*. The world is real. Since according to this view, a single *jīva* animates all bodies without distinction, this view is known as *aviśeṣha-anēka-śarīra-ēka-jīva-vāda*.

Appayya-dīkshita is of the view that this way of explaining the nature of *jīva* precludes the possibility of accounting for the distinction between the bound and the released souls. He, therefore, favours the view of many individual souls. According to him the reflected image of Brahman in *avidyā* is *jīva*. And since there are many *avidyās*, the *jīvas* also are many.⁴²

Īśvara is omniscient. And the omniscience of *Īśvara* is explained in terms of *māyā-vṛtti*. *Īśvara* has *māyā-vṛtti* and it is immediate in respect of present, past and future things. This is the view of Anubhūtiśvarūpa.⁴³ Jñānaghanapāda also explains omniscience of *Īśvara* in terms of *māyā-vṛtti*. But, unlike Anubhūtiśvarūpa, he thinks that the omniscience of *Īśvara* consists in immediate knowledge of the existent world, inferential cognition of the future world, and recollection of the past world.⁴⁴

According to Rāmādvaya, the omniscience of *Īśvara* consists in His being of the nature of knowledge of everything related to it. *Īśvara* is omniscient and He is not omniscient, according to the present view.⁴⁵

Vāchaspatimiśra, like Rāmādvaya admits that the essential nature of *Īśvara*, that is, consciousness manifests everything related to it and it is omniscience. But although it is eternal, yet as defined by what is manifested, it is an effect of *Īśvara*. And *Īśvara* becomes the substratum of that knowledge and so He is omniscient.⁴⁶

Jīva on the other hand, knows the objects of the world through the modification of the mind which is known as *vṛtti*.

There is another aspect of the ultimate reality known as witness-self. According to Vidyāranya the reflected image of *kūṭastha* in mind is *jīva* and the *kūṭastha* which remains as prototype is the *sākshī*. The *sākshī* being a non-agent is different from *jīva* who is an agent, and being immediate to *jīva* is different from *Īśvara* who is only mediate to *jīva*.

Rāmādvaya and Jñānaghanapāda hold the view that witness-self is a particular form of *Īśvara*.⁴⁷ Nṛsiṃhāśrama holds the view that Brahman which is immanent in the mind is *jīva* and which transcends the mind is the *sākshī*.

Thus owing to *avidyā*, the three characteristics, namely, the characteristics of being an agent, etc. being the source of the universe, and a witness are superimposed

upon the non-dual Brahman. The latter when associated with the first characteristic is known as *Jīva*, as associated with the second, *Īśvara*, and as associated with the last *sākṣī*. When *avidyā* is removed by the knowledge of Brahman, all the characteristics will be removed. What would remain then is the non-dual Brahman which is liberation.

Liberation being identical with Brahman is ever-attained; yet, through a mistaken notion of its not being attained, the aspirant longs for it and attains it as if it were unattained, through the removal of *avidyā* by the direct experience of Brahman-*Ātman*.

There are two-fold means to the knowledge of Brahman, namely, the instrumental cause and auxiliary cause. The latter is twofold as remote means and the proximate means. The remote means consists in the performance of one's *karma* as an offering to God. According to Surēśvara, Sarvajñātmān, and Vāchaspatimīśra, the merit generated through the performance of one's *karma* disappears with the emergence of the desire to know Brahman (*vividishā*). According to Prakāśātmān, the merit generated through the performance of one's *karma* gives rise to the desire to know Brahman and persists till the knowledge arises. And according to both the views, the performance of one's *karma* must be given up after the desire to know Brahman arises. This is Appayya-dīkṣita's view.

According to some preceptors, *karma* belonging to the various stages of life alone is to be performed as an offering to God, while according to Amalānanda, the *karma* relating to the several classes of life also can be performed as an offering to God. Amalānanda is of the view 'that only obligatory duties belonging to one's stage and class of life are to be performed as an offering to God with a view to attaining the knowledge of Brahman through the purification of mind. According to Surēśvara and Sarvajñātmān, obligatory as well as optional duties are useful in the bringing about the knowledge of Brahman through the purification of mind. These are the views regarding the remote means.

The proximate means, on the other hand, consists of *śravaṇa*, *manana*, *nididhyāsana* besides *karma-sannyāsa*. *Karma-sannyāsa* according to some preceptors gives rise to the supra-sensible merit which removes certain sins that stand in the way of the rise of the knowledge of Brahman. This is the view of Sarvajñātmān. According to other preceptors, the supra-sensible merit arising from *sannyāsa* makes one eligible to pursue Vedāntic study, etc. According to both the views, *sannyāsa* is useful for the rise of the knowledge of Brahman through a supra-sensible merit.⁴⁸ According to the *Vivaraṇa* school, *karma-sannyāsa* gives rise to the visible result of freedom from distraction and of adequate leisure which facilitates the continuous pursuance of *śravaṇa*, etc. that ultimately lead to the knowledge of Brahman.

Śravaṇa, *manana*, and *nididhyāsana* constitute the other group of proximate means. According to Surēśvara, Sarvajñātmān, Anubhūtiśvarūpa and Prakāśātmān these are mental activities in the forms of inquiring into the import of the Upanishadic texts, arguing within oneself with a view to convince oneself that the Upanishadic teaching is true, and of turning away one's mind from external objects respectively.

Since these are of the nature of activities they are enjoined in the scriptural text 'Ātman should be realised; for that one should study Vedānta, reflect and meditate upon its import'. Hence *śravaṇa*, *manana*, and *nididhyāsana* lead to supra-sensible merit and to the visible result of removing impediments from the mind of the aspirant.

According to Vāchaspatimiśra, *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* are respectively the mediate knowledge of Brahman arising from the Upanishads, inferential knowledge that the Upanishadic teaching is true, and the mediate knowledge in the form 'I am Brahman'. Since these are of the forms of knowledge, they cannot be enjoined. Hence they are useful in giving rise to the visible result of removing the impediments from the mind of the aspirant.⁴⁹

When the mind of the aspirant remains pure by the pursuit of the above proximate means, and when the major texts of the Upanishads are contemplated, there arises the immediate knowledge of Brahman from the major texts themselves. This is Prakāśātman's view. According to Vāchaspatimiśra such a knowledge arises from mind. Vidyāraṇya in his *Pañchadūṣī* recommends, as a means of attaining the knowledge of Brahman, the path of meditation upon the unconditional reality for men of average intellect.⁵⁰

The direct knowledge of Brahman annihilates the accumulated deeds of the *jīva* and prevents further accumulation of any merit or demerit. But it does not annihilate the fructified deeds which have given rise to the body by being present in which the *jīva* has attained the direct knowledge of Brahman. Being thus associated with fructified deeds, the direct experience of Brahman does not annihilate *avidyā* in its entirety, but only certain aspects of it. That aspect of *avidyā* which is not annihilated is termed *avidyā-lēśa* that sustains the fructified deeds. Such an individual as is free from the accumulated merits is called a *jīvanmukta*—one who is liberated while embodied. When the fructified deeds are exhausted by experiencing their fruits, the *avidyā-lēśa* is removed by the direct experience of Brahman that endures till then. The body of the *jīvanmukta* falls off and the liberated soul remains as non-dual Brahman. This is *vidēha-mukti* or final liberation. To sum up: Owing to *avidyā*, the characteristic of being an agent, enjoyer, etc. the characteristic of being the source of the universe, and the world are superimposed on the non-dual Brahman. This is bondage. When *avidyā* is removed by the direct knowledge of Brahman, the above three factors are removed and what remains then is non-dual Brahman. And this is liberation.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF RAMANUJA

S. S. RAGHAVACHAR

I

THE OPPORTUNITY to elucidate the philosophy of Rāmānuja in a brief compass is a blessing and to be able to utilise it worthily can only be through the inspiration furnished by the great theme.

The exposition will acquire intelligibility if prefaced by an indication of the central orientation of Rāmānuja's standpoint. There are about three possible standpoints in the history of philosophy. There is the initial philosophy of the first look, the Naturalistic or Materialistic standpoint for which reality is exhaustively constituted of the data of sense-experience and the edifice of empirical science built on it. This outlook limits reality to the realm of mundane consciousness. There is the antithesis to this view illustrated in many transcendental philosophers of the East and West, according to whom the empirical reality is only phenomenal if not illusory and ultimate reality is beyond it in every significant sense. Human consciousness should ascend to the apprehension of this reality through a radical negation of this misleading veil of appearance. The third point of view emerges out of the rejection of these two and construes reality as transcending the empirical order undoubtedly but also as appropriating it as a subsidiary aspect of its infinite expanse. The transcendent includes the empirical in its amplitude. The naturalistic negation of the transcendent and the transcendentalist negation of the empirical are discarded. The outcome is the philosophy of a comprehensive Absolute, which is at once transcendent and immanent and which negates all negations. This is a standpoint positive through and through.

It is the last point of view to which Rāmānuja subscribes. It is worthwhile taking note of his immense literary heritage as his philosophy takes shape within this wide sweep of a spiritual tradition. The Viśiṣṭādvaitin confidently traces his philosophy to the Vēdas. There is no doubt that that primordial body of scriptures contains definite indications of the philosophy. The universally venerated *Purusha-sūkta* speaks of the Supreme Being as expressing Himself through the cosmos and also as surpassing it immeasurably. The vision of this reality is said to be the only pathway to immortality. This vision of Godhead is magnificently conveyed in the sacred Savitri. It is a prayer addressed to the resplendent creator and nourisher of all existence, whose splendour is truly adorable. His grace is invoked for the Supreme gift of spiritual illumination. The most sacred syllable of the Vedic tradition is the *praṇava* and according to the Viśiṣṭādvaitic tradition it signified the individual soul's exalting self-surrender to the Supreme.¹ In a way it foreshadows the chariot of Arjuna, in which Nara seeks refuge with Nārāyaṇa. There are thus countless passages in the early Vedic scripture that go to build up the philosophical superstructure.

When we come down to the Upanishads, these fundamental intimations receive fuller articulation.

Passing by the smaller Upanishads such as *Īśa*, *Muṇḍaka* and *Śvetāśvatara*, which are frankly theistic in temper and style, the major texts such as *Taittirīya*, *Chhāndōgya* and *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* contain the specific doctrines of Rāmānuja. The *Taittirīya* names Brahman the blissful *śarīra*, the *Chhāndōgya* explicates the immanence of the transcendent in the central Dahara-vidyā, which connects itself with the Dahara-vidyā of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*. Without resorting even to the *antaryāmi Brāhmaṇa* of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, it is easy to discern in the major Upanishads the Rāmānujite conception of Brahman and the doctrine of Divine grace is definitely enunciated in *Kaṭha* and *Muṇḍaka*.² But the *antaryāmi*³ *Brāhmaṇa* is a key-dialogue of Yājñavalkya and it affirms every cardinal metaphysical principle of Rāmānuja. It brings together in an illuminating synthesis all the scattered and apparently divergent declarations of the Upanishads about ultimate reality.

The next Vēdāntic document is certainly the *Gītā*. Its dominating concept of God as the *purushōttama*, its picture of the pathway to God as culminating in *bhakti* and its pervasive emphasis on *prapatti* are treasures beyond comparison for the standpoint of Rāmānuja. The *Brahma-sūtra* is certainly obscure and difficult for philosophical identification. But the verdict of impartial scholars⁴ and the admission on the part of Advaita that the major portion of it deals with *saguṇa* Brahman indicate the general philosophical direction of the treatise. It is well known that Vāchaspati makes Śaṅkara supersede Bādarāyaṇa in the *Ānandamayādhikaraṇa* and Madhusūdana in his *Siddhānta-hindu* places Śaṅkara and Surēśvara above Bādarāyaṇa.

In the realm of the *Itihāsa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has entered deeply into the thought of Viśiṣṭādvaita so much so that all problems of metaphysics and spiritual life are referred to the *Rāmāyaṇa* for final solution. In addition, it has enriched the language and style of the writers in Viśiṣṭādvaita in a conspicuous measure, imparting a poetic flavour. The fervent Viśiṣṭādvaitin habitually lives in the world of *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Rāmānuja quotes frequently some prominent *śmṛitis*, such as that of Manu, Āpastamba and Yājñavalkya, where the latter deliver themselves of philosophical doctrines. Among the *Purāṇas*, the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* receives great homage. Yāmuna calls it *Purāṇaratna*.⁵ This is a *Purāṇa* which is brief, moves more in the realm of ideas than mythology and has suffered least interpolation. It is used as authority by such ancient philosophers as the commentator, Vyāsa, on Patañjali's *Yōga-sūtra*, Śaṅkara, Vāchaspatimīśra and Vivaraṇakāra. Its acceptance was ancient and universal. It promulgates the doctrines of Rāmānuja in terms that become standard technical expressions in later Viśiṣṭādvaita.

Not so universally accepted was the *Pāñcharātra āgama*. Yāmuna and after him, Rāmānuja took special pains to demonstrate its basic conformity to the Vēdas. In this tradition the levels or forms of divine manifestation, *para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava*, and *antaryāmi*, the metaphysical attributes of God such as *jñāna*, *bala*, *śakti* and the detailed programme of spiritual life such as *abhiḡamana*, *upādāna*, *ijyā*, *svādhyāya*

and *yōga* are elaborately dealt with. It is a distinct supplement of a practical nature to the theoretical philosophy of Vēdānta. This entire philosophy of Pāñcharātra stands incorporated,⁶ in principle, in Viśiṣṭādvaita.

Rāmānuja inherited not merely this huge body of Sanskritic Vēdānta, but was also an heir to a profound spiritual tradition represented by the Ālvārs. These God-intoxicated seers lived in the presence of God and they have poured forth in immortal verse their spiritual abundance. Nammālvār, like Chaitanya and Rāmakṛishṇa, was an incarnation, as Parāśarabhaṭṭa says,⁷ of the passion for the Divine. His poetry, at once philosophical and intense, is said to reach the highest standard of mystic song. Āṇḍāl represents the ardour of bridal mysticism in its purest altitude. Tiruppani symbolizes high devotion marked by the inherent social gospel of Vaishṇavism. The *Divya-prabandham*, as Vēdāntadēśika⁸ says, solves many a problem left over by Sanskrit Vēdānta.

This is the immense two-fold literary inheritance of Rāmānuja.

This inheritance is largely scriptural, bequeathed by the Rishis and Ālvārs. For it to acquire the status of *darśana*, intellectual treatment of the rich revelation-material was necessary. The non-Vedic schools of thought were glorying in their rationalism. The semi-Vedic philosophers such as the Naiyāyikas, Sāṅkhyayōgins, and the Mīmāṃsakas were seeking to build up reasoned structures of philosophy. Śaṅkara accomplished this intellectualisation of Vēdānta in a masterly manner. This inaugurated the age of the *āchāryas*.

The first *āchārya* in Viśiṣṭādvaita is Nāthamuni. The two works ascribed to him have perished, though some⁹ verses are quoted from them. His influence, nevertheless, is pervasive. He seems to have consolidated the literature of the Ālvārs. The next *āchārya* is Yāmuna. Some of his works are¹⁰ available wholly, some are found in fragments and one is completely lost. He was a vigorous intellectual and had a clear vision of the complete system of philosophy. Unfortunately, he could not accomplish all the necessary literary tasks, though, he laid firm foundations for both Viśiṣṭādvaita metaphysics and devotionism. Rāmānuja's veneration for the *āchārya*¹¹ is profound. The third *āchārya* in the line is Rāmānuja.

He is the greatest *āchārya* in Viśiṣṭādvaita. His commentary on *Brahma-sūtra*, the celebrated *Śrī Bhāṣya*, that on the *Gitā* and the *Vēdārtha-saṅgraha* elucidating the controversial issues in Upanishadic philosophy are pivotal treatises. In depth of logical penetration, thoroughness of execution and the total scope of vision he is the Viśiṣṭādvaita *āchārya* par excellence, whatever be his reverence to the ancients. He is never satisfied with piecemeal and slender work. This is exemplified in his great examination of Advaita, the *mahāśiddhānta*.¹² In the constructive building of the system, he comprehends the entire scriptural inheritance, utilises a rare mastery of current *darśanas* and imparts dialectical and constructive completeness and finality to it. In the art of philosophical exposition; in clarity and grandeur he is the greatest writer in the tradition. Even Vēdāntadēśika, a great favourite of Hayagrīva, says¹³ that his style overcame its blemishes and acquired grace through a life long study of Rāmānuja's writings. His personality as preserved in the fond words of the disciples

and devout biographies show some marked characteristics. One such trait is his independence of spirit. Not only did he break away from his preceptor, Yādava-prakāśa, on grounds of intellectual conscience but also he dissented from some current elucidations of the Ālvārs by elder Śrīvaiṣṇavas like Tirumaleyāṇḍān. All his work in life and thought was inspired by overmastering *bhakti*. It is for *bhakti* he prays in the opening verse of the *Śrī Bhāṣya*. This possessed him so much that even in argumentative contests he breaks forth into rapturous adoration of God. Naturally, in his purely devotional compositions, the *Gadyatraya* and *Nityagrantha*, he lets himself go. Parāśarabhaṭṭa says¹⁴ that with the single talisman of *bhakti*, the master annihilated the dark powers of Kali. Dāśarathi¹⁵ says that his *ācārya* was a lion of *bhakti*, and even as insects sticking to a lion are carried from peak to peak as the lion leaps, the disciples of Rāmānuja can encompass all in spiritual life. Kūrēśa, than whom there was no greater disciple of Rāmānuja, says¹⁶ that his master had three points of greatness. He was infatuated—*vyāmōha* is the word used—with his God, Achyuta. This was his supreme *purushārtha* and no mere *sādhana*. This led him to regard all other values as trivial. He was, further, an ocean of compassion. There is an occult link between *bhakti* and *dayā*. It is exemplified in the historic acts of compassion on the part of Rāmānuja. Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya says¹⁷ that the age of *audārya*—largeheartedness—in Śrīvaiṣṇavism was inaugurated by Rāmānuja. It is but proper that the *darśana* came to be designated Rāmānuja-darśana.

II

The distinctive character of a *darśana* is that it seeks authentic knowledge of reality and is no mere faith. It has to build up its structure of ideas on the nature of things on faultless and legitimate foundations. There is thus a necessity for a critical consideration of the sources and ways of knowing. The necessity arises from the fact that contradictory notions or impressions do arise on a given matter and without an examination of evidence the contradictions cannot be resolved. Hence Viśiṣṭādvaita like other *darśanas* has a well-formed theory of knowledge.

There are three basic tenets concerning knowledge.

(a) All knowledge consists of judgements which predicate of a subject certain characteristics.¹⁸ The subject-predicate situation is fundamental. *Idam itthaṁ*—‘This is such’—is the form of all understanding. Mere awareness of a subject is just the beginning of the knowing process and mere entertainment of ideas of possible predicates without asserting them of anything is no knowledge but day-dreaming. There must be, in technical language *prakāri* and *prakāra* in all acts of understanding. From this follows the basic contention of Rāmānuja that all knowledge is of a determinate character, it being the assignment of a predicate to a subject. Even in a negative proposition the law holds. It discerns in the subject features contradicting some attributions. The basis of the negation must be a positive discernment.

(b) The process¹⁹ of knowing presupposes that fundamentally there is a natural rapport between knowing and being and that error is an accident generated by factors external to the apparatus of knowledge. Thought, when it operates by itself unimpeded by alien forces, issues in authentic apprehension of reality. This is the principle of *svataḥ-prāmānya* championed by the Mīmāṃsakas and all schools of Vēdānta. Rejection of the principle leads to total scepticism, which in itself is self-contradictory.

(c) In fulfilment of the logical requirements of *svataḥ-prāmānya* Rāmānuja advances a specific theory of error.²⁰ It is agreed on all hands that an erroneous judgement is not erroneous in respect of its subject but is so in respect of only its predicate. *Sarvaṃ jñānaṃ prakāriṇi abhrāntam*. Even in respect of the predicate, can it be wholly a fabrication? If external forces can make the knowing mind manufacture an utter unreality, the trust in the basic realism of thought is damaged. There is no end to what it can lead to. If the impeding force is assigned only obstructive power and not that of distortion, that could go well logically with thought-reality rapport. Errors there are but they are all errors of negation and not errors of commission. The straight stick immersed in water appears bent. This is an illusion in ordinary parlance. But when the entire machinery of visual perception is known it will be found that the straight stick and the Laws of Optics determine its presentation as bent. There is no misconstruction in the situation. On the contrary it would have an illusion if the stick appeared straight in the circumstance. The only lapse in the perceptual knowledge of the bent stick is that it overlooks the conditions of the phenomenon and attributes to it completeness. The ignoring of the limitations of the phenomenon is the substance of the error. Hence error is also truth but a fragmentary truth unaware of its fragmentariness.

The entire evolution of human knowledge is pictured, on the basis of these principles, as an ascending order of apprehension completing itself in progressive enlargement of scope. There is no total error at any point of the movement and there can possibly be no completion, if reality be inexhaustible in its attributes. We can see the panorama of human knowledge from this perspective.

The familiar perceptual knowledge is true in so far as it goes. Even perceptual error has limited truth. The perception conventionally regarded as true is wider in its scope and is more true from the standpoint of the width of reality it covers. There is no point in discarding all sense-perception as deceptive.²¹ It contains a glimpse, an authentic glimpse, of the real. Perception in the earlier phase is *nirvikalpaka*²² and in the developed stage it is *savikalpaka*. *Nirvikalpaka* is so called because of the incompleteness of determination and not because it is the grasp of the attributeless. No such grasp is an epistemological possibility.

But *pratyakṣa* as a whole is a highly limited mode of knowledge. It confines itself to sensed particulars. Pervasive and supersensuous realities are beyond its range. The Chārvāka school pinned its faith to the narrowest species of knowledge.

Anumāna, or inference though rooted in perception, ascends beyond it in range. It brings about the apprehension of universal connections and apprehends in reality co-inherent predicates.²³

There is no meaning in discarding intellectualism as a whole. The paradox is that reasoning has to be discredited through reasoning itself. That would be merely a natural process of reason correcting itself. A total repudiation of the intellect is a blunder according to Rāmānuja. He says *śrutōpapattayēpi anupapannam viruddham cha na kalpanīyam*.²⁴ Viśiṣṭādvaita incorporates into *anumāna*, *arthapatti*, *upamāna* and *abhava* in so far as they are valid and cannot be accommodated within *pratyakṣa*. The trend is not to multiply *pramāṇas* beyond logical necessity. Verbalization of inference, the so-called *parārthānumāna*, is not accorded any speciality in Viśiṣṭādvaita.²⁵ On substantial technical grounds, the type of inference called *kēvala-vyatirēki*, is discarded. The result is a full conception of inference, positive and valid as a mode of knowledge arising from perception and surpassing it in range of generality and the consequent scope of apprehension.

But even knowledge by inference has its own inherent limitations. In the first place, it arises as a corrective to the limitations of perceptual knowledge. A flawless and perfect perceiver of all that exists would not resort to the laborious process of ratiocination for reconstructing reality.

It can never be, in the second place, autonomous, in its approach to reality. Factually it is rooted in perception and it advances on the strength of the antecedent knowledge of the Laws of inference in general and also of the established connections between co-inherent predicates. Its conclusions are mediate and lack the wholeness they would have if they were immediate. Lack of immediacy is an undoubted limitation in scope. Further, Rāmānuja demonstrates that reason is incapable of arriving at a decision on the most fundamental question of the existence of God. It cannot prove His existence as Nyāya. Philosophers fallaciously formulated it. It cannot disprove His existence as the Sāṅkhya and other atheists argued equally fallaciously.²⁶ When a vital philosophical subject receives no illumination from inference, it proves that the mode of knowledge it compasses must be surpassed, in our search for final truth.

This dissatisfaction with reason necessitates the consideration of revelation, the revelation embodied in the impersonal scripture, the Śruti, and particularly the Upanishads.

The question has been raised by the ancients anticipating the modern predicament as to why the Śruti be accorded recognition as a legitimate source of knowledge.

The Vēdāntic answer to this is simple.²⁷ If the Śruti contains coherent and co-ordinated intimations of reality, not accessible by way of perception and inference based on it, and is not in contradiction with these other sources of knowledge it is logically untenable to reject it. *Aprāpti* and *abādha*, novelty and non-contradiction are unfailing guides in the realm of knowledge. There is the further consideration that Śruti solves riddles and uncertainties left over by other sources of knowledge. It is a genuine *pūraka*, an amplification and fulfilment of the self-completing pilgrimage to truth. In fact, the other *pramāṇas* are also admitted more or less on the same grounds. The conclusion is further reinforced by the fact that systems of thought that exclude the affirmation of the Śruti are hopelessly muddled and self-contradictory. This

logical impossibility of the opposite is a powerful weapon in the hands of Bādarāyaṇa. Total epistemological Nihilism is the only alternative to Vēdānta based on Śruti. The argument contains the significant import that even as inference carries forward the findings of perception, Śruti carries the findings of both to a higher altitude of comprehension, conserving and completing them. It is the crowning *pramāṇa*.²⁸ The central principle of Rāmānuja's logic can be restated. All knowledge is a determinate characterization of reality, with which the human intellect is in fundamental rapport. The logic of progression in knowledge may be termed the logic of amplification. Perceptual error is corrected by being amplified in completer perception. Indeterminate perception is taken up and completed in determinate perception. Perceptual knowledge is taken up and enlarged in the inferential reconstruction of reality. The conclusions of these processes of knowledge are appropriated by Śruti and are subjected to correction by way of amplification. Understanding grows by progressive enlargement of consciousness. There are no negations at any transition except of the nature of negation of antecedent negations.

This procedure in the process of knowledge is pervasively and dominantly adopted in the interpretation of the Upanishads. The Śruti posits Brahman, the Supreme reality.

Brahman is the substantive principle. It abounds in perfection of attributes. The *saḡuṇa* texts are fundamentally true. The *nirguṇa* texts are also true. They do not cancel the *saḡuṇa* texts but add a supplement to them by way of denying imperfections named *guṇas* in the Sāṅkhyan terminology. Brahman transcends the cosmos even as the substance transcends the qualities. But it is also immanent in it, as the substance constitutes the sustaining ground of the qualities. The monistic texts are true as the central reality is one, the Brahman, holding within it all finite entities and imparting being and intelligibility to them by its immanence. The texts that distinguish the world and God are correct, for however much He may dwell in it. He surpasses it immeasurably. Neither transcendence nor immanence is to be discarded. The two truths are well presented in the explanatory texts such as the *antaryāmi* Brahman. It is a magnificent venture to take the Śruti in its entirety and to furnish an integrated elucidation amplifying all the divergent currents of the Upanishadic intuitions. Rāmānuja takes particular pleasure in dwelling on the organic unity of the Upanishadic conception of Brahman.

But this understanding of Brahman through the Śruti is lower knowledge. It is scripture-generated understanding. The higher knowledge would be direct vision of the Supreme through the process of *dhyāna* or *bhakti*. The latter is the *para-vidyā*²⁹ of the *Muṇḍaka-upanishad*. At the summit of this *para-vidyā* the seeker realizes that there are immensities lying beyond his comprehension. This realization is the acme of wisdom. This is what is stated in such final pronouncements as "*Yato vāchō nivartantē, aprāpya manasā saha*", "*nēti, nēti*",³⁰ "*Vijñātam avijñātām*". They signify not the impossibility of knowledge but the impossibility of exhaustive comprehension. This is a negation in words only but a triumphant affirmation of the infinitude of Brahman. Such in brief is the epistemological frame-work of Viśiṣṭādvaita.

III

There is a tradition in Viśvātīrvara of dividing the scope of philosophy into inquiries into *tatva-hita* and *prajñā-hita*. The scheme naturally corresponds to the three components of the *tricitamūlha* *anubhūti*. The first department of study constitutes what is generally named metaphysics. In this again there are three spheres concerned with *anubhūti* and *Isa* *anubhūti* pondering against the chariot, Arjuna and Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the chariot of Kurukṣetra. *Ādhit* is the collective designation of Nature, the reality of being inferentially devoid of consciousness.

(a) Rāmānuja's philosophy of Nature avoids the two aberrations of metaphysics, illusionism and naturalism. Nature for him is real but it is not the whole of reality. *Chit* or the spiritual world is no part of it and it is not just its product. There is no philosophical reason in pronouncing it an illusion for illusions can arise only in a materially conditioned consciousness.³² Illusionism in these terms is the completest antithesis of the philosophy of Rāmānuja. Hence his repeated refutation of it in his works.

In the detailed working out of the conception of Nature Rāmānuja avoids the extreme temporalism of early Buddhism and the extremism of the static Sāṅkhya *prakṛti*. Nature has enduring substantial being and bears attributes and passes through dynamic transformations. In the conception of primordial nature Rāmānuja adopts the unitary conception of Sāṅkhya and avoids the pluralism of Vaiśeṣika atomism. Nature is the unfolding of a single primordial *prakṛti*. It has three qualities *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. In so far as it has *satva* it does not constitute the principle of evil or corruption in relation to spirits. It can facilitate spirituality. In so far as it has *tamas* it is not an unmixed blessing nor wholly an unresisting instrument of the spirit. Much discrimination is called for in a sober attitude to Nature. The evolving process of nature is construed more on the lines of Sāṅkhya than on those of Buddhism or even Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. There is continuity in spite of emerging novelties, which are nothing but the revelations of the endless potentialities in the primordial substance of physical reality. All this is conventional Sāṅkhya with considerable sobering sophistication.

The greatest point in Rāmānuja's philosophy of Nature is yet to be enunciated. That Nature is not the originating matrix of spirits has already been noted. It may also be noted that its qualities can be rendered intelligible only in relation to spirits. To this extent it is not the Nature of naive Naturalism.

The further and paramount proposition is that it is not an autonomous reality. In its primordial being, in its dynamic productivity of new forms of itself and in its final contribution to the emergence of values, it is the vehicle, medium or instrument of the Supreme Being. It subsists in Him, operates through His actuating energy and fulfils His cosmic designs. Existentially, operationally and teleologically it belongs to the Deity. The being of nature is a part of the being of God. It is not that Nature is an alien material system which He manipulates through His overruling powers but constitutes one of his infinite powers.³⁴ It is His *śakti*. In it is discernible

though under limitations, God's infinite splendour. Hence the concept of Nature as a *vibhūti* of God. The aesthetic glory of Nature is real but is the self-disclosure of the Divine through Nature. Even as a great poet's final import lies beyond the ostensible meaning of words, the beauty of Nature is an intimation of the *paramātmān* in and through nature.

This is veritably the 'Natural Super-naturalism' of the Idealistic Carlyle.

(b) The second great department of metaphysics is the inquiry into the nature of the finite self such as we are. The self is a self-conscious or self-identifying entity. It presents itself as the 'I' to itself and is thus a subject-object entity. It is the continuous self-identity of this principle that renders unification essential to knowledge possible. It is this immediate self-awareness and abiding self-identity that makes the materialistic and Buddhistic account of the self as identical with the composite and mutable physical organism untenable.³⁵ The self is a substantive ego that exercises consciousness and is not itself the abstract attribute or function of consciousness. It is the subject of knowledge and not the mere knowing. In this sense it is personal or individual. It is the '*ahamārtha*'. It is not to be confused with the mundane sense of the 'I' involving the identification of self with the non-self. It is the metaphysical 'ego' and not the morally degenerate self-identification with the body.

The self so constituted exercises a two-fold consciousness. It is immediately aware of itself through no instrumentality of *pramāṇas* and acquires knowledge of the entire realm of the rest of reality through the recognised modes of knowledge. These two modes of awareness are described as *svarūpabhūta-jñāna* and *dharmabhūta-jñāna*. This is an important doctrine. The latter attribute—consciousness—may express itself through cognition (*jñātṛitva*), volition (*kartṛitva*), and enjoyment, (*bhōktṛitva*). These three are real modes of the self's reality. They are not unreal impositions. In view of the variety of experiences and operations in these modes, the plurality of finite selves is a metaphysical fact, however much the selves may be alike in their fundamental character.³⁶ In this, the school departs violently from the Advaitic position and in positing the *svarūpa-bhūta-jñāna*, it separates itself from Buddhism and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. There is a speciality in the volitional self-expression of the self. It has autonomy of initiative. Though this autonomy does not amount to self-sufficiency,³⁷ there is enough of it to invest the self with moral responsibility. The individual self is neither mechanistically determined to action by nature, nor is it overruled in the moral sphere by the omnipotence of God. It is a centre of spontaneity. This circumstance has a notable bearing on the problem of evil. The metaphysical status of the finite self must be clearly discerned. The realm of nature is irreducibly real, not being a creation of its illusion. The plurality of selves is also an irreducible verity. Within the individual self itself, there is the disclosure of its insufficiency. It is liable to diminution and expansion of life. This is the phenomenon of imperfection. The self is not in eternal actuality all that it has in it to be. Even the theory of the singleness and absoluteness of the *jīvātman* must accommodate the phenomenon of self-misconstruction. This liability to error is a basic insufficiency. The Upanishads declare that the finite self suffers self-diminution to the point

of virtual annihilation³⁸—*mahatī vinashṭī*—so far as it ignores the *paramātmān*. It grows into plenitude of being in proportion to its affirmation of Him. It is by the exercise of consciousness by way of the apprehension of Brahman that it acquires fullness of life. God-negation is self-attenuation and God-affirmation is the attainment of amplitude of personality

This consideration that the individual spirit reaches self-fulfilment in Brahman, leads us on to the inquiry into the latter, for surely what could impart sufficiency to that spirit must be the Supreme reality. The being, progress and destiny of the finite self inescapably involve its status as an '*amśa*' of the Supreme.³⁹ It enjoys superiority over Nature in being a living and conscious '*amśa*' or '*vibhūti*' of God. It pertains to Him as a self-conscious dimension of His glory

(c) The entire metaphysics of Rāmānuja reaches its culmination in the doctrine of Brahman. Brahman is the Supreme reality, even as the scriptural testimony is the Supreme source of knowledge. It is significant that the Supreme reality is accessible only to revelation, however much reason may facilitate the elucidation of the scripture. Rāmānuja says that the *parabrahman* is definitively revealed in the Upanishads in contrast to the veiled intimations in the earlier Vedic literature and this theme constitutes the central import of those peak utterances of the Vēdas. Brahman is "*śruti-śiraś-vidīpta*".⁴⁰ The glory of Brahman is the perennial fascination for the Upanishads.⁴¹ The charge of dogmatism stands dispelled by the epistemological vindication of Śruti, as the all-completing consummation of human understanding.

In the characterization of the nature of Brahman, there are some basic assertions. Brahman is the Supreme self or *purushōttama*.⁴² Being a *puruṣa* it has the self-identical and self-distinguishing nature of spirit. It does not have the fluctuating and composite character of matter. Its consciousness is all-comprehending and as such transcends the finite self whose area of consciousness is subject to attenuation and expansion. It is infinite as it transcends temporal and spacial limitations and is also surpassingly perfect. By virtue of this infinity, it abides in all existence and is devoid of a counter-entity not owing its existence to the sustaining presence of Brahman within itself. Thus Brahman transcends materiality, fluctuations of consciousness and every possible mode of limitation. All this lead up to the crowning characterisation of Brahman as *ānanda*. Brahman is *ānanda* in a two-fold manner. Being devoid of the internal distinction of what is and what ought to be, it is perfect and such perfection is substantive *ānanda*. Being the all-inclusive whole of reality it fully meets the demands of the quest for reality on the part of the finite spirit and thereby fills it with the ecstasy of self-completion. Brahman is perfect and imparts perfection to its knower.

With this enunciation of the substantive nature of Brahman as *satya*, *jīāna*, *ānanda*, *nirmala* and *ananta*, we can go forward to its attributes.

There is no meaning in the position that Brahman has no attributes. Such an entity is a logical impossibility as all thought and experience consist of the discernment of the right attributes of the real. An error is just insufficient attribution and truth is the completing of the process of cognitive attribution. To say that attribu-

tive determination in so far as it may involve the exclusion of opposite attributes implies limitation is right. But to exclude the exclusion, the method is not that of excluding all attribution in which case the exclusion would amount to complete negation. Rather the limitation of attributes must be corrected through a process of amplification. If the opposite excluded is of the nature of deficiency, the exclusion constitutes no limitation, as it would be simple negation of negation. If the opposite is a positive excellence, the coherence theory of excellence would prove that the opposition is not genuine but a result of incomplete insight. In fact, all contradiction issues out of partial characterisation of the real. Reasoning consists fundamentally in completing initial affirmations through an affirmation of their implications. When the Upanishads declare Brahman as attributeless they just mean to deny of Brahman deficiencies and imperfection, as they themselves often clarify, in supplementation of the ardent affirmation of attributes. This is the working of the twin Nyāyas of *utsargāpavāda* and *sāmānya-viśēsha*. The conception of reality as characterised by attributive determination is ultimate and Brahman is the central and infinite subject of infinite predicates.⁴³

The Upanishads revel in the glorification of the attributes of the Supreme. The *pāñcharātra* organized these as six-fold consisting of *jñāna*, *bala*, *aśvarya*, *vīrya*, *śakti* and *tējas*. These constitute one set of attributes displaying the magnificence and majesty of Brahman, the *paratva*. Brahman is truly *parāt-para*. The bhakti literature in general and the passages of the Upanishads laying the foundation of that trend pay adoration to the love and compassion of God, His *saṁlabhya*. Both the sets of attributes are ultimate. *Paratva* without *saṁlabhya* is not adequate even as *paratva* and mere *saṁlabhya* would reduce the deity to finitude. Consequent on these two sets, arises the aesthetic characterisation of Brahman. For Rāmānuja, as for Vaiṣṇavism in general, the beauty of God is not just a metaphor but an ultimate truth. He is not merely *satyasya satyam*, not merely *nivāsaḥ śaraṇam*, *suhrīt gati* but also *bhuvana-sundara*, *sākshāt manmatha-manmatha*, so much so that all empirical beauty is a dim intimation of Him. While the Upanishads establish this aesthetic approach to God, the Ālṅkāra were the specialists in the worship of God as beauty.⁴⁴

These attributes of God manifest themselves in specific ways in relation to the cosmos. He is the creative source of all being, the sustaining indweller of all and the final resort of the world-process. He is *akhila-bhuvana-janma-sthēma-bhaṅgādī-tīta*.⁴⁵

In relation to the finite self He is the Supreme goal of all endeavour, *parama-prāpya*, and the complete object of his love and delight. He is the *parama-bhūgya*, such that the love calls for utter self-dedication, *ātma-nivēdana*. If He is the ultimate good thus, He is also the ultimate power making for the finite soul's attainment of Him. His grace, by His omnipotence, omniscience and boundless compassion, effectuates the soul's redemption to the final blessedness. He is the *upāya* or *prāpaka*.⁴⁶ This in reality is the import of the declaration of the *Gītā*, *Vācudēvaḥ sarvaṁ*⁴⁷ not superseding the metaphysical proposition *sarvaṁ saṁāpnōṣhī tatōṣī sarvaḥ*, but adding to it the axiological climax. He is metaphysically all in all and also all in all in relation to human perfection.

We have postponed so far the discussion of the crucial problem of the relation of the One and the many, the Infinite and the finite, Brahman and the *prapañcha*. Rāmānuja has renounced the tempting solution of dismissing the finite individual and nature as illusory or phenomenal. He upholds their irreducible reality. He abandons with equal disfavour the Yōga and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theism to which God is a reality among three realities, somewhat important but not all-comprehending.⁴⁸ It is an imperfect theism which proclaims an Īśvara but denies him centrality of metaphysical significance. Rāmānuja is for an Īśvara, who is Brahman as well, a Supreme personality absolutely commanding the riches of the cosmos in its entity and depth. He appropriates masterfully the intuitions of the Upanishads and the later scriptures in all their abundance and propounds his illuminating thesis that Brahman owns the cosmos of finite selves and Nature as its *vibhūti*, *viśeṣana*, *prakāra*, *amśa* or *śakti*. The culminating conception is that the realm of the finite reals is the *śarita* of Īśvara, as it is His *ādihēya*, *nyāmya* and *śēsha* and He is its *ātman* as He is its inseparable *ādihāra*, *nyanta* and *śēshi*.⁴⁹ This involves a truly philosophical definition of body-soul complex, which maintains unity in and through diversity. The vexed question of the finite limiting the Infinite does not arise as the finite is a real part of the splendour of the Infinite. God's powers are not frustrated by the world, for the world itself is a power of God. This is the significance of the term 'Viśiṣṭadvaita', the sole and secondless unity of the Infinite substance shining forth through an infinity of attributes.⁵⁰

The world is neither an unhappy hallucination, nor an alien entity confronting the Deity from outside with existence and powers not derived from the Divine source. It stands assimilated into the infinite expanse of Divine attributes. While the aesthetic attractiveness of the theses is evident, its logical weight demands equal appreciation. This marks off Rāmānuja's philosophy, as Vēdāntadēśika maintains, from every other system of theism and absolutism.⁵¹

There is one minor question that merits consideration at this juncture. Rāmānuja cannot resort to the hypothesis of uncausality with regard to evil, as he upholds all experience as true. Neither matter nor the self has an autonomous being, so that evil could be neatly allocated to it without damaging the unsullied perfection of God. On the contrary, they form His integral parts. So, in this conception of Brahman embodied in the world of finites Evil should affect Brahman itself. This is a conceivable objection to the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita.

A diffuse notion of evil does not serve the philosophical purpose. It has to be cornered, as it were, to see possibilities of solution.

In the substantive nature of God and His qualities there is no evil whatever. He is *ubhaya-luiga*, as the *Brahma-sūtra* describes Him according to Rāmānuja. Matter as such, in itself, is no evil or no source of evil.⁵² In no state does it constitute an imperfection by itself. The individual soul, the *jīva*, is the jewel, *kaustubha*, on the bosom of Śaṁsu, as Vēdāntadēśika puts it.⁵³ The individual in his state of perfection is contributory to the quality of joy in the divine scheme of reality. Even the bound and imperfect soul, is precious from the point of view of its perfectibility

through divine grace. Where exactly does evil lie? However real it be, it must fall within the circle of the life of the finite self.⁵⁴ Principally it has two forms, suffering and sin. The problem of suffering gets explained in terms of the extended perspective of the law of *karma*. It is a consequence of a God-negating life.⁵⁵ In it lies a negative demonstration of the truth that all joy and fulfilment springs from God. That ignoring of Him causes affliction is natural, for He is the sole good and *ānanda*. In Him is to be found all delight, life and power. Far from conflicting with the goodness of God, suffering in a Godless life constitutes a solid proof of it. Rāmānuja quotes a beautiful verse from a Rishi: *yanmuhūrtam kṣaṇam vāpi Vāsudēvō na chintyatē, sā hānīh tanmahachchhidram sā bhrāntih sā cha vikriyā*.⁵⁶ Now the problem is shifted to sin. The essence of sin, from which proceeds the evil of suffering, is God-negation. Why should it arise in the finite self, which is in essence and actuality a part or adjective of God? God cannot be altogether perfect, if what belongs to Him so intimately and inseparably can exercise itself in the evil of God-denial and bring upon itself all the consequent calamity.

Nothing contributes to the solution of a problem so much as such a clarification of the problem. God's immanence and sustaining presence within the finite do not mean a curtailment of the being of the finite. Such an idea would amount to illusionism in disguise. Rather the immanence is the positive source of that being and the creative spring of the powers of the finite.⁵⁷ Immanence is a positive relation and not a subtractive pervasion. The message of the *Vibhūti-yōga* of the *Gītā* is that fuller penetration by the divine presence makes for greater range of being and powers in the pervaded *vibhūti*. This principle automatically signifies that the finite individual receives its powers of initiative and spiritual creativity from the very immanence of the Divine. This derived creativity constitutes the freedom of the individual in all spheres of its authentic self-expression. As such if it chooses to deny God, it is exercising a real power planted in it by Him. This specific direction of its use of that power is entirely its own, if freedom is a fact. This is the essential defence of moral freedom in spite of Divine immanence. That immanence would stand impoverished if the creature led a mechanical and wholly predetermined life.

Now, moral freedom is a blessing, however we may view it. In the pursuit of spiritual values freedom is a fundamental requirement. There can be no 'imposed' perfection, if it means self-unfoldment. The lower hedonistic values can overtake a passive agent, but inward development of spirit can arise only from self-initiated effort. Even Divine grace, therefore, await the devotee's invocation. We must 'choose' even to be 'chosen'.⁵⁸ Even the possibility or the actuality of abuse of freedom is a blessing for it is through only that hard way a deliberate choice of God is rendered possible. In the experimental quest after perfection on the part of the finite, every error entails a consequent enhancement of sure wisdom and decisive formulation of purpose. The structure of life shaped by God is such that it contains inalienable correctives for spiritual deviations. The falling creature is taken care of and thrown back through violent operations of the law of *karma* to a renewed opportunity for a redirection of life. Hence the evil choice and its evil results are incidents, passing

contingencies, in the evolution of the creature. There are no final disasters and no evils, from which spiritual enlightenment will not issue. If the span of vision is enlarged enough, the cosmic scene in which the creaturely career is to be worked out is seen to be the expression of Divine love. God is deeply concerned with the creature. As Vēdāntadēśika says the Lord is *baddhādara*,⁵⁹ tenderly concerned about the destiny of the bound souls. *Mōksha* is good but the field of preparation for it also is good being as it should be. For a large and profound enough theism the phenomenon of evil presents no intractable problems. While optimism can descend to stupidity as caricatured by Voltaire, a final pessimism is a symptom of arrested vision. Even Schopenhauer could not be a consistent pessimist. A conception of the world as an expression of Divine joy and love, fully aware of the arduousness of the search for God can be a triumphant declaration of the ultimate goodness of reality.

Thus we come back to the transcendent-immanent Reality of Brahman with all its substantive nature, attributes and cosmic embodiment. This is the final metaphysics for Rāmānuja. He and his school contend that the entire metaphysical truth is enshrined in the concept of Nārāyaṇa, reverentially advanced by the Upanishads such as *Mahā Nārāyaṇōpanishad*, *Mahōpanishad* and *Subālōpanishad*. The *Purusha-sūkta* contains it in implication.⁶⁰ Viśiṣṭādvaita earnestly maintains that a comprehension of the significance of the concept of Nārāyaṇa is the completion of all Vēdānta. This is no sectarianism. Vaiṣṇavism starts shedding its sectarianism as it begins reading metaphysical import into its designation of the Supreme. As it progresses in this direction and incorporates all its metaphysics in the elucidation of the concept of Nārāyaṇa it transmutes itself into a pure and universal philosophy of the Supreme spirit. Perhaps, the most expansive transmutation is achieved by Vēdāntadēśika in his classic, *Rahasya-traya-sūtra*.⁶¹

IV

Rāmānuja's philosophy is no mere account of reality, even if such a thing were conceivable. It is a philosophy of value, concerning itself with the *summum bonum* of life. Its ideas of the supreme goal of life directly emanates from its doctrine of Reality. As man is spirit and not matter, no merely material and earthy well-being can constitute his final good. What proceeds from a wrong conception of man cannot bring him lasting and complete peace and fulfilment. He is spirit and his real well-being must be conceived in spiritual terms. But he is finite, an individual self living, moving and having his being in the Supreme spirit. His frustrations and agonies arise out of his not raising himself to an acknowledgement of this fact of facts. Isolation from God in his attitude is veritably self-annihilation almost amounting to self-annihilation. There is the further fundamental consideration. The essential nature of the self is cognitive consciousness and when that is not exercised properly and adequately the self is mutilated, as it were, into insufficient existence. The proper and adequate employment of the power to know is to know the infinite Reality, the *bhūman* and that, as the Chhāndōgya proclaims, is the ultimate and most exalted

self-fulfilment and bliss for the self⁶² Hence the final goal of finite life is the attainment of God by way of *jñāna*, which in its final form is *darsana*, or immediate vision of God. This is the most intrinsic and all-inclusive value. As this knowledge is of the nature of fruition of the life of the *jñāna*, constituted as it is fundamentally of the power of knowledge, it cannot but be of the nature of joy (*ānanda*) or love (*prīti*). This constituent should be super-added to the cognition of the nature of *darsana*. This is joyful vision or loving apprehension. There is a further constituent of the ultimate ideal. It is no apprehension of God as an object set against the subject. The subject cognizes God as inclusive of infinite glories, within which subject is also included. It is a unitive vision in which God is apprehended as holding within Himself the cognizing subject also as a part of His inseparable splendour⁶³ There is no radical dualism in the final experience. But it should be clarified that we have here only the experience of the infinite whole of reality and the cognizing ego is not obliterated therein. There is no dissolution of individuality. On the contrary there is maximization of the effective personality of the individual experient⁶⁴ This is a state of union and not of unity implying the dissipation of either the object or the subject. In this union, finding his God, man finds his soul too as lodged in the enriching expanse of God. The word love, or *prīti*, is rather a weak word in the context, as it is sometimes utilized to describe even self-centred attachments. The nature of the rapturous absorption in God is such that it is object-centred and seeks not the appropriation of the object by the ego, but yearns for the appropriation of the ego by the object. It is *ātma-mēdana* or *kainkarya*. Thus *mōksha*, according to Rāmānuja, is the *anubhava* of Brahman issuing in *prīti* inducing unitive adoration of the nature of *kainkarya*. This is life eternal and life abundant. Rāmānuja articulates in glowing words his idea of *mōksha* in *Gadya-traya*, the crescendo of his personal prayer in all its completeness⁶⁵

V

The goal of the finite life so presented requires to be realized as a reality in life through a process of *sādhanā* called in Viśiṣṭādvaita the *hita* or *upāya* also.

(a) As a preliminary to the consideration of *sādhanā* it is necessary to distinguish two factors in *sādhanā*. There is the factor of resource or already existent fact which facilitates the realization of the end. This is called *siddhōpāya*. The second factor is what has to be accomplished by human endeavour, though a utilization of the existent resource. This is *sādhyaōpāya*. The Rāmānujite school maintains that the *siddhōpāya* for attaining God is God Himself⁶⁶ This is a great principle, that the infinite end that man aspires after has to be accomplished through the instrumentality of the infinite itself. The principle is luminously set down in the famous Upanishadic declaration, *yamēva ēsha vṛṇuitē tēna labhyahe*. God is the end, no doubt, but He is also the means. Here we have the fundamental doctrine of grace.

But is not *siddhōpāya* by itself sufficient for effectuating man's emancipation? Rāmānuja holds that grace operates only in response to human invocation of grace.

This is necessary, for the finite self is a self, its personality carries freedom as an essential ingredient. The end sought is self-perfection, the unfoldment of the Self's spiritual potentialities. An imposed perfection on undesiring creatures does not have the character of a virtue: a *munīśvitha*.⁶⁷ God looks forward to, as an ancient text tells us, the aspiration of the aspirant: *takshyāpēkshām pratīkshate*. The grace of God does not work towards perfection when perfection is not sought after. Even surrender is an act of will, the voluntary abnegation of self-effort for one's perfection. The habitual metaphor used of God in the context is that of a gardener and not that of a mechanic. *Kṛishṇāla*,⁶⁸ is the term used by Vēdāntadēśika. Human effort is indispensable. God's compassion may be an eternal actuality but it operates in response to the free quest of the soul to be redeemed.

But this requirement does not reduce God's role to that of equality in importance with human initiative. The human effort is a *sahakāri kāraṇa* and God's grace is *pradhāna kāraṇa*. In fact, man's search for salvation furnishes just an occasion, or opening to the operation and flow of the ever-waiting compassion of God. It is comparable to the calf's work in getting its feed of milk from the cow,⁶⁹ in the apt description of Vēdāntadēśika. Human effort is indispensable but only accessory. The primary power working out man's attainment of God is God Himself. The initiative of the infinite is the redeeming power.

(b) It is a basic tenet of Rāmānuja that the *sādhya* for achieving liberation is *bhakti*. *Bhakti* is defined as loving meditation, or *jñāna* that has taken on the character of intensely loving meditation.⁷⁰ It is in the summit of meditative love, the seeker decisively and with his whole soul hungers and thirsts for the blessedness of the vision of God, grace operates to bring about that consummation. It is to be noted that the *bhakti* that could accomplish this Supreme end, must be the outcome of knowledge and no mere emotionalism or ritualism. It must be supreme *bhakti*, being the maturation of supreme knowledge. Supreme knowledge and supreme *bhakti* coincide here, each imparting elevation to the other.

(c) It is an open secret that *bhakti* of this high altitude is no matter for easy attainment. That the search for God is the supreme concern of life can be comprehended by one who has comprehended his own nature perfectly.⁷¹ The human soul in its essential nature is such that it can reach no lasting and complete good except in the realization of God. This truth should be realized before the love of God can spring to effectual actuality. This stage of self-knowledge preparatory to *bhakti* is called *Jñāna-yōga*.

(d) *Jñāna-yōga* is a matter of the cultivation of self-understanding culminating in absolute self-intuition. This equates self-illumination as impossible of attainment owing to the obstructive pressure of *rajas* and *tamas*. To eliminate that pressure *Karma-yōga*, as explained in the *Gītā*, must be ardently and systematically practised. The essence of *Karma-yōga* is the renunciation of the ego, in respect of fruits of action, of the idea of doership in relation to action and of the idea of mine-ness with regard to action as a whole.⁷² The action must be consecrated as flowing

from God, as belonging to Him and as leading to His gratification only. The life of action must be spiritualised or devotionalised.

The ladder of *sādhana* is clearer now. *Karma-yōga* prepares for *Jñāna-yōga* and *Jñāna-yōga* leads to *bhakti*. *Bhakti* renders the liberating grace of God operative.

(e) As is evident, in this account there are four innovations in the philosophy of *sādhana*, two major and two minor.

1. Rāmānuja is the first *dārśanika* who held God as the principal means for man's God-realization. This he accomplishes without sacrificing the factor of human effort in the process.

2. He is the first philosopher in the world of Indian philosophy who affirmed *bhakti* as the means of salvation. In his conception of *bhakti* there is substantial intellectualization of *bhakti*. While the element of knowledge elevates *bhakti*, *bhakti* also elevates *jñāna* and renders it *Rāja-vidyā*. This double elevation is a distinctive contribution to our idea of spiritual life.

3. As a preparation to *bhakti*, he is first to emphasize the element of self-knowledge. It is only the self that knows itself in accurate self-perception that could form the right resolve to seek God as the final destination of spiritual endeavour.

4. There is a complete analysis of the elimination of the ego involved in *Karma-yōga*. What is just implicit in the *Gītā* is elaborated into a complete philosophy of consecrated action.

(f) The element of the greatest importance in Rāmānuja's theory of *sādhana* is *prapatti*. It is no invention of Śrīvaishṇavism or *Pāñcharātrāgama* as it is popularly held by the critics or the followers of Rāmānuja. It is there in fundamentals in the ancient Upanishads such as *Īśa*, *Kaṭha*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Chhāndōgya*, *Taittirīya* and *Śvetāśvatara*. It dominates the *Gītā* from Arjuna's initial prayer to the final exhortation of lord Kṛṣṇa. It enters to the core of *Karma-yōga*, *Jñāna-yōga* and *Bhakti-yōga*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* celebrates it. The great Purāṇas such as *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata* are full of it. No single Vēdāntic *āchārya* discountenances it. In all these general acknowledgements and valuation of *prapatti* it is treated as an integral part of the central pathway of *bhakti*.

The uniqueness of Rāmānuja's teaching of *prapatti* in his *Gadyas*, lies in the fact that he holds it to be capable of being a self-sufficient means of the *summum bonum*. Vēdāntadēśika claims that it is the *Simhi-stanya*⁷³ of the tradition. It is accorded the central role in the elucidation of the great *mantras*, *aṣṭākṣari* and *dvaya* and in the exposition of the culminating verse of the *Gītā*. It is not that *bhakti* is discarded.⁷⁴ It is admitted as the general background of *prapatti* as constituting *prāptya-ruchi*, and is also taken up as falling within the ideal of *mōksha* itself. But *prapatti* is affirmed as the sole means, the self-sufficing and never failing means.

Its essence lies in profound dissatisfaction with one's capability in the matter of saving *bhakti* and throwing oneself on the mercy of God for accomplishing, through His abundance of knowledge, power and grace, for the aspirant, what *bhakti*, if adequate, would have accomplished. It is substituting the infinite power

of God for the uncertain and insufficient endeavour of man.⁷⁵ That the *siddhōpāya* may expand and do the work of *sādhōpāya* also is the prayer of the *prapanna*. His effort or initiative terminates in the transfer of all effort and initiative to the Lord. This transfer is no doubt an act of will and is the minimal *sahakāri kāraṇa*. This is *bhāra samarpaṇa*, total surrender of responsibility and spiritual burden to Him. After this surrender is consummated the almighty mercy of God is the entire operative force in the situation and the aspirant rests in expectant passivity. God becomes all in all in the *sādhaka's* life, when the *sādhaka* reduces himself to nothing having thrown all his cares to the care of his Lord. This passivity can achieve infinitely more than the best efforts of man. Man secures the Highest when the Highest is the sole agent and active power in the situation. For this blessedness to materialize human will has to will itself away at the feet of Nārāyaṇa.

No more fitting enunciation of *prapatti* can be imagined than the opening words of the *Vaikuṇṭha-gadya* of Rāmānuja:

sv-ādhitna-tri-vidha-chētan-āchētana-svarūpa-sthiti-pravṛitti-bhēdam | klēśa-karm-ādy-aśēsha-dōshā-samspṛishṭam | svābhāvika-ānavadhik-ātisāya-jñāna-bal-aśvarya-īrya-śakti-tējah-prabhṛity-asamīkhyēya-kalyāṇa-guṇa-gaṇ-augha-mah-īrṇa-īyam | parama-purusham Bhagavantaṁ Nārāyaṇam svāmītvēna suhṛītvēna gurutvēna cha parigrihya | aikāntik-ūtyantika-tat-pād-ānibuja-dvaya-parichary-aikamanōrathah | tat-prāptuyē cha tat-pādānibuja-dvaya-prapattēr- anyan = na mē kalpa-kōṭi-sahasrēṇ āpi sādhanam asti itī manvānah | tasy- aiva bhagavatō Nārāyaṇasya akhila-sattva-day-aika sūgurasya anūlōchita-guṇ-āguṇ-ākhaṇḍa-jan-ānukūla-maryāda-śilavataḥ | svābhāvika-ānavadhik-ātisāya-guṇavattayā dēva-tiryaṇ-manushy-ādy-akhila-jana-hṛiday-ānandanasya | āśrita-vātsaly-aika-jaladhēḥ | bhakta jana-samlēsh-aika-bhōgasya | nitya-jñāna | kriyāśvarya-ādi-bhōga-sāmagrī-sampriddhasya mahāvibhūtēḥ śrīmatś charaṇ-āravinda-yugalam anany-ātma-samjīvanēna tad-guta-sarva-bhāvēna śaraṇam anuvrajēt ||

VI

A brief account of the literary and cultural consolidation of the work of Rāmānuja in the subsequent periods may be attempted. Among his immediate disciples, Kūrṭā has poured forth his devotion and his masterly understanding of Rāmānuja's philosophy in his great work, *Tiruvāymolī*, a perceptive commentary on the *Tiruvāymolī* of Parāṅkusa. Parāṅkusa summed up the philosophy in his illumination *Śrī Raṅgarājastava* and also his fascination for the Deity at Srīraṅgaṇi. He has produced a masterpiece of a commentary on *Vishṇu-sahasra-nāma*. The next age produced the greatest commentator on *Śrī Bhāshya*, Sudarśanasūri, who elucidated the *Vēdārtha-saṅgraha* also. Vēdānta-dēśika, a junior contemporary of his, produced works of great magnitude and variety in substantiation of Viśiṣṭādvaita. In range and quality his contribution is supreme in the post-Rāmānuja literature and one can hardly mention his counterpart in any

other school of Indian philosophy. In addition to this purely interpretative and defensive writing, works arose in the tradition expounding older classics. Gōvindarāja wrote an extensive and fine gloss on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sudarśanasūri and Vīrarāghava wrote glosses on the *Bhāgavatam*. An older writer, Viṣṇuchitta had already written a gloss on *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. Rāmānuja had not left detailed commentaries on the Upanishads. Raṅgārāmānuja accomplished this task completely working on the lines of interpretation laid down by Rāmānuja, Sudarśanasūri and Vēdāntadēśika. The purely metaphysical and epistemological problems of philosophy were handled in a non-exegetical manner by Vēdāntadēśika in his *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa*, *Sarvārthasiddhi*, *Nyāya-siddhānta* and *Nyāya-parisuddhi*. This work of independent exposition was masterly and thorough. Along with this purely Sanskrit writing a great literature of interpretation arose on the compositions of the Ālvārs in Tamil on the lines laid down by Piḷḷān. This body of writing has come to be collectively described as *Bhagavad-vishayam*. The great names in this branch are Naṇḍīyar, Periya Vāchchān-piḷḷai and Vaḍakka Tiruviḍi-piḷḷai. *Prapatti*, as we have seen is a great spiritual force in Viśiṣṭādvaita and this centres round the great *mantras*, *aṣṭākṣarī* and *dvaya* and the final teaching of the *Gītā*, called the *charuṁaślōka*. An extensive literature in Tamil had developed on this exegetical and expository theme, named *Rahasyas*. The greatest writers in this field are Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya and Vēdāntadēśika. Varavaramuni is the distinguished commentator on Lōkāchārya. Vēdāntadēśika has Sanskrit treatises also in support and they are usually called *Rakshas*. The whole literature owing its thought-pattern and inspiration to Rāmānuja is vast and substantial.

Rāmānuja's influence on the *bhakti* philosophy of all types in the later ages was profound and far-reaching. Nimbārka and Vallabha drew heavily from him in their Vēdāntic writings. Śāṅkaradēva of Assam and Chaitanya of Navadvīpa came under his influence. Jivagōsvāmī, the leading writer on the thought of Chaitanya, explicitly acknowledges his authority in his *Tattva-sandarbha*. Saint Rāmānanda carried Rāmānuja's teachings to the North and he was the Guru of saint Nānak and saint Kabīr. Tulasidās has the distinct flavour of Rāmānuja's Śrīvaishṇavism and addresses Śrīrāma as Śrīraṅga, a name specifically promulgated in the Rāmānujite tradition. (*Rāmācharitamūnasa Uttarakāṇṭa*). The Vaishṇavas on the banks of Tamraparni and Kaveri receive special commendation in the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*. The Dvaita tradition of Vēdānta has some sharp differences from Viśiṣṭādvaita but the Haridāsas of Karnataka, such as Purandaradāsa and more especially, Kanakadāsa have fruitful Rāmānujite leanings. There is thus, no doubt, that Rāmānuja was a dominating shaping force in the spiritual life of medieval India.

One of the services of Rāmānuja was to revitalize the centres of Vaishṇava worship, such as Śrīraṅgam, Tirumalai and Kāñchī. He did this by the systematic introduction of the science of Agamic worship and also by inculcating the spirit of devotion released by the Ālvārs. The greater temples acquired the status of seats of learning and authority in Vēdānta and Śrīvaishṇavism. They also added colour and beauty to the life of the devoted public. It is also significant that in temples

where Rāmānuja had a free hand, such as Mēlkōṭe and Bēlūr, he breathed a liberal spirit and accorded a share in worship to the lower castes down to the Harijans, whom he seems to have named *Tirukulattūr*. There is nothing strange in this, as one of the great Ālvārs, Tiruppaṇi actually hailed from this caste.

The philosophy of Rāmānuja percolated into Telugu and Kannada literature in abundance. Karnataka rendered a distinct service to the faith. Rāmānuja was received by the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvarḍhana at a critical time and Rāmānuja lived and worked in Tirunārāyaṇapuram (Mēlkōṭe) for atleast about twelve years. Karnataka became a second home of the *āchārya* and his hallowed association is cherished ever afterwards both in Karnataka history and in Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition. After the sack of Śrīraṅgam by the vandals of Mallik Katar, it was restored and re-established in its former glory by Gōpaṇārya, a Vijayanagara chieftain. The kings of the Yādava dynasty at Mysore, in a subsequent age, adopted the faith consistent with royal catholicity, and patronized Vaiṣṇava literature and the great Vaiṣṇava temples. It is also noteworthy that a great ascetic of the Perakāla-maṭha was invited to become the *rājaguru*, the spiritual preceptor of the royal family. Since then the successive occupants of this seat of Śrīvaiṣṇavism exercised ceremonial and sometimes real spiritual authority over the kings of the Yādava dynasty. A great king of this dynasty, Chikkadēvarāya, was devoted to Śrīvaiṣṇava philosophy deeply and wrote and caused to be written many works in propagation of this philosophy. The munificence of the kings to temples and learned men was phenomenal. The impact was equally deep and permanent on the masses of Karnataka.

In the recent past the vigorous vindication of *Karma-yōga* on the part of Tilak has affinities with Rāmānuja's position. The message of Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa contains Viśiṣṭādvaita as a marked constituent. Svāmī Vivēkānanda found in some Śrīvaiṣṇavas of Madras his most active supporters and workers. Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇananda wrote a moving life of Rāmānuja in Bengali. Svāmī Brahmānanda was positively affected in his role as a spiritual preceptor by the example of Rāmānuja's large-heartedness. Śrī Aurobindo's interpretation of the *Gīta* emphasized just the principles fundamental to Rāmānuja's interpretation, such as the ultimacy of the concept of Puruṣōttama and the gospel of devotion and surrender. Mahatma Gandhi's work in the emancipation of the Harijans is a completion of the liberalization initiated by Rāmānuja. Sri S. Radhakrishna's interpretation of Vēdānta is Advaitic in profession but moves in the direction of Viśiṣṭādvaita as remarked by more than one critic. Tagore's final philosophy has a great deal in common with the spiritual fundamentals of Śrīvaiṣṇavism. Thus the philosophy of Rāmānuja has exhibited stamina for self-perpetuation and expansion, in new forms, in new climates of thought and life.

Notes and References

1. *Rahasya-traya-sāra* (RFS), 27th chapter.
2. *Yamāra-śiṣya* (1919) 185-186; *lūbhaka*, Kaṭha and Muṇḍaka.
3. *Eṇikāṇḍa* (Bṛ.) 3-7.

4. George Thibaut: Introduction to Śaṅkara's Commentary; Vāchaspati on *Ānandamayādhikaraṇa*, Madhusūdana, Conclusion of *Siddhāntabindu* (SB).
5. *Śiṣṭiraratna* (Sr) 4.
6. Yāmuna's *Āgama-pramāṇya, Śrābhāṣya* (Sb) II chapter, 2nd *pāda*; Vādāntadāśika: *Pāñcharātraraksha*.
7. *Śrī Raṅgarājastava* (SRS), 6.
8. *Guruparampara:āra*.
9. *Nyāyatattva* and *Yāgarahasya* are wholly lost.
10. *Mahāpuruṣanirṇaya* lost wholly; *Siddhitraya* available incompletely; *Āgama-pramāṇya, Gūṛtha-saṅgraha* and the two *śiṣṭras* are fully preserved.
11. Introduction to *Gūṛa Bhāṣya* (GB); *Vādārtha-saṅgraha* (Ved. San). Tirupati edition.
12. Sb., First *adhikaraṇa*.
13. *Yatirājasaptati*, 19.
14. SRS., 3.
15. RTS., 8th chapter.
16. *Vaiṣṇavastava*., verse 1.
17. *Parandapadi, charama-śloka-prakaraṇa*.
18. Sb., beginning of *Mahāśiddhānta*.
19. *Turvamuktākalāpa* (TMK), IV—102-09.
20. Sb., First *adhikaraṇa*, *Khyāti-āda*.
21. *ibid.*, *Mahāśiddhānta*.
22. Sb., and *Ved.San*.
23. Sb., Second *adhikaraṇa*.
24. *ibid.*, *Ānandamayādhikaraṇa*.
25. TMK., IV—127-29; 57, 52, 53.
26. Sb., Third *adhikaraṇa* and 2-2-1.
27. SRS., 11—5.
28. *Ved.San.*, p. 44.
29. Sb., 1-2-23.
30. *ibid.*, 3-2-21.
31. RTS., 27th chapter.
32. *Brahma-sūtra* (BS).,—3-2-5.
33. *Gūṛa*., *Vibhūti-yōga*.
34. *Śrūta-prakāśika* (SP)., 1-4-23.
35. GB., Second chapter.
36. Sb., *Mahāśiddhānta*.
37. *ibid.*, 2-3-30 to 40.
38. *ibid.*, *Ānandamayādhikaraṇa*; *Kṣāna-panishad*.
39. BS., 2-3-42; *Gūṛa*—15th chapter.
40. Sb., invocatory verse.
41. Opening section of *Ved. San*.
42. Sb., 3-3-sūtra 13.
43. Sp., *Mahāśiddhānta śrūti-ghoṣa*.
44. *Ved. San.*, p. 303-34; Sb., 1-1-7.

45. *Sb.*, invocatory verse.
46. *ibid.*, 3-2-sūtras 30 to 40.
47. *GB.*, Seventh chapter.
48. *Sp.*, 1-4-23.
49. *Ved. San.*, p. 151; *Sb.*, 2-1-9.
50. *Sp.*, 1-4-23.
51. *RTS.*, chapters 5 and 22.
52. *Sb.*, 3-2-11 and 12.
53. *RTS.*, First chapter.
54. *Sp.*, 2-3-41.
55. *RTS.*, chapters 5 and 22.
56. *Sb.*, *Mahā-siddhānta*.
57. *Sp.*, 2-3-41.
58. *Sb.*, *Laghu-siddhānta*.
59. *Vāṣāntadśika: Dayā-kāṭaka* - 100.
60. *Sb.*, 3-3-43; *Ved. San*, p. 208-68
61. *RTS.*, chapter 27.
62. *Sb.*, *Bhūmādhikaraṇa* and *Anandamayādhikaraṇa* 1-1-6 and 1-3-7.
63. *Sb.*, 4-4-4.
64. *ibid.*, 4-4-1.
65. *Saraṇāgati-gadya*.
66. *GB.*, Introduction to chapter 7; *Ved. San*, p. 347.
67. *RTS.*, chapter 10.
68. *Dayā-kāṭaka* - 21.
69. *RTS.*, chapter 23.
70. *Sb.*, *Laghu-siddhānta*.
71. *GB.*, chapter 12.
72. *ibid.*, chapter 3.
73. *RTS.*, chapter 30.
74. *Nikshēpa-raksha*.
75. *RTS.*, chapter 12; *Saraṇāgati-gadya*.

THE DVAITA VEDANTA OF MADHVA*

G. SRINIVASAN

ŚRĪ MADHVA was the founder of Dvaita Vēdānta. He was a Vēdāntin of the 13th century. He was born in the Pājaka-kshētra near Uḍupi in Karnataka. He wrote commentaries on the *Brahma-sūtra*, the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgīta* and many other works. In all his works, he expounded the philosophy of Dvaita Vēdānta.

The Dvaitic Criticism of Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita

The basic presupposition of Madhva is that the whole Vēda has a single and consistent meaning and hence all the passages are to be interpreted from the standpoint of this central meaning. This is called *samanvayadrīṣṭi* or synthetic vision. Accordingly, he rejects the validity of Śāṅkara's distinction of the Upanishadic statements into the *mahāvākyas* (fundamental propositions) and the rest, and also the distinction between *Jñāna-kāṇḍa* (passages dealing with knowledge) and *Karma-kāṇḍa* (passages dealing with rituals or action) as was accepted by Rāmānuja. Apart from this, there are other more specific criticisms which Dvaita Vēdānta has raised against the systems of Śāṅkara and Rāmānuja.

Madhva contends that Śāṅkara has based his Advaita on the literal meaning of the statements such as "I am Brahman", "You are Brahman" etc., but the real contextual meaning of these statements establishes only the similarity and difference between the individual soul and Brahman, and not their identity as believed by Śāṅkara. Moreover, Śāṅkara's Advaita is wrong in regarding Brahman as *nirviśēsha* (without qualities) and *akhaṇḍa* (distinctionless). For, to say that Brahman is attributeless implies that Brahman has the attribute of attributelessness¹ and this makes Brahman *saviśēsha* (qualified) and hence *sakhaṇḍa* (distinct). If the Advaitin contends against this criticism that the statement Brahman is attributeless, denies all implications of attributelessness, it would be as absurd as to say that the statement, 'I am dumb' made by a man who *claims to be dumb* should be taken to mean that he is really dumb. Thus Dvaita points out that no real existent can be without quality or distinction and that Brahman is no exception to this.

Advaita believes that *chit* (consciousness) being *akhaṇḍa* (distinctionless) has no object, but Dvaita points out that this is wrong since our experience shows that consciousness has an object always.² Moreover, Advaita maintains that Brahman alone is real whereas the world and Brahman's relation to the world are both *mithya* and *mithya* is said to be *sadasadvilakṣhaṇa* (neither real nor unreal but peculiar); but Dvaita, like Viśiṣṭādvaita previously, points out that the conception of *sadasadvilakṣhaṇa* is impossible since nothing can be neither real nor unreal.

Advaita tries to maintain that the 'I' does not abide in dreamless sleep but is a later product of *ajñāna*; Dvaita, like Viśiṣṭādvaita, questions this view and criticises it on the following grounds:³ (1) If pure *chit* alone abides in dreamless sleep, that

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would be universal and common to all, and personal identity cannot be explained on that basis. (2) To say that both *chit* and *achit* (*ajñāna*) coexist in the 'I' would be wrong since the two being opposites cannot coexist. (3) If the 'I' is a product of *ajñāna* as Advaita maintains then it cannot be the subject of knowledge but as a matter of fact, the 'I' is the subject of knowledge. Accordingly, Dvaita points out that the 'I' abides in dreamless sleep as revealed by later memory in the statement, 'I slept happily'.

Dvaita is most critical of the Advaitic conception of sublation. It maintains that anything which exists at a particular place or time (though temporarily) is real, and what is real cannot be sublated; even if it is destroyed, it leaves behind certain traces and cannot be said to disappear completely. Advaita believes that the *vyavahārika* (empirical) level of existence would be sublated by the transcendent, distinctionless Brahman; but Dvaita points out that the Advaitic distinctionless Brahman cannot be known as an object of knowledge and hence the sublation of the world by Brahman is impossible.

Advaita attributes movement to the *manas* (mind) to establish the identity of *chaitanya* (consciousness) and regards this identity as *pratyaksha* (perceptual knowledge); but Dvaita points out that perception does not imply any identity of *chit* or consciousness but only the *vr̥tti* (impression) of the mind. Moreover, the Advaitin's attempt to establish the identity (or unity) of *chit* through the process of preception itself disproves that *chit* is *akhaṇḍa* (distinctionless). To say that *chit* appears as divided under special circumstances and hence the need to establish its unity in *pratyaksha*, is to admit two states of *chit* - the unmanifest and the manifest, and this again disproves that *chit* is distinctionless.

In short, Advaita regards all relations and differences as ultimately illusory and thereby maintains the distinctionless Brahman as the sole reality. But Dvaita regards the relations and differences as definitive of all reality, and consequently maintains the reality of Brahman who differs from a real world, as the Independent from the dependent. Since both the Independent (*svatantra*), and the dependent (*asvatantra*) are real and since their distinction is also real in Madhva's system, his philosophy is called Dvaita Vēdānta.

There seems to be a good deal of similarity between the Dvaita Vēdānta of Madhva and the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vēdānta of Rāmānuja. But even here there are certain important differences. While Rāmānuja regards Brahman as the material cause (*upādāna kāraṇa*) of the world and the world as the body of Brahman, Madhva thinks that this would not only attribute 'change' to Brahman and introduce internal difference (*svagatabhēda*) in Brahman and hence cannot be said to be in accordance with the Upanishadic conception of Brahman as changeless and without internal differences; accordingly, Madhva regards Brahman only as the efficient cause (*nimitta kāraṇa*) of the world and the world as not materially connected with Him. Moreover, while Rāmānuja emphasises the equality of the liberated souls with Brahman in knowledge and bliss, Madhva maintains their difference and points out that there can be no plurality of reals without distinctions of worth among them.

Nature of Knowledge

Consciousness or knowledge is always of an object, but the object may be an external one or another piece of knowledge. Moreover, knowledge is self-evident in the sense that it reveals itself while revealing an object. The relation between knowledge and its object is called *Vishaya-vishayī-bhāva* since knowledge is what reveals and the object is what is revealed. The relation between knowledge and the 'I' is that of an attribute to a substance; the relation between the substance and the attribute is called *saviśēshābhēda* (identity spoken of as different by virtue of its own peculiarity). By this the Dvaitin means that consciousness or knowledge is the essence of the 'I' and not a mere adventitious property as believed by Nyāya-Vaiśēshika.

Broadly speaking there are two types of knowledge: the first type is the knowledge produced by *sākshi* (an infallible aspect or organ of the self) and it is, as a rule, true; the second type is the knowledge produced by *sākshi* along with the mind alone or along with both the mind and the sense-organs. Using the Advaitic terminology, the knowledge of the self produced by *sākshi* alone may be described as *svarūpa-jñāna*, whereas the knowledge of the external objects produced by *sākshi* along with the mind and the sense-organs may be described as *vṛttijñāna*. The second type of knowledge is generally valid but may sometimes turn out to be erroneous due to certain circumstances. Analysis of the statement, 'I know this jar' reveals the part played by the *sākshi*, the mind and the sense-organs in giving rise to such knowledge: (a) In the statement, 'I know this jar', knowledge of the self or 'I' is produced by *sākshi* and not by the mind or the sense-organs; the sense-organs cannot produce the knowledge of the 'I' since the 'I' is imperceptible, and the mind cannot produce it since the mind presupposes it as in the phrase 'my mind'. Knowledge of the 'I' produced by *sākshi* is always correct since one can never be under the delusion that he is not himself or that he is some one else. (b) The idea that one has knowledge is also produced by *sākshi* and hence does not require any further proof, even though the knowledge of a particular object may be regarded as either right or wrong. (c) *A priori* forms of space and time are essential for the apprehension of 'this jar' but the knowledge of these *a priori* forms of perception is only presupposed by the mind and the sense-organs and not produced by them; hence it is produced only by *sākshi* and always true, even though the objects apprehended in space and time may not always be true. (d) The idea of 'this jar' is produced by the mind and the sense-organs; the sense-organs make the present apprehension possible whereas the mind makes possible the recognition of the object by reviving the impression of the past object already known.

In addition to the knowledge of the 'I', the idea of knowledge and the ideas of space and time, *sākshi* also produces the knowledge of one's own happiness, misery and other moods; the fact that one has these experiences can never be wrong even though the mind may construe the external causes of these experiences wrongly.

Since *sākshi* is present in all types of knowledge, it is defined as the aspect or instrument of the self by virtue of which the self is always capable of knowledge. *Sākshi* means 'witness' since without it there can be no knowledge.

In dreams there are no external objects and the sense-organs do not function. The mind functions with its impressions and out of the impressions produces the dream-objects. *Sākshi* does not produce the dream objects but it is witness to the experience of dream and the *fact* of dream can never be false. Even in memory, there will be no external object, but dream is not the same as memory. For, memory is waking state, and in it, the past is known as the past; but dream is not waking state and in it, the past is mistaken for the present.

In dreamless sleep, *sākshi* would be present and reveals the self as being happy for sometime as expressed in the statement 'I slept happily for sometime'; memory of the 'I', sleep, happiness and time would be impossible, if *sākshi* were not present in dreamless sleep.

Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika believes that there would be no happiness in dreamless sleep but only the absence of misery. Dvaita points out that this is wrong. For, the statement made after dreamless sleep is 'I slept happily' and not 'I had no misery'. Moreover, the presence of happiness and the absence of misery are not inter-convertible terms since the presence of the happiness implies the absence of misery but the absence of misery does not imply the presence of happiness.

Knowledge is produced when the cause of knowledge is present. By cause we mean the conditions necessary for giving rise to knowledge and these conditions are both subjective and objective. The subjective conditions consist of the mental and physical fitness of the percipient; and the objective conditions consist of physical factors such as the requisite degree of proximity, the presence of light etc. Knowledge produced under these requisite conditions is necessarily true and truth, in this sense, is intrinsic (*svataḥ*) to knowledge, since knowledge requires no other cause except its own natural cause to be true. But when there is some defect in these conditions, knowledge becomes untrue; since defect is extrinsic to the conditions, the 'untruth' arising thereby is extrinsic (*parataḥ*) to knowledge.

Untrue knowledge is called *bhrānti*. It presents the non-existent as existent (i.e. in the shell-silver illusion, silver as existent) and the existent as non-existent (shell as non-existent). In other words, it presents the object as it is not. This is *anyathākhyāti*, but to distinguish it from the *anyathākhyāti* of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system, it is called *abhinavānyathākhyāti*. The difference between the two views is as follows: While Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika affirms that the object of *bhrānti* (i.e. silver) is not present in the given situation but is present elsewhere, Dvaita admits that it is not present in the given situation but rejects its presence elsewhere as irrelevant.

Dvaita describes the process of wrong knowledge (*bhrānti*) as follows: the percipient sees the shining object but does not recognise it as shell due to defect in the eye; the memory (*samskāra*) of 'is past experience of silver is thereby kindled; the *samskāra* then influences the present perception of the shining object and hence arises the statement, 'this is silver'. Accordingly, the pre-suppositions of wrong knowledge are: (a) the right experience of 'this shining something', (b) the non-apprehension of shell as shell, (c) the right experience of silver in the past, (d) the *samskāra* of the silver seen in the past. Dvaita Vēdānta recognises three *pramāṇas*

(means of knowledge)—*pratyaksha* (perception), *anumāna* (inference) and *āgama* (verbal testimony).

Perceptual knowledge of an external object arises when there is relation between the object and the sense-organ, and also the relation between the sense-organ and the mind; consequent on these relations, the knowledge of the object arises in the mind and it is illumined or known by *sākshi*. Every object has qualities (*saviśēsha*) and hence all *pratyaksha* is *savikalpaka* (determinate). Since at no time the object is unqualified, Buddhism and Nyāya-Vaiśēshika are wrong in believing that perception is at first stage *nirvikalpaka* (indeterminate) and that this is the basis of the late *savikalpaka* perception. Similarly, the Mīmāṃsakas and Viśiṣṭādvaita are wrong in believing that perception first discloses a particular thing without reference to other things and only later it is known in relation to other things. For, to know a thing as a particular implies that it is known with its distinctions (or relations) from other things, and therefore the object as a particular is always known with reference to other things.

Since the object of perception is always apprehended with qualities and in distinction from other things, necessity arises to explain the relation between the thing and quality. The relation is not one of difference as believed by Nyāya-Vaiśēshika, for, in that case we should have apprehended the distinction between them as we do in the case of fruits and the box which is their substratum. Hence the relation is one of identity as implied in the statement, 'this whiteness is the same as the cloth'; but this identity has a peculiarity (*viśēsha*) because of which the thing and quality come to be spoken of as different in usage. Identity qualified or conditioned by peculiarity is called *saviśēshābhēda*.⁴

Everything is what it is because of *viśēsha*. There may be as many *viśēshas* as properties in a thing. These *viśēshas* "explain the presence of the properties of the thing without making them different from it".⁵ Dvaita attaches great importance to the notion of difference (*bhēda*). Difference is real and constitutive of every thing. In perception we apprehend any thing as a particular, distinct from all else; indeed we do not have the detailed knowledge of all the other entities, but we do have the general idea of 'all' as provided by the operation of *sākshi* and it is against this general background of 'all' that we perceive a thing as a particular, distinct from others. Thus, both *sākshi* and the sense-organs together operate in perception. *Sākshi* reveals what the sense-organ cannot reveal; while the sense-organ reveals only the particular, *sākshi* reveals its distinctness from all else by providing the general idea of 'all'.

Dvaita describes the process of *anumāna* (inference) in the same manner as Advaita does; it is a process of arriving at a conclusion on the basis of invariable concomitance (*vyāpti* or *sāhacharya*) between the *hētu* (middle term) and *sādhya* (major term). But while Advaita insists on the number of steps in *anumāna* as being three against the Nyāya-Vaiśēshika insistence on the five steps, Dvaita does not insist on any definite number but leaves it to be decided in accordance with the intellectual capacity of the person concerned.

Dvaita does not recognise *upamāna*, *arthāpatti* and *anupalabdhi* as distinct means of knowledge; it points out that the first two can be reduced to *anumāna* whereas *anupalabdhi* can be reduced to either perception or inference.

Āgama (verbal testimony) is of two kinds—*paurushēya* and *apaurushēya*. *Paurushēya-āgama* has human authorship and beginning in time. *Apaurushēya-āgama* has neither of these. Vēdas are *apaurushēya-āgama* since the eternal truths expressed in them are beginningless and authorless; the Vedic seers did not 'create' these truths but only discovered them.

If verbal testimony is to be regarded as valid it must be free from the following defects: "(a) not to mean anything, (b) to mean a thing that is sublated by the other *pramāṇas*, (c) to mean a thing that is already known, (d) to mean a thing that is useless, (e) to ask one to do impossible things, (f) to teach difficult means to obtain a thing when it can be obtained by easier means, and so on".⁶

Vēdas, which are the *apaurushēya-āgama* consist mainly of three parts—Mantras, Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads. Madhva believes that these portions of the Vēdas have the same goal, namely, arriving at the truth of Brahman. The Mantras reveal the dependence of the different aspects of nature, with the deities presiding over them, on Brahman; the Brāhmaṇas lead to Brahman as the goal of *karma*; the Upanishads reveal directly the truth of Brahman.

As already pointed out, Dvaita does not accept the distinction between *jñāna-kāṇḍa* (passages teaching knowledge) and *karma-kāṇḍa* (passages teaching action) as accepted by Viśiṣṭādvaita; nor does it accept the Advaitic view that the *mahāvākyas* (fundamental propositions) which apparently teach non-duality alone must be regarded as authoritative; either the whole Vēda must be regarded as authoritative, or the whole of it must be rejected. Further, the description of Brahman as *advītya* must not be taken to mean that Brahman alone is real and the world unreal; it should be taken to mean only the supremacy of Brahman, no one else being equal to or greater than Him. Moreover, the statements which seem to imply the identity between the *chaitanya* of the individual soul and Brahman should not be literally interpreted as Advaita does but in the light of the context and the central meaning of the Vēdas. Accordingly, the statement, 'That thou art' implies not the identity but similarity between the individual soul and Brahman, and similarity is inconceivable without difference between them. This is the contextual meaning since the purpose of the statement in that particular context is to teach humility to Śvētakētu by emphasizing the littleness of the individual soul and the greatness of Brahman. Thus the statement, '*Saḥ ātmātattvamasi*' (*Chhāndōgya* VI) must be understood as '*Saḥ ātmā atattvamasi*' (Ātman, 'thou art not Brahman) and not as '*Saḥ ātmā tattvamasi*' (Ātman, 'thou art Brahman').⁷ Similarly, the statement, 'I am Brahman' (*aham Brahmāsmi*) should be understood to mean that 'my ground is Brahman' and not the identity between the *chaitanya* of the individual soul and Brahman. In fact, *sākshi* discloses the difference between the individual soul and Brahman and this is *pratyaksha* which should not be contradicted; Advaita is wrong since it ignores the claims of this *pratyaksha* in its affirmation of the identity of *jīva chaitanya* and Brahman.

The Dvaitic interpretation of certain Upanishadic statements differs also from the Viśiṣṭādvaitic interpretation. The statement that by knowing Brahman all else is known is interpreted by Viśiṣṭādvaita as implying that Brahman is the material cause (*upādānakāraṇa*) of the world. But Dvaita criticises this interpretation as unsound since by knowing the *upādāna* (for example, clay) one cannot have the knowledge of all its products (i.e. things that can be made out of clay); hence the correct interpretation of the statement according to Dvaita, would be to regard it as implying that Brahman is the ground of the world and the basic condition of all knowledge. Moreover, Dvaita also points out that to regard Brahman as the material cause of the world would result in attributing change to Brahman and this would contradict the scriptural description of Brahman as 'changeless' (*nirvikāra*) and perfect (*pūrṇa*); hence Dvaita regards Brahman only as the efficient cause (*nimitta kāraṇa*) of the world.

Of the three means of knowledge (*pramāṇas*)—perception, inference and verbal testimony, each is valid and no *pramāṇa* can be sublated by any other *pramāṇa*. Sense-perception reveals the objects of the world while scriptural testimony reveals the truth beyond the world. Each complements the other and sense-perception should not be sublated by scriptural testimony. Accordingly, if any interpretation of the Upanishadic passages is found to contradict *pratyaksha*, it will have to be rejected and only such interpretation which would not contradict *pratyaksha* will have to be accepted. In fact, this is one of the main reasons for the Dvaitic rejection of the Advaitic interpretation of the scriptural statements as implying the unreality of the world.

Anumāna (inference) is based on either *pratyaksha* (sense-perception) or *āgama* (verbal testimony) and is a highly valuable means of philosophical understanding. Even in cases where *pratyaksha* seems to be sublated by *anumāna*, it can be shown on closer examination that *anumāna* at some stage or other would be depending on *pratyaksha* and hence it would only be a case of sublation of one *pratyaksha* by another *pratyaksha* together with *anumāna*; thus *pratyaksha* as *pramāṇa* remains unsublated.

Brahman, Chētana and Achētana

The world consists of two types of entities—*chētana* (experiencing entities) and *achētana* (non-experiencing entities). Both can be known and become objects of knowledge and study.

Chētana (individual consciousness) is found in a body and has some of its experiences through the body; but the body functions and is what it is (i.e. a living body) only because of the presence of *chētana* in it. *Chētana* is hence called *jīva*. Each body has its *jīva* and there are as many *jīvas* as there are living bodies. *Sākshi* is an inalienable aspect of the *jīva* and the *jīva* always has experience or knowledge through it, even when the bodily organs are not functioning as in dreamless sleep. This shows that *jīva* or *chētana* is distinct from the body.

The events of life are felt as happy or miserable by the *jīva* (individual soul) depending on its own native disposition. *Jīvas* with their native dispositions are eternal and are classified into three types-- (a) *taṁōyōgyas* who always see only the unhappy side of life, no hope in the future and are full of delusion, indulging always in vicious deeds, (b) *nitya-samsārins* who are of changing reactions depending on circumstances and are without the spirit of detachment and stability of mind, (c) *muktiyōgyas* who want to help others for the better with faith in goodness, and who, with contentment and stability of mind earnestly pursue the intellectual and spiritual activities.

The fact that the *jīvas* find satisfaction in performing different acts (*karma*) and react differently to the same act after it is performed shows that they have different *yōgyatā* (innate disposition or fitness) in accordance with which they act and react differently. Thus *karma* (activity) presupposes *yōgyatā* (disposition or fitness) and depending on the *yōgyatā* of the *jīvas*, they are classified into three types as explained above. But apart from this three-fold classification, it should be noted that each *jīva* differs from every other *jīva* of its own class or type because of its own intrinsic *yōgyatā*; *yōgyatā* is thus unique to each *jīva* and qualifies it not only for the specific worldly experiences during bondage but also for the specific degree of perfection in the state of liberation.

The individual soul (*jīva*) has the natural characteristics such as *sat* (eternal existence) *chit* (infallible knowledge or consciousness) and *ānanda* (bliss). But these natural characteristics are obscured by external conditions during bondage and consequently, the *jīva* takes exclusive interest in worldly things. Such interest is not natural to *jīva* and accordingly perfection (*mōksha*) consists in abandoning what is not natural and realizing what is natural, namely, the intrinsic characteristics such as *sat*, *chit* and *ānanda*. Thus, though perfection is the natural state of the individual, it 'becomes' his only when he deliberately realizes it.

Achētaṇa consists of both negative entities (*abhāva*) and positive entities (*bhāva*). Negative entities are what are known to be absent while the positive entities are what are known to be present. Dvaita points out that Sāṅkhya, Prābhākara Mīmāṃsa and Viśiṣṭādvaita are wrong in denying the negative entities, since such denial would make the denial itself impossible. Accordingly, Dvaita recognises four types of negative entities -- (1) *anyōṇyābhāva* which is the negation of one object from the standpoint of another, (2) *prāgabhāva* which is the absence of an object before it is produced, (3) *pradhvanisābhāva* which is the absence of an object after it is destroyed, and (4) *atyantābhāva* which is absolute impossibility like a hare's horn. Of these, *prāgabhāva* has an end but no beginning, *pradhvanisābhāva* has a beginning but no end, and *atyantābhāva* has neither beginning nor end since it is purely *asat* (non-existent).

The positive entities are of three kinds: (1) *Nitya* (eternal) is that which has no change in part or whole. For example, Vēda is said to be *nitya* in this sense. (2) *Nityānitya* (eternal and non-eternal) is that which is eternal as a whole but non-eternal

in parts. Space, Time and Nature (*prakṛiti*) are *nityānitya*. (3) *Anitya* (non-eternal) is temporary. All products of *prakṛiti* are non-eternal.

Dvaita rejects the Sāṅkhyan *satkāryavāda* (the view that the effect is pre-existent in the cause) since it does not emphasise the novelty of the effect, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika *asatkāryavāda* (the view that the effect is entirely a new product) since it does not emphasise the necessary connection between the cause and the effect, the Advaitic *ārōpitavāda* (the view of superimposition of the effect on the cause) since Brahman and the world according to Advaita are dissimilar and hence superimposition would be impossible, and in preference to all these, emphasises *saviśēṣabhēda* (identity with peculiarity) or *bhēdābhēda* (identity through difference) between cause and effect; identity being peculiar makes possible the notion of difference between cause and effect.

Dvaita believes that both *chētana* and *achētana* are real as they are revealed by perception. Hence to say, as Advaita does, that the world is a superimposition on Brahman is wrong. For, if there is to be superimposition as in the shell-silver case, the two terms must be real; firstly, there must be a thing (shell) to be mistaken for silver, and secondly, the person must have seen the real silver previously. Similarly, it follows that if the world is to be superimposed on Brahman, the world must be real.⁸ The central point in this argument is that Dvaita is rejecting the idea of superimposition and maintaining the reality of the world.

Everything in the world is dependent for its existence (*sattā*) function (*pravṛtti*) and knowledge (*pramiti*). Hence the world as a whole is dependent (*asvatantra*) on a principle which is independent (*svatantra*). Brahman is that independent principle on whose blissful and eternal support rests the existence of the whole world.⁹ Being the ground (*kāraṇa*) of the world, Brahman is self-established, self-sufficient, omnipotent and perfect. Sāṅkhya rejects the conception of God or *Īśvara* as the creator of the world since it is impossible to conceive of a perfect God as being responsible for the creation of a world of evil; but Dvaita points out that such rejection of the conception of *Īśvara* is wrong. For, the world has a 'dependent' character and hence does need an explanation by postulating a creator; and the attributes of the creator should be so conceived as to affirm creation and not deny it. Accordingly, Dvaita postulates the conception of a creator or *Īśvara* but does not mean by it a pot-maker's conception of God in which case creation would become arbitrary and springs from a 'lack' or 'want' on the part of God; Dvaita conceives of the creator or *Īśvara*, on the other hand, as Brahman who is the ground (*nimitta kāraṇa*) of the world and hence cannot be conceived without the effect or the world (*kārya*). The world is, thus, not the result of any 'want' on the part of Brahman but results from the outflow of Brahman's bliss and hence does not imply any defect on the part of Brahman. Brahman who is perfect is eternal and the world which is an indication of Brahman's characteristics is also eternal; they are only to be distinguished as the independent and the dependent and their distinction is also real.

Having proved the existence of Brahman, Dvaita further states the characteristics of Brahman. Brahman is independent in respect of existence, function and know-

ledge. He is not the material cause (*upādāna kāraṇa*) of the world and is hence independent of the changes of the world. But He is the efficient cause (*nimitta kāraṇa*) in the sense that the world is a spontaneous expression of His perfection. This expression takes place in order that the individual souls should enjoy the results of their action, exhaust them, transcend the level of bondage and realize perfection in accordance with the *yōgyatā* (fitness) of each. Brahman being functionally immanent in the world, controls and directs it for the benefit of the individual souls. Brahman being the indweller in the individual soul,¹⁰ partakes of its joyful experiences and excludes evil and suffering by virtue of His supremacy and infinitude. Thus though Brahman and the individual soul are in the same body, they do not equally partake the experiences of the body, because of their differences in powers.¹¹ Brahman being perfect, has nothing to gain from the creation of the world, and creation is only for the sake of the individual souls. Brahman binds the *jīvas* and liberates them in accordance with the *yōgyatā* of each. He does nothing by necessity or need, but what He does is good, law and justice, and is for the sake of the world. Brahman is thus independent, perfect, omnipotent, benevolent etc. He is not *nirguṇa* (without qualities) but *saṅguṇa* (having all the auspicious qualities in infinite abundance). The Dvaitic conception of Brahman thus differs from the *Īśvara* of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika who has nothing to do with the reality of the world, the *Īśvara* of Yōga system who is only a preceptor and not the ontological ground of the universe, the Brahman of Advaita which is *nirguṇa* and the *Īśvara* of Advaita who is conditioned by *māyā*; the Dvaitic conception of Brahman to a great extent resembles the Viśiṣṭādvaitic conception of Brahman, but the fundamental difference is that unlike Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaita regards Brahman only as the efficient cause and not as the material cause of the world, and emphasises no organismic relation between Brahman and the world. Thus, for the *śarīra-śarīri sambandha* of Viśiṣṭādvaita as describing Brahman's relation to the world, Dvaita substitutes the *binba-pratibinba sambandha* (the original-image relation).

The individual should know that the world is the result of the outflow of Brahman's perfection, and hence real and sacred; he should realize that he is similar to Brahman (having attributes such as existence, knowledge and bliss like Brahman even though all these are limited in his case) but is different and dependent on Him; he should thereby think and act in accordance with the nature of Brahman who is his ground.

One important point in Dvaita Vēdānta is its attempt to reconcile the 'free-will' of the individual with his dependence on Brahman. Free-will must be recognised as belonging to the individual; otherwise the Vedic injunctions would become meaningless.¹² But free-will cannot be said to belong to it inherently but only as being subordinated to Brahman's will.¹³

The individual should not only develop the intellectual conviction about the supremacy of Brahman but should also develop sustained and whole-hearted devotion (*bhakti*) to Him. When the spiritual discipline reaches its culmination, the individual realizes *mōksha* due to the Divine grace (*prasāda*). Thus the highest develop-

ment of spiritual discipline synchronises with the descent of the Divine grace and both are essential for liberation. *Mōksha* consists in the self's realization of its nature as *sat* (eternal existence), *chit* (knowledge) and *ānanda* (bliss) and resting in its ground (Brahman) by abandoning all its unnatural associations. But *mōksha* is in accordance with the *yōgyatā* (innate fitness) of each soul and no two souls have the same *yōgyatā*; hence each soul differs from all other souls and Brahman in liberation.¹⁴ Thus, Madhva thinks that bare numerical plurality without distinctions of worth or perfection would be inconceivable and in the spiritual gradation of souls, the inferiors are indebted to the superiors as pupils to the master.¹⁵ Thus, the Dvaitic concept of *mōksha* differs from the Advaitic non-dual realization of *nirguṇa* Brahman and the Viśiṣṭādvaitic equality of the liberated soul with Brahman in terms of knowledge and bliss.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that difference is the key-note of Dvaita Vēdānta and in it, difference is eternally real. Difference is structural to reality, and any thing is real only by virtue of its difference from the rest of reality. Accordingly, Dvaita emphasises the five-fold differences (*pañchabhēda*) as applying to the categories of reality; (1) Difference between Brahman and *chētana*, (2) Difference between Brahman and *achētana*, (3) Difference between *chētana* and *achētana*, (4) Difference between one *chētana* and another, and (5) Difference between one *achētana* and another.

Notes and References

1. Against this criticism, the Advaitins would point out that to say that attributelessness implies an attribute would be absurd; for, that would mean what is denied is affirmed in which case any difference between denial and affirmation would itself be meaningless. Hence Maṇḍana-māra points out that the absence of attributes (*nirguṇa*) cannot be said to determine Brahman. This is the *abhāvadvaita* of Maṇḍana which is accepted as the correct position by many Advaitins.
2. Advaitic *chit* transcends all distinctions and hence can have no object. But both Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita maintain that consciousness is always relational and hence has an object at all levels of being.
3. It may be remembered here that Advaita admits the existence of an element of rudimentary (*bhījarūpa*) *aśāna* even in deep sleep so as to account for the individuality and personal identity of *chit*; secondly, according to Advaita the relation between *chit* and *aśāna* as constituting the 'I' is not real; and thirdly, in Advaita, the 'I' being a product of *aśāna* is the subject of only empirical knowledge which is a product of *aśāna* and not of transcendent, distinctionless knowledge.
4. For a criticism of this concept, please see my book *Personalism: An Evaluation of Hindu and Western Types*, (Delhi; Research Publications in Social Sciences, 1972). pp. 71-72.
5. H. N. Raghavendrachar: *The Dvaita Philosophy and Its Place in the Vedānta* (University of Mysore, Mysore, 1941) p. 184.
6. *ibid.*, p. 164.
7. Advaita points out here that the purpose of scriptural testimony is to teach what is unfamiliar to us, and what is unfamiliar to us in the world is identity and not difference. Against this view,

Prof. H. N. Raghavendrachar contends, "If it is rightly understood, the difference between Brahman and the world is as much unfamiliar as identity. Because Brahman is unfamiliar, Its difference is also unfamiliar " (*The Dvaita Philosophy and Its Place in the Vedanta*, p. 205).

8. Against this argument it may be noted that the Advaitic point is that silver seen in illusion turns out to be unreal when shell is seen and hence the reality of silver elsewhere or in previous life is irrelevant to the main point of analogy
9. S. Subba Rao: Madhva's Bhāṣya on Brahma Sutras, trans , (Thomson Press, Madras, 1904) III, II. 32.
10. *ibid.*, I, II, 11; II, III, 47
11. *ibid.*, I, II, 8.
12. *ibid.*, I, III, 33 to 36.
13. *ibid.*, II, III, 37 to 39
14. *ibid.*, III, III, 33.
15. *ibid.*, III, III, 34

VIRASAIVISM

H. THIPPERUDRASWAMY

Origin and Antiquity

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA in one of his speeches has said that in India religion forms the centre, the keynote of the whole music of national life. The more we study the history of our country the better we realise the truth of this statement. From the hoary past it is religion and religious beliefs that have formed and shaped not only the individual attitude towards life but the social structure of the country. From the findings of the Indus Valley Civilization at Moheñjōdāro and Harappa, it is very clear that even before the advent of the Āryans on the soil, the original races inhabiting this area, (whether Dravidians or whoever they were) have developed religious ideas and ideals of a very high order. There is enough evidence to prove that Śaivism was one of the predominant religious faiths of Indus Valley people.

It has been almost decided by eminent scholars that the Indus Valley culture was at its height somewhere about 3000 B.C. It is true that the worship of female gods was widely prevalent in that culture; but there is historical evidence to show that Śiva was the principal deity of those people. On one of the seals unearthed in Moheñjōdāro a divine figure with trident-shaped head-dress seated in yogic posture surrounded by animals is found. This is as recognised by Indus Valley experts, none other than Śiva himself depicted as a great *yōgi* and *Paśupati*, Lord of animals. Besides, it is interesting to note that Śiva was worshipped not only in this form but also in the shape of *Līṅga* which came to be a popular and significant symbol of Śiva in the later development of Śaivism. The *Līṅgas* that are found in Moheñjōdāro and Harappa are eloquent evidence to prove that this is not conjecture but fact. Thus it is seen that Śiva is the most ancient of gods, and he enjoyed sole supremacy in the realm of religion much earlier than the Āryan gods entered the scene.

From this it is clear that Śiva was a Dravidian god and in the process of assimilation of culture the Āryans took him into their fold. They named him as Rudra, the Sanskrit root of the word being *rūd*—the meaning of which is the same as that of Śiva in Dravidian languages i.e. red. Right from the Vedic age the conception of Rudra-Śiva has gradually evolved. In the beginning he was a dreadful god believed to be responsible for terrible disasters. But the dreadfulness of Rudra progressively diminished and softened to give rise to the benevolent, compassionate Śiva. Even the connotation of the word Śiva got changed and came to be understood as auspicious, propitious, affectionate etc. as against Rudra—the dreadful, disastrous and terrible. By the time of the Yajur-vēda and the Atharva-vēda, Rudra casting away his fury had come out as Śiva, Śambhu and Śaṅkara—one who brings peace and blessings. In *Śvētāśvatara-upanishad*, the conception of Śiva reached its ultimate perfection. This Upanishad esteemed Him as the supreme spirit of the nature of

truth, consciousness and bliss. *Śivāgamas* elaborated this point and enunciated it in different ways to shape an organised basis of a religion for Śaivism.

Thus Śaivism, i.e. the worship of Śiva, has the most ancient historic tradition, the origin of which cannot be ascribed to any single individual. It is a gradual and organic growth of the collective consciousness of a religious group devoted to Śiva. The various shades and forms of its perennial flow cannot be traced here in detail. But an attempt is made to point out the several branches of Śaivism culminating in Vīraśaivism.

By the time of *Mahābhārata*, one of the off-shoots of Śaivism had become favour as the Pāśupata cult. The principles of this school of Śaivism were probably expounded by one Nakulīśa or Lakulīśa, who was believed to have been the very incarnation of Śiva. It is learnt that he had four disciples, namely, Kushika, Gārgya, Kaurusha and Maitrēya, who expounded in turn the tenets of Śaivism which branched off into four principal off-shoots—Pāśupata, Kālāmukha, Kāpālīka and Śaiva as early as the second century B.C.

It is not intended here to present all the details of these schools which have been indicated by various names like Kāruṇika-siddhānta, Kāladamana, Mahēśvara, Mahāvratadhārin etc. by different scholars. Suffice it to say that in the long history of its development it had its own names and forms, ups and downs, victories and defeats. We witness a period where it degenerated into mere *avitatkarāṇa* and *avitat-hhāshaṇa*, i.e. doing what should not be done and speaking what should not be spoken and so on. Some of the Kāpālīkas followed the path of perverted practices in the name of devotion imitating all the terrible aspects of Śiva, without understanding the significance behind the dreadful conception.

But by the time of the *Śivāgamas* and *Śivapurāṇas*, Śaivism was set on the path of evolution taking in all humanitarian elements. In *Śivamahāpurāṇa*, particularly in its *Vāyavīya-saṃhita* both the philosophic phase and ritual situation of Śaivism have been clearly expounded.

It is said that there are one hundred and eight *Śivāgamas* out of which twenty eight are held to be very important. The *Śivāgama* ~~traditionally handed down, indicates their antiquity. But traditionally it carries a special meaning according to which ā stands for pāśa or noose, ga for paśu or jīva, and ma for pati or Lord. It is a symbolic description indicating their importance in revealing the knowledge of these three principles~~

Among the four usual sections of the Āgamas the two sections i.e. *charyākāṇḍa* and *kriyākāṇḍa* mostly deal with the ritual aspect of the religion and the other two *yōgakāṇḍa* and *vidyā* or *jñānakāṇḍa* bestow their attention on the philosophical enquiry such as the concept of god-head, the creation of the world, the relation between *jīva* and Śiva, the yogic path, etc. This is the most important part of the Āgamas where the major philosophical propositions of all branches of Śaivism including Vīraśaivism have been enunciated.

So the *Śivāgamas* constitute a remarkable stage in the history of Śaivism. Based on the main tenets that are laid down in the *Śivāgamas* several branches of Śaivism

which are known as Agamic Śaiva schools like Pratyabhijñā and Spanda-śāstra of Kashmir, Śaiva-siddhānta of Tamilnadu, Pāsupata school of Gujarat, Vīraśaivism of Karnataka have evolved.

The roots of Vīraśaivism can be traced back to the early centuries of the Christian era. S. N. Dasgupta observes: "The kernel of Veerasaiva thought is almost as old as the Upanisads and it may be found in a more or less systematic manner by way of suggestion in the writings of Kalidasa who lived in the early centuries of the Christian era."¹ In works like *Sūtasamhitā*, probably of 6th century A.D. subtle shades of Vīraśaiva thought can be traced.

The distinctive mark of Vīraśaivism is the wearing of the Liṅga, which is called Ishta-liṅga, the symbol of the infinite, on the body of each person. This Ishta-liṅga form of worship makes Vīraśaivas differ from all other Śaivas who worship Liṅga in temples. We do not know who originated this form of worship. In all probability it is more a regular development in the process of worship and a gradual evolution in the concept of god-head, than the invention of any single individual.

In the Purāṇas and other scriptures also there are references to devout persons carrying small Liṅgas with them, and also to persons wearing them on the body. This in due course, evolved into a more subtle form of Ishta-liṅga worship with the necessary philosophical set up like *śaṭ-sthala*. The traditional story that five *ācāryas*, Rēvaṇasiddha, Maṇḍasiddha, Ekōrāmārādhyā, Paṇḍitārādhyā and Viśvārādhyā emerged from five Liṅgas to propagate Vīraśaivism also supports this view. It clearly indicates that Vīraśaivism is not a product of any single individual, but an outcome of lofty religious experience of many realised souls.

It is only after the great renaissance of the 12th century in Karnataka under the leadership of Basavaṇṇa that the Vīraśaiva religion acquired wide popularity and a new dimension. It is, no doubt, true that in the *Siddhānta-śikhāmaṇi* and in some of the Āgamas like *Vātūla*, the word Vīraśaiva and also its main principles occur. But there is a good deal of discussion and indecision regarding the date of these works.

Siddhānta-śikhāmaṇi elaborately expounds the Vīraśaiva tenets. It tries to give the etymology of the term *vīraśaiva* in a verse according to which *vī* stands for the art of union of Śiva and *jīva*, and *ra* for delight in such a divine art. Thus *Vīraśaiva* is one who experiences the bliss of the union of *jīva* and Śiva and the oneness of *aṅga* and *liṅga*. This is more a symbolic than an etymological explanation of the word *vīra* which ordinarily means heroic.

In some of the Śīva-āgamas like *Vātūla*, *Pāramēśvara*, *Kiraṇa*, *Chandrajñāna* etc. the basic tenets of Vīraśaivism are clearly narrated. But the dates of these works have not yet been fixed with substantial testimony. Hence, for the present, the religious revolution that took place in Karnataka in the 12th century is the first definite historical evidence to show the dynamic quality of Vīraśaivism.

Under the leadership of Basavaṇṇa, the versatile genius, hundreds of *sarāṇas* or spiritual aspirants rallied together and rejuvenated the ancient Vīraśaiva religion by

their mystical utterances. Their work gave an added sharpness and brilliance to the old religion. In fact, it is a turning point in the history of Vīraśaiva religion when Basavaṇṇa made it a vehicle to fulfil his great mission of establishing social justice and the upliftment of the common man to divine heights.

Basavēśvara did not depend upon Sanskrit language for this religious awakening. With a double purpose that religion should reach every man and woman, he carried its message to every heart and home through the peoples' own language i.e. Kannada. So Vīraśaivism became a powerful means to uplift the people, an instrument to pluck out corruption and exploitation that had set in, in the name of religion. In consequence, there arose a Vīraśaiva religion imbibing the spirit of universal good and it heralded the advent of a new light.

By that time the other branches of Śaivism were well-known in Karnataka. The influence of the Tamil Śaivism was considerably prominent and profound. In fact Tamil Śaivism and Vīraśaivism, though they differ in some respects such as the conception of *mukti*, exerted great influence on the social, religious and cultural life of South India. The sixty three pioneer saints of Tamil Śaivism are popularly known as *purāṭanas* or ancients in Karnataka. They were regarded highly by Vīraśaiva saints of the 12th century. Śaiva faiths like Kāḷāmukha, Kāpālīka were also in vogue from about 6th and 7th centuries. There are inscriptional evidences to show that Kāḷāmukha saints were in a position to command respect and reverence from some of the kings and their vassals who made gifts to them after washing their feet with veneration.

Some scholars are of the opinion, and not without reason, that about this time, i.e. the 12th century the Kāḷāmukha system was gradually being absorbed into Vīraśaivism. Several Kāḷāmukha-maṭhas were converted into Vīraśaiva-maṭhas as in the case of the Kāḷāmukha-maṭha at Pōvaḷḷi in Belagaum District which was converted into a Vīraśaiva-maṭha. Thus Vīraśaivism had gained strength to absorb and assimilate other Śaiva sects into its system. Basavēśvara's religious revolution completed it.

Basavaṇṇa recognised in Vīraśaiva religion the potentialities to imbibe all lofty ideas and ideals into its fold, and so he picked it up as an instrument to establish a universal religion, to elevate humanity without any distinction of caste, creed or sex. He and his followers, though inspired by the religious books of the past, boldly distilled them in the crucible of their experience and burning away the dross extracted only the sterling gold. They analysed religion rationally vitalized it in the light of their intuitional consciousness and proclaimed it, giving it a new birth, as it were, with themselves as its living forces. What they felt to be truth they never hesitated to declare.

They chose Kannada, the language of the people of Karnataka as the sole medium of expression and so succeeded in making it a mass movement. Not only the religious and social problems pertaining to individuals and society but also supreme principles, universal concepts, deep philosophical thoughts and subtle religious experiences all have found expression in Kannada in the form of *Vachanas*.

In *Vachana* literature of the *śaraṇas*, the basic principles of Vīraśaivism, both philosophic and ritual are fully discussed and broadened so as to tackle the problems of the day, and so *Vachana-śāstra* has become the manual of Vīraśaiva religion. In addition to *Śivāgamas* and *Śivapurāṇas* in Sanskrit and *Vachana-śāstra* and its various forms in Kannada, there are some other notable books on Vīraśaivism like *Siddhānta-śikhāmaṇi*, *Līṅgadhāraṇa-chandrika*, *Śivānubhava-sūtra* in Sanskrit and some of the Purāṇas in Kannada such as *Basavapurāṇa*, *Prabhuliṅgallīle*, *Śivatattva-chintāmaṇi* and so on. Taking all these into consideration an attempt has been made here to present Vīraśaivism in a nutshell.

Philosophical Aspect

Religion, broadly speaking, is a mental faculty which enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names and under varying guises. There is an inner urge in man to secure a spiritual awakening and to strive to conceive the inconceivable. Philosophy, religion and even science are only attempts to satisfy this urge at various levels. Science undertakes to know the extent and exactness of the laws that have already extended their sway over the whole world. But it defines the how of things, but not the why of them.

Philosophy and religion take up the question at the point given up by science. Philosophy is an endeavour to understand rationally, the universe and man's relation to it. But religion is a direct reaction to what he feels to be the ultimate in the universe. Philosophy takes up certain fundamental problems regarding the creation, the creator, like the relation between the creature and creation and so on; and, analyses them to formulate some systematic theories which became the basis for religious practices and spiritual experiences.

Thus in a way and especially in India, philosophy and religion are not considered distinct and separate entities. Here one complements the other. One has grown and perfected itself from the other. So every religion fully grown and perfected by time has its prominent philosophical aspect. This is true with Vīraśaiva religion also.

Vīraśaivism has attempted to propound its doctrines regarding the nature of the creation, the creator and the relation between them, in clear terms. There are, in India, certain distinctive schools of philosophy like Advaita or non-duality, Viśiṣṭādvaita or qualified duality, and Dvaita or duality, with their own outlook upon these fundamentals. Advaita of Śaṅkarāchārya regarded this world as false and fictitious, which appears, as it does, only on account of *māyā* or illusion. Freed from the bondage of *māyā*, the *jīva* or individual soul itself becomes Śiva, the absolute reality, says Śaṅkara. Quite contrary to this is Dvaita originated by Madhvāchārya. It claims that the world is real and also that the supreme god, Nārāyaṇa and the individual souls are basically different and remain so even after liberation. In between these two comes Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānujāchārya. He accepts the basic identity of individual souls and also similarities, barring a few aspects, between the god-head Nārāyaṇa and the souls. To attain this highest excellence i.e. the resemblance with the Divine except in a few respects is liberation according to him.

All these theories, when looked at from different angles and in the light of experience at different levels, are indeed true. Realising, thus the truth of these doctrines viewed from separate standpoints, Vīraśaivism has attempted to formulate a *siddhānta* or theory which synthesizes all the systems of philosophy in its own way. It is, therefore, called Dvaitādvaita faith, duality and non-duality combined in one. It is also known as Śivādvaita and more significantly Śakti-viśiṣṭādvaita.

According to this school of thought Śiva creates the world which is a reality, through his power (*śakti*) inherent in him. This power manifests itself spontaneously but without isolating itself from Śiva. This doctrine of power is highly significant with its meaning extensive and comprehensive so as to give a complete concept of creation. The whole of creation has been embraced and engrossed by various forms of that power. In every object of this world abides one kind of power or the other. Burning power in fire, cooling power in water, sustaining power in earth, moving power in wind, the power of heavenly bodies like the sun, gravitational power, electric power, the marvellous power inherent in every ion—all these powers are but the various manifestations of one primordial power.

Vīraśaivism says that Śiva has created this world through this power; but he has remained untainted and unattached from the world. He being omnipresent and omnipotent, pervades the entire universe created by Himself, yet transcends it, without being caught in its tangled web. His pristine purity and original nature are not marred by his activity and he has continued to be indivisible, perfect and whole.

Vīraśaivism has discussed elaborately the order of evolution of the world based on the thirty six *tattvas* or categories of Tamil Śaivism, unlike Sāṅkhya system which accepts only twenty five categories. But in working out the details of these *tattvas* and their arrangements, it differs not only from Tamil Śaivism but from all other philosophical systems.

The metaphysical view of the Absolute and its creation as held in Śakti-viśiṣṭādvaita—the philosophical aspect of Vīraśaivism, is reconcilable with the highest concept and spirit of religion. Here the Absolute is at once transcendent and immanent, static and dynamic. The static aspect of the Absolute is Śiva, and dynamic aspect of it is Śakti or Divine Will. Śakti-viśiṣṭādvaita is based on the integral association of Śiva and Śakti.

The different schools of Śaivism subscribe to the concept of Śiva being regarded as the ultimate cause of the universe. But they differ with reference to the question of the causal efficiency of Śiva and of *karma*. The Pāśupata school holds that Śiva is a cause independent of the actions of individuals, though the efficiency of actions depends upon an individual's power of action being unobstructed on account of conformity with the infinitely potent will of the Lord.

The Śaiva *siddhānta* or Tamil Śaivism regards Śiva as the Universal agent but not independent of individual action. His dependence on the action of the individual does not detract from his independence. It only indicates that he directs the fruits of all the actions to the proper individuals.

According to the Pratyabhijñā schools of Kashmir, Śiva creates the Universe by mere force of desire; for he is of unobstructed Power, Knowledge and Bliss. The Vīraśaivism school agrees with this view of Kashmir Śaivism in ascribing the causal efficiency to the Will of God. But it goes a step forward to say that the Divine Will is the integral conscious power of the Supreme Being, Paraśiva, who is behind the self and the cosmos.

Regarding the nature of *jīvas* Vīraśaivism has evolved an all-embracing theory of extensive application. In *Śaiva-siddhānta*, the creator, the creation, and the *jīvas*—all these three entities are without beginning and without end. They are like parallel lines as it were. The purpose of this creation is just to help the souls to get themselves liberated from the bondage of triple impurities. Śiva helps them in their endeavour to see that they are liberated. Even after liberation the *jīvas* remain different from Śiva. In this respect Tamil Śaivism resembles the Dvaita philosophy of Madhvāchārya who strongly enunciates the plurality of souls and their inherent gradation. But Vīraśaivism never for a moment accepts the view that *jīvas* are basically different from Śiva either in the beginning of creation or at the end after liberation. *Ātman* or *jīva*, according to Vīraśaiva, is one of the eight bodies of Sadāśiva. The five elements together with the sun, the moon and the *ātman* form the eightfold body of Śiva. The *ātman* was born out of his secret and innermost aspect says a Vīraśaiva mystic. This is called *aṅga* in Vīraśaiva terminology. Under the sway of *avidyā* or ignorance it forgets its innate nature and turns out into *jīva*.

This view is very clearly stated by Moggeya Māyidēva in his *Anubhāva-sūtra* or the Mystic Aphorisms. The supreme Śiva, in his divine sport of creation, bifurcates himself into *linga* and *aṅga*; and his power into *kalā-śakti* and *bhakti-śakti*. *Kalā-śakti* shelters in *linga* and the other in *aṅga*. In the heart of *kalā-śakti* which is like a blaze hidden in *linga*, is enshrined the creative ability and so it is called *pravṛtti-śakti*. The other *śakti*, which is *bhakti* (devotion), with its pure, subtle, auspicious nature provides pleasure and finally liberation to *aṅga* in which it is sheltered. The *bhakti* is called *nivṛtti-śakti*. The two, the *śakti* and the *bhakti* are Śiva's evolution and involution; his exhaling and inhaling. Śiva creates the Universe through his *śakti*, and liberates the *aṅga* through *bhakti*. The liberation or *mōksha* is termed as *līṅgāṅga-sāmarasya*.

The Vīraśaiva concept of *mōksha* is different from that of Śaivism which believes that Śiva and *jīva* are fundamentally different and remain so even after liberation. It strongly advocates the essential oneness or basic unity of Śiva and *jīva*. Gold and gold ornaments, water and hailstone are different in shape but not in kind. Thus the *jīva* appears to be different from Śiva, but being absorbed into Śiva becomes Śiva himself—says a Vīraśaiva mystic.

This is similar to the Advaita concept of *mōksha*. But it does not subscribe to the Advaita view that the state of non-duality alone is the reality and every thing else a myth. It asserts that the world, as also the state of duality between *jīva* and Śiva, is a reality with reference to a particular stage. Śiva is qualified with *śakti*—that is *śakti-viśiṣṭa-jīva*, when it attains liberation merges completely with *śakti-viśiṣṭa-*

śiva to become Śiva himself. So it is called Śakti-viśiṣṭādvaita—non-duality qualified with *śakti*. It is also called *bhēdābhēda* or *dvaitādvaita-siddhānta* because it begins with *bhēda* or *dvaita* and ends in *abhēda* or *advaita*. Thus all the statements of Śruti or scriptures indicating difference as well as non-difference are synthesised in *Vīraśaiva-siddhānta*. So the words of Śrīkarabhāṣya by Śrīpatipaṇḍita: *Veeraśaivaika siddhāntē sarva śrutisamanvayaḥ*—in Vīraśaiva philosophy there is a synthesis of all scriptures—are true beyond doubt.

The Six-fold Path

All metaphysical and ontological speculations if they are to be considered worthy of all the intellectual attempt, have to be accomplished in the everyday life of the individuals. It is only then that the philosophical aspect of any religion finds its fulfilment. In Vīraśaivism, philosophy did not remain a mere matter of academic enquiry to gratify the intellect; but it became the core of spiritual life. What has been propounded in theory, has been realised in practice. The spiritual mansion that is built upon the philosophical foundation is the six-fold path of spiritual discipline, or *ṣaṭ-sthala-mārga* as it is popularly known.

Sthala is a technical term in Vīraśaivism. It signifies the absolute, the source of all evolution and phenomenal existence, into which all things are finally absorbed. This one Supreme *sthala* divides itself, as already stated, into *liṅga-sthala* and *aṅga-sthala*. *Liṅga* is *upāsya* the worshipped, *aṅga* is *upāsaka* the worshipper. They again undergo three-fold modification. Thus *liṅga* assumes the forms of *iṣṭa-liṅga*, *prāṇa-liṅga* and *bhāva-liṅga*; and in consonance with the three forms of *liṅga*, *aṅga* also becomes *tyāgāṅga*, *bhōgāṅga* and *yōgāṅga*. Taking further division each one of them becomes two-fold: *iṣṭa-liṅga* becomes *āchāra-liṅga*, the practical and *guru-liṅga*, the preceptive. *Prāṇa-liṅga* becomes *Śiva-liṅga* the auspicious and *chara-liṅga* the dynamic. *Bhāva-liṅga* becomes *prasāda-liṅga* the gracious and *mahā-liṅga* the great. So also three *aṅgas* get divided into six: *bhakta*, *raheśa*, *prasādi*, *prāṇalingī*, *śaraṇa* and *aikya* respectively. This is the descending order of *ṣaṭ-sthala*, that is one Supreme Absolute becoming many.

In the ascending order of *ṣaṭ-sthala*, all the six *sthalas* evolve and unite into one Supreme Absolute. This is more significant as a path of spiritual progress. Here *sthala* acquires a different connotation. If, metaphysically, it means the Absolute, psychologically it is a mental stage in the path of evolution. At the beginning of the spiritual pursuit, there is a distinction between the worshipper and the worshipped i.e. *aṅga* and *liṅga*. *Jīva* with its present limitations, when it turns towards the spiritual endeavour to attain its inherent nature becomes *aṅga* and ascends the first step of *bhakta-sthala* and gradually proceeds through *rahēśa*, *prasādi*, *prāṇalingī* and *śaraṇa* and finally upto *aikya-sthala*. This six-fold hierarchy may be regarded as a flight of six steps that *jīva* has to ascend in his pilgrimage towards the Divine. We find in them all states of mind beginning from the anguish of a devotee, to the final bliss and peace resulting from the realisation of the Supreme Soul—the *Liṅga*.

In the *shaṭ-sthala* system or six-fold hierarchy, *bhakti* (devotion), *kriya* (work) and *jñāna* (knowledge)—all the three get equal importance. The synthesis of all these faculties that are latent in man is the special significance of this system. Based on spiritual progress of religious seekers the six *sthalas* may broadly be divided under two heads. As Dr. S. C. Nandimath says in his book *Hand book of Vīraśaivism*, the first three (*bhakta*, *mahēśa*, *prasādi*) are known as *kriyātmaka*—the stages where action in the form of worship etc. forms the prominent features; the other three (*prāṇalīngī*, *śaraṇa*, *aikya*) are known as *jñānātmaka* where knowledge in the form of philosophical enquiry etc. becomes important. It does not mean that *kriya* is absent in the later stages or *jñāna* in preceding ones. They are blended together from the beginning to the end. It only means that in the first three places *kriya* gets upper hand; in the last three *jñāna*.

In the spiritual life of any seeker a distinctive and decisive stage occurs wherein the anguish of his mind and its consequent transmutation are found. This is the result of constant and purposeful effort; but it cannot be denied that in a few cases it may be sudden conversion unanticipated. In either case, it comes as a sort of rebirth. The western mystics call it by a technical term 'purification'. In the initial stages of *shaṭ-sthala* such a rebirth takes place.

In Vīraśaivism *dīkshā*—initiation—is signified as the symbol of rebirth. This is a very significant ceremony where the spiritual preceptor or *guru* gives *ishṭa-līṅga* to the disciple observing certain symbolic rituals to make him realise the inner meaning of the *līṅga*. This *ishṭa-līṅga* which is capable of fulfilling all the desires of spiritual progress of the devotee, has always to be worn on the body. It should be his only object of worship and nothing else; not even *sthāvaralīṅga* form of worship as is found in the temples. In this way it is strict monotheism which commends only *ishṭa-līṅga* form of worship. This is also called *Līṅgāyatism* as its main tenets are based on the conception and evolution of *līṅga*. It is not intended here to go into these details.

After *dīkshā* which effects the complete transformation of the entire body, the devotee undertakes spiritual practice. Here Vīraśaivism gives certain aids and moral codes to the pilgrim to ensure his progress. They are technically called *ashṭā-varaṇa* and *pañchāchāra*.

Āvaraṇa usually means covering or sheath. But here the term *ashṭāvaraṇa* is very significantly used. They are eight shields and not sheaths to protect from the evils of worldly life and help the disciple to reach the final goal. *Guru*, *līṅga*, *jaṅgama*, *pādōdaka*, *prasāda*, *vibhūti*, *rudrākshi* and *mantra*—these are the eight *āvaraṇas* and each one of them has been elaborately and significantly explained.

The same is the case with *pañchāchāras*, the five rules of conduct, which are termed as *līṅgāchāra*, *sadāchāra*, *śivāchāra*, *bhṛityāchāra* and *gaṇāchāra*. In each one of these *āchāras* the moral codes to be followed by the seeker both as an individual and as a member of the society are laid down in a very comprehensive way with a full and integrated view of life at its background. It is here we find that Vīraśaivism has succeeded in the dynamic blending of religious practices and ethical codes so that both of them should be perfectly implemented by mutual contribution.

With these aids and codes the journey starts from *bhakta-sthala*, the first of the six-fold hierarchy. The first and foremost characteristic of *bhakta-sthala*, is implicit faith in the supreme spirit, Śiva. The *bhakta* looking at the life with all its problems, its pains and pleasures, its ups and downs, takes an integral look and discerns the master-hand of the supreme power behind all this play; and unreservedly surrenders to Him, focussing all his love upon Him. "*Bhakti* or devotion is of the nature of the highest love"—defines *Nārada bhakti-sūtra*. This divine love leads to renunciation which helps to annihilate the ego in him and open his heart to the divine power. He believes that divine grace has manifested itself as the *ishṭa-līṅga* given by the *guru* to be worshipped. He does not run away from the worldly life. He lives in this world being engaged in *kāyaka* or dedicated labour which changes the very outlook of life. By this transformation leading to dedication of his body, mind and wealth to *guru*, *līṅga* and *jaṅgama*, the bodily attributes of *bhakta* will be changed into divine attributes.

This spiritual pursuit of *bhakta* rises still higher and advances more firmly in *mahēśvara-sthala*. In this *sthala* there is a constant effort and so a single pointed zeal to continue the conscious state of mind that is awakened in *bhakta-sthala*. "Come what may, fever or fortune"—he faces the situation and moulds it in such a way as to suit his pursuit. A firm confidence and an uncompromising conviction in the ideal envisaged are absolutely essential. He should have complete control over the mind, he should bridle it, as it were and focus it on the supreme spirit. Thus *mahēśvara-sthala* stresses steadfastness in faith. "Will to surmount mountain high obstructions"—that is what is needed here. It is only then he will have the fervour of a righteous power which can face any ups and downs that befall him, and overcome them. His is a venture to undertake the pilgrimage "riding ready horse"—i.e. accepting any profession that is given to him. He is prepared even to pledge his life and if needed gladly welcomes death. Such unswerving faith and resoluteness for a lofty ethical life in *mahēśvara-sthala* becomes an inspiring model to society.

Thus in the first two stages the mind of the seeker evolves and opens itself to divine grace. It gives him a new vision of life being enriched by the wealth of his spiritual experience. The agony and suffering of the initial stage are not found here for, his ethical spiritual life has become his normal way. The 'ego', the sense of 'I' and 'Mine' is annulled in him. He does all the work with a completely dedicated attitude, what is called *dāsōha*, without craving for any reward for his work. He accepts everything as God's Grace because the whole world appears to him as *prasāda* or gift of god. This is the third step called *prasādi-sthala*.

Here the word *prasādi* is used in a very comprehensive sense. Usually *prasāda* means what is offered to god and received in turn. But as Allama Prabhu says: "If what is offered to god becomes *prasāda* even a cat may eat it. Can it be called a *prasādi* then? The real *prasādi* is one who having offered himself knows the secret of transcending it". "To hug thee in embrace is true *prasāda*" says Dēvara Dāsi-mayya, an other *śaraṇa*. Thus to embrace Śiva is real *prasāda*. One who has offered himself to god and looks upon the entire world as God's Grace, is the true *prasādi*.

So *prasādi* finds that he can realise god through *kāyaka* or "bread labour". *Kāyaka* is the unique contribution of Vīraśaiva *śaraṇas* to the world of thought and action. It is not possible here to dwell even on the main traits of the *kāyaka* conception. Suffice it to say that it is *Karma-yōga* of the highest order—and that we find in *prasādi* the seeker who has mastered the secret of work and thus has become a *karma-yōgi* in the highest sense of the term.

For the *prasādi* who has attained this state of mind nothing is worthless or mean on this earth. Nothing is *māyā* or illusion, and every thing has to be accepted on its own merits. "The Greed that hovers before the mind is *Māyā*". If our outlook is changed we discern the real nature of things. "He who, removing the triple impurity that clings to money, woman and land, can convert them into *prasāda* is a real *prasādi*"—defines Channabasavaṇṇa. He need not renounce life nor run to the woods as an ascetic. Asceticism is only a state of mind. He must live here in this life and yet attain the Divine without being bound by the life. He should transform all things of the world into willing instruments of his practice and performance. Such a one is real *prasādi*. His very life turns out to be a great *prasāda* to Śiva. He who can offer such a *prasāda* is *prasādi*.

If in *prasādi-sthala* we find the essence of *Karma-yōga*, in *prāṇaliṅgi-sthala* it turns towards *Jñāna-yōga*. The searching eye of *prasādi* now turns within and meditates upon *prāṇa-liṅga*. He realises that the all—pervasive and omnipresent Śiva is within himself "even as an elephant is held in a mirror" as Basavaṇṇa puts it. The very concept of *prāṇa-liṅga* is highly meaningful and suggestive. It is nothing but the psychic force that abides in the individual's body itself. It has crystallized into *ishṭa-liṅga* and has come to his palm. So meditation upon *ishṭa-liṅga* must lead to meditation upon *prāṇa-liṅga*. The mind should move through the worship of external *liṅga*, to the worship of internal *prāṇa-liṅga*. Merging his *prāṇasakti* or psychic power with *liṅga*, and the power of *liṅga* with *prāṇasakti*, he meditates upon their undifferentiated state. This itself is the worship of *prāṇa-liṅga*. Here we find the process of yogic discipline. This includes all the main features of *rājayōga* and proceeds to incorporate all other forms of *yōga*. It is a happy synthesis of *yōga* or Integral *Yōga* as Aurobindo puts it. Vīraśaivism more significantly calls it Śivayōga.

The differentiating attitude i.e. duality between god and soul prevailing so far in *bhakta*, *mahēśa* and *prasādi-sthalas*, now turns towards non-duality. He, as a *prāṇa-liṅgi* realises the oneness between Śiva and *jīva*. His body through the experience of *liṅga*, discards all bodily attributes and becomes a *liṅga* or Divine body. Though he lives in the mortal body he plays with it unaffected by life's miseries. It is like "playing with a snake after extracting its fangs."

We come across the term *anubhāva* or intuitive experience of the Divine in *prāṇaliṅgi-sthala*. It is specified that *prāṇa-liṅga* is worshipped through *anubhāva-bhakti* or mystic piety. As *bhakta* proceeds in *śaṭ-sthala-mārga*, *bhakti* also goes on evolving. In *bhakta-sthala*, *bhakti* is in the form of faith called *śraddhābhakti* and in *mahēśa-sthala* it is *naishṭikabhakti* where steadfastness in faith predominates. In *prasādi-sthala* it becomes *sāvadhānabhakti* (incessant vigilance in piety)

and evolves into *anubhāvabhakti* (mystic piety) in *prāṇalīṅgi-sthala*. In the last two stages, *śaraṇa* and *aikya*, it becomes *ānandabhakti* (delight or beatitude in piety) and *samarasabhakti* (unitive piety) respectively.

The *śaraṇa* and *aikya* are the last two *sthala*s of the six-fold path. In a way these two may be considered equivalent to what is termed by western mystics as 'unitive love'. Here the seeker has direct vision of his ultimate goal and the bliss of Divine union with it. In *śaraṇa-sthala*, we find the direct realisation of Advaitic experience, the oneness of Śiva and *jīva*, to be his self-experience. The nature of reality which was comprehensible to the intellect so far, now becomes a part of his self-experience. Now he realises with effortless ease that he is a direct particle of the divine spark of Śiva who is the efficient cause of this cosmic order. He is now not bound though embodied, nor fettered with triple impurity though moving and engaged in *karma*. Thus he attains the state of *jīvanmukti* or liberation in life.

At the touch of the *śaraṇa* all work becomes holy; the spot he treads becomes a sacred place. All his words and deeds being sublimated into the nature of the Divine, only the Divine quality or *liṅga-guṇa* manifests itself at every step. Though the *śaraṇa* has attained such a height of knowledge within, he is still engaged in his usual worldly work, because he is desirous of distributing the fruits of his spiritual pursuit to society. It is not enough if he aims only at his own liberation; he should also become the source of social good. Channabasavaṇṇa declares: "I say hail to the robed ones who pour water so that all creatures may be happy." There is a great principle behind this. Even after the life's purpose is accomplished it is his obligation to society that he should be engaged in *kriyā* or unattached work for the good of the world. Thus *śaraṇa* turns out to be an accomplished one who, having attained his fulfilment is ready to bestow his divine experience upon the world through his righteous acts.

The final stage of the *sādhaka* on his flight to the Divine is *aikya-sthala*. The *śaraṇa* who has realised that he is himself a veritable embodiment of *liṅga* now becomes absolutely one with *liṅga* through *samarasabhiukti*. This is the ultimate step of the mystic experience which is called *liṅgāṅgaśūmarasya* or consubstantial union of *liṅga* and *aṅga*. Like a hailstone dropped into the sea, the *śaraṇa* merges himself and becomes the ocean itself annihilating all duality. This *aikya-sthala* describes the highest stage that a man can ever reach in spiritual life.

Thus the Vīraśaiva path of *śat-sthala* starts with Dvaita but finds its fulfilment in Advaita. In the final stage of *aikya-sthala*, there is neither *bhakti*, nor *bhakta* neither worshipper nor worshipped. *Bhakta* transcends all dualities and becomes one with the Absolute. The philosophic path of knowledge and the philanthropic way of action are combined here to supplement the ardour of *bhakti*. It is a beautiful blending and a significant synthesis of *bhakti*, *karma*, *jñāna* which ends in Śivayōga—the most comprehensive form of Integral Yōga.

This, in a nutshell, is the quintessence of Vīraśaivism. It has not been possible here to discuss certain important aspects of the Vīraśaiva concept like *kāyaka*, *dāsōha*, *pañchāchāra* etc. It is only an attempt to project the total view that has formu-

lated at the philosophical and the religious levels, and to point out how it has achieved in a masterly way the absolute union between philosophy, religion and life, based on broad human principles.

It is because of this catholicity and integrity of this religion that Basavaṇṇa forged it as his instrument of mass movement to establish a new social order. The *śaraṇa* movement headed by him in the 12th century touched the very life-pulse of the common man and awakened him towards the common spiritual pursuit. It enriched the mystic tradition of the land and accomplished the highest things that a spiritual movement might. It is a remarkable period not merely in the history of Viraśaivism but also in the social and religious history of Indian as a whole and of South Indian in particular.

BUDDHISM IN SOUTH INDIA

R. VASANTA

BUDDHISM WHICH WAS FOUNDED by the Buddha towards the end of the sixth century B.C. is one of the great world religions. Buddhism arose in an age of religious ferment.

Buddhism was unique in many respects. Ethically it sought to reform by rejecting the authority of the Vēdas and teaching an independent morality. Philosophically it denied any substratum in the world of things or in any of the gods of the Vedic pantheon. Its original and essential doctrine is that all earthly existence is suffering, the only means of release from which is renunciation and eternal death. The importance of the Indian form of Buddhism lies in the fact that it represents the earliest phase of the religion; that it produced all the canonical texts of the faith; that without a knowledge of it the Buddhism of the many countries to which it has spread could not be understood; and that without the evidence of its architecture and sculpture, it would not be possible to attempt an authentic history of Indian art. Though it has almost disappeared many centuries ago from the land of its birth, it has profoundly influenced the civilization of the Far East. In India itself, Buddhism deeply affected the spiritual life of the country for over thousand years and occupies a prominent place in the history of its literature.

In South India, Buddhism was well established by the third century B.C. and continued to flourish throughout the Satavāhana period; indeed the first two centuries of the Christian era constitute the most glorious epoch of Buddhism in South India. The *stūpa* of Amarāvati was enlarged and embellished, many new but smaller *stūpas* came up in many spots in the Krishna valley. The contemporary inscriptions mention the names of a number of sects and of monks of various grades of learning and eminence engaged in preaching the Law of the Master.

Andhra

Buddhism entered the Āndhra area at a very early time and gave a great impetus to the advancement of Āndhra civilization in the earliest period of Āndhra history leaving behind a rich legacy to the succeeding ages. Most of the centres of Buddhism like Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Śrīkākuṣam, Amarāvati, Dhānyakataka, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Jaggayyapēṭa and Bezavāda are found situated on both sides of the Krishna in the Guntur and Krishna Districts. In the interior, near Bhaṭṭiprōlu we have Cherukapalli with a mound, Chandōlu and Buddham (or Buddhapuri). These places are connected with one another by the river. Some places of Buddhist interest are also to be found in the Telugu-speaking areas of the former Hyderabad State. It is interesting to find out when Buddhism was introduced into this part of the country.

During the six years of his struggle Gautama had with him certain companions, to whom he gave his first sermon after his enlightenment. Among them figure strange

names like Koṇḍanna and Bappa Bhaddiya.¹ Here the name of Koṇḍanna is most familiar even to this day in the Āndhra area.

In the Andhaka territory, says the commentary on the *Suttanipāṭa*, there are Assaka and Mulaka.² There are Brāhmaṇas in Āndhra calling themselves *Mulaka nāḍu* belonging to the *nāḍu* called Mulaka. This is the area comprising the south-east part of the present Andhra Pradesh with certain parts of Rāyalasīma. Godavari was said to flow through Assaka³ and Mulaka. At the time of the Buddha, Assaka was ruled by the father of prince Sujāta. The capital of Assaka was given as Potala, with its variants Potana, Potalaka, Podana and so on. This is the present day Bōdhan. The *Vimānavattu* commentary has the story of an Assaka king who was ordained by Mahā Kātyāyana.⁴ This Mahā Kātyāyana was one of the foremost of Buddha's disciples. The fact that Buddha sent this important disciple to a part of Āndhra is enough to justify the close relationship between the founder of the new religion and the Āndhra area.

Amarāvati and Dhānyakaṭaka also have been connected with the Buddha. One of the previous births of the Buddha is placed in Amarāvati.⁵ According to a Tibetan tradition we hear that Śākyamuni promulgated the *kālachakra* system in Dhānyakaṭaka.⁶ According to the life of Padmasambhava it was written in Dhānyakaṭaka to propound Tantric Buddhism. The Vajrayāna thinkers tell us that the Buddha turned the third wheel of the law at Dhānyakaṭaka sixteen years after his enlightenment. These traditional accounts cannot be brushed aside as fiction, though the available Pali canon may not mention these activities of the Buddha.

One more evidence comes from the inscriptions obtained at Bhaṭṭiprōlu, dated to pre-Mauryan times.⁷ The first inscription speaks of the preparation of a casket and a box of crystals to deposit some relics of the Buddha. Inscriptions 3,5,6,8 and 9 speak of the various village communities and *nigamas* that have offered caskets, boxes of crystal and boxes of stone. The 10th inscription tells us that even the women of Nandapura participated in this enterprise in memory of the Buddha who had departed. These inscriptions clearly reveal that these preparations were made immediately after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha.

Among the Mahāsāṅghikas there is an important branch comprising the Śāila schools. According to Vasumitra the Śāila schools are *Chaityaśāila*, *Aparaśāila* and *Uttaraśāila*. The Śāila schools comprising these three, and Chaityaka and Lōkkōttaravādins are collectively treated as Andhakas, or Āndhras among the Mahāsāṅghikas. The inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvati along with Yuan Chwang's statements place the *Pūrvaśāila* and *Aparaśāila* at Dhānyakaṭaka. The Mahāchaitya at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was the place of the Chaityakas. The other two are to be sought in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa area and in places near it. Some of the tenets of the Mahāsāṅghikas are available in the inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

From Vasumitra and from the *Kathāvatthu* we learn a good deal about the doctrines of the Āndhra Mahāsāṅghikas.

Many of the texts accepted as authoritative by the Māhāyānist have originated at the hands of the Āndhra Mahāsāṅghikas. From various sources we gather that

Nāgārjuna brought from the dynasty of Muchalinda Nāga, the great texts like the *Prajñāpāramitas*, the *Avatamsaka* and *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*; and that after Nāgārjuna there were no fresh Māhāyāna texts. It is found that these Nāgas were the inhabitants in and about modern Machalipatṭaṇam. Nāgārjuna brought both these texts and Sanskritized them. Putting all these evidences together scholars conclude that Māhāyāna Buddhism originated about the 1st century B.C. in Āndhra country, became a recognised form of Buddhism at the time of Kanishka and spread all over North India under the care of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu.⁸

It is now clear that the basic texts of Māhāyāna, originated in Āndhrasāila schools. The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* and its 24th chapter entitled *Avalōkitēśvara-vikrāvāna-nirdēśa*, *Avatamsaka-sūtra* comprising the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and *Daśabhūmika* and the *Pāramitas* have come from the Nāgas through Nāgārjuna.

With the Mahāsāṅghikas also arose a few Bōdhisatvas, who were located in certain parts of the Āndhra country. The vogue of the very presence of these Bōdhisatvas was so great and compelling that a Brāhmaṇa left his house at Takshaśīla, according to the *Bhīmasēna-jātaka*, and came to the Āndhra country to gain practical experience for becoming a Bōdhisatva.

The first Bōdhisatva is Mañjuśrī and the next is Amitabha whose worship goes back to Saraha, the teacher of Tantric Nāgārjuna. This Saraha or Rāhulabhadra, says Taranatha, 'saw Amitabha in the land of Dhingkota and died with his face turned towards Sukhavatī.'⁹ This Dhingkota is the name of Dhānyakaṭaka. And from the heart of Amitabha there emerged a Vajra. of the Vajrayāna school in all certainty.¹⁰

The third Bōdhisatva is Avalōkitēśvara whose connections with Dhānyakaṭaka and Amitabha are apparent. Avalōkitēśvara is the spiritual son of Amitabha. The fourth Bōdhisatva is Samantabhadra who appears with his ten sublime vows for the first time in the *Avatamsaka*, a text brought forth by Nāgārjuna from the family of Muchalinda Nāga. These four Bōdhisatvas constitute the front rank of the original Bōdhisatvas that are introduced into the new canon by the Mahāsāṅghikas of the Śāila schools.

A historical study of the Buddhist philosophical literature reveals the great contributions made by the ancient Āndhra area to the growth of the various systems of Buddhist thought.

Nāgārjuna, a friend and contemporary of the Śātavāhana king, Yaśāśrī Gautamīputra (166-196 A.D.) was a Buddhist philosopher of towering personality who gave a definite turn to Buddhist philosophy by pronouncing the Mādhyamika school, also known as *śūnyavāda*. A greater dialectician than Nāgārjuna the world has never seen. His great philosophical work, the *Mādhyamika-kārika* or *Mādhyamika-śāstra* consists of 400 *kārikas* in 27 chapters and is the groundwork of his philosophy. It is an epitome of the teachings contained in the Māhāyāna *sūtras* and displays rare insight into the science of logic. As a philosophical thinker, Nāgārjuna has no match in the history of Indian philosophy. T. Watters rightly calls him 'one of the wonders and mysteries of later Buddhism.'

Nāgārjuna was a south Indian Brahmin who became a Buddhist. According to Hiuen Tsang, Nāgārjuna first lived in a monastery near Dakṣiṇa Kōśala which seems to have extended its sway as far as the Krishna. He stayed later in Parvata, identified with Nāgārjunakoṇḍa on the basis of an inscription. This he made into a centre for the propagation of Buddhism.

About 20 treatises available in Chinese translations are generally ascribed to Nāgārjuna. Of these, 18 are mentioned by Bunyiu Nanjio in his catalogue as Nāgārjuna's composition. Mention may be made here of his one more treatise, which he wrote as a letter to his friend Yajñāśrī Gautamīputra. This treatise is known as the *Suhrillēkha* or 'letter to a friend'. Itsing tells us that at the time of his visit to India he saw children committing it to memory and adults making a lifelong study of it.

The age of Nāgārjuna was an age of general and all-round culture. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa stands today as the best monument of that epoch. Parvata, from the heights of which flowed Mahāyāna and Mādhyamika, has brought Āndhra a reputation which will endure as long as a single stone is left of that sacred mount. All the art, philosophy and literature of the Buddhist epoch and the emotional instincts, the critical acumen and power of expression underlying them are a priceless legacy which has entered into the intellectual make-up of the scholars and people of Āndhra. And to this legacy Nāgārjuna has richly contributed.

Āryadēva, the Buddhist zealot, Bhāvavivēka, the skilful dialectician and Diṅnāga who lived sometime near Vēṅgi were some distinguished persons who shed lustre on Āndhradēśa after the time of Nāgārjuna.

The most prominent of Nāgārjuna's disciples was Āryadēva also known as Dēva, Kanadēva and Nīlanētra the fifteenth patriarch. A sound scholar and distinguished writer, he scored many a triumph over the *īrthikas* in Chūhiye, in Kōśala, in Pāṭaliputra and elsewhere and occupied a high place in Nālandā. In his *Sataśāstra*, he refutes Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣhika. He is said to have been fond of preaching the *Andhakavinda-suttānta*.

Itsing places Bhāvavivēka earlier than Diṅnāga and Dharmapāla whereas he is held as a contemporary of Dharmapāla by Hiuen Tsang. He was a follower of Nāgārjuna and lived in a cave south-west of the capital of Dhānyakāṭaka. He is the author of a number of learned works, a skilful dialectician who while externally displaying the Sāṃkhya garb, internally propagated the learning of Nāgārjuna.

A contemporary of Kālidāsa and disciple of Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga of Kāñchī became a distinguished *yōgāchāri* and lived for the most part in Āndhra. He travelled through Mahārāstra and Orissa controverting the *īrthikas*, converted a minister of the king of Orissa and founded sixteen *mahāvihāras*. He was the founder of pure logic, which he distinctly differentiated from religion and philosophy. The *Pramāṇa-samuchchaya*, 'one of the grandest literary monuments', was composed on a solitary will with a stone *stūpa* near Vēṅgi, capital of Āndhra. It was the earliest work on modern pure *nyāya* which developed *pramāṇa* or evidence of knowledge. According to Beal, Diṅnāga had to controvert Īśvara Kṛishṇa, author of the *Sāṃkhya-kārika* in Āndhra. According to Itsing, he was the author of 100 treatises. Some of

his works were rendered into Chinese by Paramārtha in the 6th century A.D. According to Hiuen Tsang Diṅnāga was an Āndhra.

Dharmakīrti was the pupil of another South Indian luminary Dharmapāla of Kāñchi. Undaunted by social ostracism, Dharmakīrti propagated Buddhism, defeated Kumārilabhaṭṭa, the champion of sacrificial religion, controverted the Jains and tried to bring Kalinga into the Buddhist fold.

Several monks apparently of great distinction are mentioned in inscriptions at Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Jaggayyapēṭa and Rāmireddipalle, but nothing more is known of them than their names.

Throughout the Āndhra country, there are remains of Buddhist monuments. These places have yielded precious relics of a glorious civilization that flourished in Āndhra in the earliest period of her history. The largest number of *stūpas*, *chaityas* and *vihāras* has been brought to light in the Guntur and Krishna Districts specially along the banks of Krishna and her tributaries. There are still unexcavated mounds, awaiting the touch of the archaeologists. At Kaḷiṅgapaṭṇam which also contain mounds worthy of excavation, ancient coins are picked up from time to time.

Buddhism was well established in Āndhra in the time of Aśōka owing to its situation midway between Magadha, the home of Buddhism and Ceylon which had already become a stronghold of Buddhism and with which Āndhra had seaborne trade through its big river ports. As the Buddhists were largely recruited from the commercial classes, their wealth was utilized to raise magnificent *stūpas*.

Such *stūpas* were built at several places in the region between the lower valleys of the Krishna and the Godavari. A number of Buddhist sites from Sālihuṇḍam in the north to Chinna Gañjām in the south have been discovered, of which the following are the most important since they possess magnificent *stūpas*.

The *stūpas* at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Guntur District and at Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Jaggayyapēṭa, Gusiwāḍa and Ghaṇṭasāli in the Krishna District were built between the 2nd c.B.C. and the 3rd c.A.D. The earliest Buddhist monument is the Bhaṭṭiprōlu *stūpa* built in the 2nd c.B.C., probably by a Buddhist missionary during the time of a local king named Kubēraka. The claim that it was a *mahāstūpa* enshrining the mortal remains of the Buddha is justified by the discovery of a bone relic inside a crystal casket together with flowers made of gold and pearls.

Nothing was known of the great *stūpa* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa or the hill of Nāgārjuna before it was discovered 25 years ago. It is situated on the south bank of the river Krishna in the Guntur District. It was also a *mahāstūpa*, and was probably built in the time of Aśōka. It was renovated by Śāntiśrī and other ladies of the local Ikshvāku royal family, to which goes the credit of making Buddhism popular in Āndhra in the 3rd century A.D. Now it is in ruins which are greater than those at Amarāvati. Hundreds of remarkable sculptures executed in the Amarāvati style have been found. From the inscriptions on the *Āyaka* pillars, it is evident that Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was of great importance as a centre of Buddhism and enjoyed international fame. Several monasteries were built at this place for the residence

of Buddhist monks of different schools coming from different countries like Ceylon, Kashmir, Gandhara and China.

The people of Āndhra traded in and outside the country and had close contacts with the Roman world of the time. This is proved by the discovery of inscriptions, of sculptures depicting a bearded soldier wearing a tunic and trousers and of various other objects of Roman origin.

Guṇṭapalli, 28 miles north of Ellore railway station and Śāṅkara, a mile east of Anakāpalle, are important for their rock-cut architecture. Other places in the neighbourhood appear to have assumed significance in Buddhist times, as the presence of *stūpas* and other antiquities testify. The most notable among these are Goli, Chezarla, Gummati, Bezavāḍa, Garikapāḍu, Uraiyr, Kuvain, Chinve, and Vidyādhara.

The records dating from 1137 to 1234 A.D. show that the famous Amarāvati *stūpa* was still in good preservation, provisions being made for burning perpetual lamps at the *stūpa* as also in the temple of the Brahmanical creed, by merchants, ladies, and a chief of the Kōṭa family, Kōṭa II and his relations.

In and around Bezavāḍa may be seen today a large number of rock-cut cave temples at Mogalrājapuram, Sitānagaram and Uṇḍavalli. They are all mostly simple in plan and construction. They represent a continuation of the Buddhist art of scooping out cells adopted for the Hindu gods. It is well known that the rock-cut cave temples in and around Bezavāḍa are the earliest surviving Hindu shrines of Āndhra, nothing being known of structural Hindu edifices till a very late date. These have been attributed to the Pallavas and the Viṣṇukunḍins, the former carrying the style into the Tamil country. The *dvārapālas* and the pillars with lotus, vase and lion ornaments remind us of the Buddhist sculptures of Amarāvati.

Karnataka

Buddhism was introduced into Karnataka by Aśōka. But Buddhism did not have strong roots in Karnataka either because it was eclipsed by Jainism or because it did not receive sufficient political support.

Jainism, introduced into this region earlier, had already become well established and continued to be vigorous till the close of the 12th century A.D. and Buddhism seems hardly to have made an impression on the people here. The latter always remained a minor creed during its career in Karnataka.

Karnataka and Kerala find no place in the map showing places of Buddhist interest.¹¹ But there are evidences to show that Buddhism in Karnataka has a history starting from 3rd century B.C. to the 13th c. A.D. Information regarding the sects or branches of Buddhism, prevalent during those centuries is also available.

It is said that during the time of Aśōka in the 3rd c.B.C. the monk Mahādēva was sent to Mahishamaṇḍala and the monk Rakkhita to Banavāsi. Both these places are included in Karnataka. Further evidences are furnished by the five rock edicts of Aśōka in Brahmi characters discovered at Siddhāpura, Brahmagiri and Jaṅṅa

Rāmeśvara in Molakalmur taluk of the Chitradurga District, Koppal in the Raichur District, and recently in N.ṭṭūr and Udaḡoḷa in Bellary District. The Chandravalli inscriptions also make it clear that Buddhism as a sect had votaries in Karnataka during the early centuries of the Christian era. The beautiful images of Buddha dug out in the excavations carried out at Chandravalli also testify to the presence of Buddhism.

The first two centuries of the Christian era witnessed the spread of Buddhism. The early kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty were favourable to the Buddhists and also Bāṇa rulers. An inscription said to have been dated 338 A.D. likens a Bāṇa king to the 'Bōdhisatva' in his great compassion towards animals,¹² thus revealing the popularity of the Bōdhisatva ideal in this part of the country. Another inscription relating to Taḡaṅgāla Mādhava (456-475 A.D.) of the Gaṅga dynasty mentions his land-gift to a Buddhist monastery¹³ and employs expressions like *śāsanabuddhasatva* and *Śākyaśīla*. The exact significance of the latter expression is obscure, although there is current conjecture that it denotes a Buddhist boundary stone. Besides these suggestive inscriptions, the lead coins of the Sātavāhana kings unearthed in Chandravalli bear the figure of a humped bull around which is engraved the legend *Sadakana Kalalāya mahārathisa* referring to some Sātakarṇi ruler, a viceroy of the Āndhras; on the other side of the coins are the unmistakably Buddhist emblems of the Bōdhi tree and cairn. Thus Buddhists had secured royal patronage and acceptance in Karnataka during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Huen Tsang also refers to Banavāsi where there were, according to him, numerous *saighārūmas* of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna persuasions.¹⁴ He also records the presence here of a remarkable sandal-wood statue of Maitrēya, the future Buddha, which was carved by the sage Śruta viṃśatikōṭi. It is beyond doubt that during the 6th-7th centuries, the surrounding areas in Karnataka were under the influence of Buddhist movement. Banavāsi must have been a great centre of Buddhism and it is even possible that further investigations may reveal the presence of Aśōkan edicts in that part. Koppal, where two Aśōkan edicts are found, must have been another centre of Buddhism. Huen Tsang calls it by the name Konkinapulo. During the 10th century there were temples and saints belonging to the four sects (Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Jaina and Bauddha) at Kāḍiyūr which was famous for its temples, saints and worshippers.¹⁵ Sōmēśvara, a poet of the 10th century mentions meat-eating Buddhists in his *Yaśastilaka Champū*. This is an important reference to prove the existence, during the period of Tantric Buddhism of meat-eating which was prescribed as a religious rite. An inscription mentions the Chālukya princess Akkāḍēvī who was cosmopolitan in outlook and who practised religion as revealed in the *āgamas* of Jina, Buddha, Ananta and Rudra.¹⁶ A religious leader of the Kālāmukha Śaiva sect is praised as a great scholar who had the capacity to teach *Sugata-śāstra* or Buddhist religious texts to Buddhists themselves.¹⁷ This is one of the many evidences to show that Buddhism was being studied by non-Buddhists also, possibly to understand and appreciate it. Mention is made of a follower of Tathāgata religion worshipping Tārā in *Sukumāracharite* of Śāntinātha who wrote his *kāvya* in about 1060 A.D. Another Śaiva leader is said to have been 'a sun to darkness which is Buddhism'.¹⁸

Though Buddhism was practically a minor religion, inscriptions often refer to the religious fiction and feuds between Buddhism and other sects. An inscription which has been often referred to is that found in Baḷḷigāve. In that it is said that the Chālukya minister, Rūpabhaṭṭayya built a monastery called Jayanti Prabhā Bauddhavihāra and donated lands to Tārā Bhagavatī, the goddess and to the gods Kēśava, Lōkēśvara and to Buddha. He also donated lands towards the maintenance of *yōgins*, the Buddhist nuns and ascetics. Another inscription of the same period and place mentions Nāgiyakka as donating lands to Tārā Bhagavatī after washing the feet of a Bauddha guru, Jayanti Prabhā Bauddhabaṭṭāra.¹⁹ The image of Tārā at Baḷḷigāve and the inscription found at Dambaḷ²⁰ are of importance. This inscription begins with a prayer to Tārā Bhagavatī. A merchant by name Saṅgarayya śeṭhi of Lakkunḍi along with a few other merchants built a Buddhist monastery at Dambaḷ and made enormous grants to the monastery for worship and to the *bhikṣhus*. Terms like *Buddha*, *Tathāgata*, *vihāra* and *baudhahasāna* are unmistakable evidences of the inscription being a Buddhist one. These two inscriptions, at Baḷḷigāve and Dambaḷ are very important in that they help us to determine the nature of Buddhism during the centuries preceding and following the 11th century. It is mentioned in another inscription that there were temples dedicated to Śāṅkara, Jina and to Buddha at Tērdāḷ.²¹ The *grāma vṛiddhas* or the village headmen of that place were following the tenets of all the four religions among which Buddhism was one. In an inscription at Kaidāḷ²² it is said that Śiva, Brahma, Buddha and Viṣṇu are just different names of the one god who is *sakalātman*. According to *Vikramārjuna-vijaya*, a Kannada work of the 10th century, the story of Nāgānanda took place near Gōkarṇa in western Karnataka.²³ Even now the places around Gōkarṇa are associated with the events of that story. Allama, a Śaiva devotee in one of his sayings, decries some tantric practices and even mentions a *kalpa* of Vajri and Amari. This Vajri or Vājra is one of the goddesses whom followers of Vijrayāna Buddhism worshipped.²⁴ Another important discovery in Karnataka pertaining to Buddhism was the image of Tārā at Kōḷivāḍ in northern Karnataka.²⁵ This is an image belonging to the 13th century with an inscription in Sanskrit. Earlier, about 1098 A.D. a splendid image of Tārā was caused to be made by a devout lady, Bappure Nāgiyakka, described as *sāvāsī* of the Bauddhālaya, wife of Hampacheṭṭi of Baḷḷigāve.²⁶ It is interesting to note how the cult of goddess Tārā as associated with Avalōkiteśvara developed in and around Karnataka, bearing affinity to a similar development in distant Bengal, Nepal and Tibet. They were expressions akin to each other of the crystallisation of the Vijrayāna sect of Buddhism. There were in Karnataka several shrines to Tārā, the most celebrated being the one in Dambaḷ in Dharwar and another at Kōḷivāḍ. Tārā is characterised in the Dambaḷ inscription as wisdom, the giver of prosperity to Buddha, (*Buddhasya vibhūtida*), enlightenment itself (*bōdhi*), and the indweller of the Tathāgata's heart. She is Buddhist in ideology, but entirely Hinduised in representation.

In one of the caves of Bādāmi there is an unfinished figure of Padmapāṇi. In the Bādāmi hill there are a number of Buddhist caves containing letters in the Gupta script. One of the pillars of the famous Kārle caves near Lōnāvāja is endowed by

a merchant from Vaijayanti, i.e., Banavāsi. At Lōkāpur, in Bijapur District is a temple dedicated to Lōkēśvara. The deity is Śiva but originally it was probably a Buddhist deity. There are in this part a number of people who bear the name of Lōkappa, the name of their tutelary deity being Lōkēśvara. Beyond Belgaum and in Goa there is sufficient evidence to show that Buddhism was prevalent in the area. The Sātavāhanas, Mauryas, Chālukyas and Kalachuris had leanings towards Buddhism. At Kolhapur, in Maharashtra a large number of Sātavāhana lead coins bearing the names of śrī Puṣumāvi and Gautamīputra are found. Havell and Fergusson are of the opinion that the famous Aihole temple called the Durgā temple resembles a Buddhist shrine in its architecture.

In the Tuḷu region, Buddhist faith lingered for sometime. Kadarikā (Kadri) near Mangalore was a Buddhist stronghold even as late as the 10th century. The famous Mañjunātha of Dharmasthala is said to be a Hinduised version of the Buddhist Mañjuśrī; it is significant that this Mañjunātha originally belonged to Kadarika. In the west coast, however, Buddhism seems to have come down upto Mangalore where a monastery was established at Kadri hills.

Inscriptions supply a very clear evidence which enables us to have a rough idea of the schools of Buddhism which prevailed in Karnataka. In the history of Buddhism in India there were three branches, one succeeding the other—the Hīnayāna, the Mahāyāna and the Vajrayāna. The difference between Hīnayānists and Mahāyānists is this, that the former cherish profound veneration for the personality of the historic Buddha, his teachings and the order he founded, whereas the latter regard him as one of many Buddhas who have appeared in many universes, all being manifestations of one primordial Buddha nature. The religious texts of the former are in Pali and the latter in Sanskrit. Vajrayānism abounds in gods and goddesses. Its *vajrasatva* is equivalent to the *parabrahman* of the Hindus. Out of the five *guṇas* of this *vajrasatva* rose five *dhyaṇibuddhas*—*Vairocana*, *Ratnasambhava*, *Amitabha*, *Amoghasiddhi* and *Aksobhya* and each has a female attendant—*śakti*. They are *Vajradhārēśvari*, *Lōchani*, *Māmaki*, *Pandara* and *Śrīya Tārā*. One who worships these gods as prescribed in the texts becomes a *vajrasatva*.

Karnataka felt the impact of all these three branches of Buddhism in successive periods. The religion which prevailed during Aśōka's reign must have been Hīnayāna. In the early centuries of the Christian era we see the mention of Bōdhisatva in the copper-plates of Karnataka. We have earlier seen that a copper-plate grant, said to have been dated 338 A.D., compares a king to Bōdhisatva who is kind towards all. Another makes obeisance to Bōdhisatva, a third to *nishkāraṇavatsala Buddha*.²⁷ This points to the fact that it was Mahāyānism which prevailed here during the 4-5th centuries A.D. It was perhaps during the 7th century that Nāgārjuna was responsible for the spread of Tantric Buddhism in the south. Though no inscription mentions the term *Vajrayāna*, the presence of this branch of Buddhism can be inferred from the importance attached to the worship of Tārā noted above. Earlier, it was the Hīnayāna branch that prevailed from about the 3rd century B.C. to the end of the 3rd century A.D. whereafter Mahāyāna came on the scene and was

in turn replaced by a ritualistic and esoteric form of Buddhism, the Vajrayāna. This form of Buddhism might have prevailed till the end of the 13th century.

Buddhism disappeared altogether from Karnataka owing to the advent of Advaitism, the prevalence of Jainism, and the emergence of several minor sects, mostly devotional in character, all combining to blow out the flickering light of Buddhism.

Kerala

Very little is known about Buddhism in Kerala. In one of his edicts Aśoka mentions Kerala as one of the countries neighbouring his dominions, whereto he had sent missionaries to propagate Buddhism.

According to a version of the *Kēraḷōtpatti*, Bāṇa, a predecessor of Chēramān, the last ruler of Malabar, is said to have been converted to Buddhism by certain monks who had come from China. It is also said that Brahmins found it difficult to get rid of him. After a great struggle, the king was dethroned and the Buddhists had no voice and were expelled from the country.

According to the Traveller's Dairy of the Chinese pilgrim, Mr. Talwoys Wheeler observes, "Hiuen Tsang had preceeded to Conjeevaram along the eastern coast. On his return route he crossed the peninsula to the western coast, known as the Malbar side; and then turned towards the north through Travancore and Malbar." He states that the city was already more Brahmanical than Buddhist. Buddhism was in a state of decay. He found most of the monasteries in ruins, while there were hundreds of flourishing temples of Brahmins.²⁸ Evidently Brahmanism was putting forth all its might in ousting Buddhism from south India. During his time, about the middle of the 8th century occurred the confutation of the Buddhists of Malabar by Kumārila-bhaṭṭa and its consequent persecution is noticed briefly in the *Kēraḷōtpatti*.²⁹ The great opponent of the Buddhists, the great Vedantist Śaṅkara, himself a native of Malabar and a *nambūdiri* Brahmin, lived about the time of the last king Perumāḷ, and began his triumphant debates with the Buddhist priests in Malabar. Through his instrumentality, Brahmins were strong and able to expel Buddhism from India.

Tamilnadu

The spread of Buddhism in Tamilnadu is attested by the inscription of Aśoka in which he claims to have sent missions to four Tamil countries for preaching the *dharma* and for establishing hospitals for men and animals. *Maṇimēkhalai*, one of the five famous epics refers to the Buddhist *chatty* erected by Kijji, a Chōḷa prince.

There were Buddhist settlements of considerable proportions in Negapattam on the east coast and in Śrīmūlavāsam on the west. Negapatam was the first port of call for travellers to India from Malaya and Indonesia, and a king of the Sumatran empire of Śrīvijaya erected a large monastery there (1000 A.D.) for the use of his subjects when they visited South India. A copper-plate inscription of the 11th century states that the Chōḷa king, Rājaraḷa, gave the village of Ānaimaṅgalam for the

maintenance of a shrine of the Buddha in the Cūdāmaṇivarma-vihāra which the Śailendra king, Māravijayōttuṅavarman of Śrīvijaya and Kaṭaha of Indonesia, had erected at Negapatam. In the epilogue of his commentary on the *Nēti prakaraṇa*, Dharmapāla mentions this place and the *Dharmāsōka-vihāra* in it, where he composed this commentary. The Vaishṇava legends have preserved a curious story of Tirumaṅgai-ālvār having despoiled the Bauddha *vihāra* of Negapatam of a solid golden image of the Buddha in order to find the funds required for building the great Raṅganātha temple at Śīraṅgam; possibly this legend only means that at the time the lives of the Ālvārs were put together, in the 12th century A.D.³⁰ Negapatam was a strong centre of Buddhism which attracted popular attention by its wealth and influence. Kāñchī, one of the seven most ancient and famous cities of India, was a great seat of learning where Vedic and non-Vedic schools such as Jaina and Bauddha, existed side by side. That all these religions were equally treated by the ancient kings may be inferred from the fact that the early Pallava rulers of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam assumed such names as Buddhavarman, Skandavarman and Paramēśvaravarman names which perhaps indicated the sects to which they individually belonged.

Yuan Chwang states that when he visited Kāñchī, this country, frequently visited by the Buddha, had more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with 10,000 brethren all of the *sthavira* school. Aśōka had erected topes at the various spots where the Buddha had preached and admitted members into his order. Kāñchī was the birth place of Dharmapāla Pusa, the eldest son of the high official of the city, and a Hīnayānist monk who appears to have been converted to Mahāyānism when he went to north India. He was a professor in the famous University of Nalanda.

Not far from the south of the capital was a large monastery which was a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country, with an Aśōka tope above 100 ft. high where the Buddha had once defeated *tīrthakas* by preaching and had received many into his communion. Near by were traces of a sitting place and exercise walk of the four past Buddhas. Thus Kāñchī not only had a large Buddha population but also many places of public worship in the 7th century.

That the Bauddhas were in existence in Kāñchī in the days of the Śaiva saint Tirujñānasambandha, i.e., in the middle of the 7th century appears to be certain; for he refers to them by the names of Bōdhiyār, as also by the description of their monks as the weavers of mats for their garments.

A large number of accounts both historical and legendary, exist in proof of the predominance of the Buddha influence and the existence of Bauddha places and objects of worship in Kāñchī, even so late as the 9th century.

Kāñchī, with its Rājavihāra and its hundred monasteries, was a famous stronghold of Buddhism in the South. Five Buddha images have been found in and around the Kāmākshi temple. There is also a theory that Kāmākshi was originally a temple of Tārā and was converted into a Hindu temple in later times.

The great logicians and divines like Diṅnāga, Dharmapāla and Dharmakīrti hailed from Kāñchī and its neighbourhood. Buddhists presented a formidable challenge to the Jains. Dharmakīrti, by his ability and influence came in for bitter

criticism at the hands of the Jaina enthusiasts as well as of the orthodox thinkers led by Śaṅkara. Both the groups of opposition had a tough task in breaking the growing influence of Buddhist logic in this region. Ultimately, however, they emerged victorious in vanquishing Buddhism. The famous Pali commentator Buddhaghōṣa, has mentioned in his commentary, the *Maṇḍarathapūraṇi* that he wrote it at the request of the venerable Jōtipāla who was staying with him at Kāñchī.

Buddhist writers of Tamil continued to be important till the 14th century. The presence of Buddhism in the Chōḷa kingdom, in the reign Vīrarājendra, and the influence of Buddhist scholarship on Tamil literature, are attested by the *Vīrasōḷiyan*, a curious work on Tamil grammar conceived on ultra-Sanskritic lines by Buddhāmītra, who calls himself chieftain of Ponperri, Tanjore District. It is no doubt that Kāñchī continued to be a great centre of Buddhist learning and active till almost the close of the 14th century. But the epigraphs and literature alike produce the impression that in the 10th and 11th centuries Buddhism was less popular in the Tamil country, and it seems probable that in the religious controversies of the preceding age, Buddhism suffered more damage and lost its hold on the people of the country more completely.

Buddhism suffered a steady decline in South India partly by the growing importance of Jainism, but mainly due to the rise of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

Buddhism was not a well established religion in South India; together with it, the growth of Jainism, proved a serious bar to the progress of Buddhism. The causes which contributed to its downfall in other parts of India soon induced its practical disappearance in it. Whether there is any truth in the story told by Wilson that Akalaṅka, a Jaina controversialist, finally confuted the Buddhists in arguments at the court of Himaśīlata at Kāñchī, had procured their expulsion to Ceylon in 788 A.D. or not, there is no doubt that they ceased to be of any practical importance generally from about the 8th century in South India.

From its beginning, Buddhism was surrounded by other religious beliefs and practices—the old Vedic ritualism and Brahmanism, ascetic Jainism and later Hinduism with its complex variety of deities and cults. Though it had some influence on these as it spread, it never really predominated except where rulers gave it special patronage. Its rival continued to be active and tenacious. With the passing of time, Mahāyāna Buddhism, in constant contact with Hindu cults, gradually absorbed elements and tendencies from them until its distinguishing marks grew dim. Chinese pilgrims travelling to India between 629 A.D. and 695 A.D. report the decline of monasteries, the presence of Hindu temples near deserted Buddhist sites, close connection of the Hindus with Buddhist temples. In the 8th and 9th centuries masterful dialecticians Kumāṛila and Śaṅkara, gave strong doctrinal competition to Buddhist teachers, while organised Śaiva ascetics opposed Buddhist monastic groups. With the establishment of Muslim power in 1193 A.D. Buddhism practically disappeared from its old home India. In some parts of the country, it lingered on in corrupted forms, eventually becoming a subsidiary sect under Hinduism, which accepted Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. A factor marking the decline from the 7th

century onward was the annihilation of a system of esoteric beliefs and practices known as Tantrism.

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JAINISM IN SOUTH INDIA

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JAINISM IS NOT MERELY a set of principles and code of conduct, but a way of life. Jaina *Weltanschauung* is not pessimistic as many have suggested, but realistic and pragmatic, in fact melioristic. As a religion, it is a protest against the ritualistic practices culminating in pseudo-spiritualism. It denies the authority of the Vēdas and the orthodox traditions of Hinduism. As a philosophy it is realistic and pluralistic. It is empiricist in outlook. It bases its structure of philosophy on the analyses of experience.

When Jainism originated it is difficult to say. Jaina tradition says that Jaina religion is eternal and it is perennial, though preached successively by the prophets called the *ṭīrthaṅkaras* in the different cycles of time. In this cycle of time, the first prophet who preached Jaina religion was Rishabha, the first *ṭīrthaṅkara*, who lived thousands of years ago. The last and the twenty fourth *ṭīrthaṅkara* was Vardhamāna Mahāvīra who was a senior contemporary of Gautama, the Buddha. Apart from the Jaina tradition, it has now been established that Jainism is a pre-Aryan religion belonging to the Śramaṇa current of thought, which prevailed even before Pārśva and Mahāvīra, the last two *ṭīrthaṅkaras*. Yajur-vēda mentions Rishabha, Ajita and Arishtanēmi *ṭīrthaṅkaras*. Bhāgavata-purāṇa endorses the view that Rishabha was the founder of Jainism. Jacobi has traced Jainism to the early primitive currents of metaphysical speculation.¹ Zimmer shows that Jainism does not derive from the Brahman-Aryan sources, but reflects the cosmology and anthropology of a much older, pre-Aryan upper class of North-eastern India, being rooted in the same sub-soil of archaic metaphysical speculation as Yōga, Sāṅkhya and Buddhism, the other non-Vedic Indian systems. The long series of 'these semi mythological figures of other *ṭīrthaṅkaras*, stretching back, period beyond period, each illuminating the world according to the requirements of the age yet in strict adherence to the doctrine, points to the belief that the Jaina religion is eternal'.²

It is equally difficult to determine the antiquity of the introduction of Jainism in South India. It is sometimes maintained that Jainism was prevailing in South India much before the historic migration of Bhadrabāhu to the south upto Śravaṇa-beḷagoḷa, along with Chandragupta Maurya, and that Mahāvīra himself had travelled through South India. Jaina views and practices were to be found in the South even at the time of the earlier two *ṭīrthaṅkaras*, Nēmi and Pārśva. It is held that Jainism must have been popular in the south before the migration of Bhadrabāhu because: (i) Bhadrabāhu must have been confident of good reception in the South by the Jainas already living there; (ii) the Buddhist work *Mahāvamsa* refers to the presence of the Jainas in Ceylon, in the 4th century B.C. They must have travelled through South India. This suggests that Jainism was prevailing in the south prior to this time; and (iii) the famous Tamil work like *Tirukkural* and *Tōlkāppiyam* have been very much

influenced by the Jaina thought. It is therefore, possible to say that Jainism was an important influence in the south prior to Bhadrabāhu-Chandragupta tradition.

However, we must start with the Bhadrabāhu-Chandragupta tradition. It appears that Jainism influenced the life of the people in South India through the missionary activities which swept down continually wave after wave, at different times and in different directions. The intellectual climate was favourable for receiving currents of thought, as there must have been devout Jaina laity in the area.

We may consider the influence of Jainism in the South from three aspects: (i) political influence and royal patronage; (ii) its contribution to literature and art; and (iii) its influence on the life and philosophy of the people of this area. The impact of Jainism on the life and philosophy of the people in South India has been distinctly felt in Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu and specially in Karnataka. It would, therefore, be necessary to take a synoptic view of its influence in these areas on the life, literature and the development of thought of the people.

Andhra Pradesh

The origin of the influence of Jainism in Andhra Pradesh may be traced to the 6th century B.C. during the lifetime of Mahāvīra himself 'who seems to have laid its foundations by preaching his doctrine in the region of Kalinga which comprises the northern frontiers of the Andhra country.'³ Soon after this, Buddhism must have entered the country and there are evidences to show that there were conflicts between the two religious thoughts. It is also mentioned that a Jaina king Yaśōdhara of Ikshavāku lineage ruled the kingdom of Aṅga in the age of the *tīrthaṅkara* Vasupūjya. He went to Vēṅgimaṇḍala and, being attracted by the beauty of the place, he settled down in that place and founded the city of Pratipālapura. This is also a reference to the same *ṛishinivāsa* given to the hill called Śrīparvata or Śrīśaila. *Dharmāmṛta* of Nayasēna gives a story of king Dhanada. Dhanada of Ikshvāku lineage was ruling the Vēṅgimaṇḍala from his capital Pratipālapura. His wife Kamalaśrī was a Buddhist and was converted to the Jaina faith by persuasion. But his father-in-law, Saṅgaśrī was first converted to Jainism under the influence of the miraculous vision of the sages who had attained perfection by following the Jaina faith. Later, Saṅgaśrī got converted to Buddhism. He denied in the open court of his son-in-law that he had not seen the sages at all. Because of this falsehood, a curse descended upon him and he was blinded and the subsequent seven generations were born blind. On account of this the country is known as Andha-vishaya.

In the conflict between Buddhism and Jainism, the former was gaining ground. But at the time of Samprati, the grandson of Aśōka, Jainism tried to retrieve the lost ground. He sent missionaries to propagate the Jaina faith in the non-Aryan countries like Andhra and Dramila.⁴ Later, Sātavāhanas were the patrons of Jainism. We may, here, mention the episodes of Āchārya Simhanandi to explain the influence of Jainism in Andhra Pradesh, although it particularly refers to the Karnataka region. Two princes of the Ikshvāku family, Daḍiga and Mādhava, were trained by Āchārya Simhanandi in the science of ruling. This was in the town of Pērūr in Andhra

Pradesh. They established the kingdom in Karnataka, and were the founders of Gaṅga dynasty. And the establishment of a kingdom in Karnataka was possible due to favourable political climate, both in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Pēṛūr was called Gaṅga Pēṛūr on account of its association with the founding of the Gaṅga dynasty and it seems to have been an important centre of Jainism. We understand that king Khāravēla was a powerful champion of Jaina religion. He installed the Jaina image and built *basadis* on the Kumari hill. In the seventh century the credit of popularising Jainism goes to the Eastern Chālukyas. Some of the Chālukya kings were Jains by faith. Ayyana Mahādēvī, the queen of Viṣṇuvardhana III renewed an earlier grant to a village to the Jaina temple, at Vijayavāḍa. The king Vijayāditya IV gave numerous grants for the propagation of Jaina faith. Other minor rulers and chiefs gave protection and patronage to Jaina religion.⁵

We may therefore, say that Jainism influenced Andhra Pradesh much earlier than Buddhism the impact of which proved a powerful setback for the development of Jaina faith. However, Jainism wielded considerable influence on the life and thought of the people of Andhra Pradesh. Royal patronage was bountiful and the participation of the public in the practice and propagation of the religion was immense.

Tamilnadu

The influence of Jainism on the life of the people of Tamilnadu was clearly great. It is difficult to say how and when Jainism entered Tamilnadu. Its influence on this land must have come from both Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The Prevalence of Jainism in Ceylon in the 4th century B.C. must have been due to its journey from Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu. There is also evidence to show that Jainism travelled from Karnataka to Tamilnadu. In the *Rājāvaḷi-kathe* there is a description that Bhadrabāhu called his disciple Viśākhachārya to go to the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries for the propagation of *dharma*. It appears that the people in these countries were familiar with Jaina religion. There were already people practising Jainism. Considering the references found in the *Mahāvamśa*, a Buddhist chronicle of the 5th century A.D. it appears that Jainism was an important influence in the 4th century B.C. and for much longer time Buddhism must have gained strength after the missionary activities started at the time of Aśōka and later. There were strongholds of Jainism before the advent of Buddhism in this area. For instance, in the Kāñchī region and Mailāpur, a part of modern Madras city, Jaina influence was great during the reign of Pallava Mahēndravarmān I in the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. Tirupparuttikkunṅam was an important centre of Jaina influence. Kāñchī was called Jaina Kāñchī. Pañchapāṇḍavāmalai near Arcot and Tirumalai near Pōḷūr were great centres of Jainism. Chōḷa kings gave much patronage to Jaina religion. The Yakshi cult was very much prevalent at that time. This is evident from the records that the Pallava king Nandivarman installed the image of Panniyakkiyār, the *yakshi* of Mahāvīra along with the image of the preceptor Nāganānandi. Madurai region is replete with records to show that it was an important centre of Jaina influence.

However, the credit for the propagation and influence of Jainism in the Tamil country goes to the intellectual and missionary activities of some eminent *āchāryas* like Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka, Kanakasēna and Guṇanandi. It has been suggested that Āchārya Samantabhadra went to Pāṭaliputra, Mālava, Ṭhakka and Kāñchīpura. It was in the 3rd century that Jainism became prominent in the Kāñchīpura region, and through the efforts of Samantabhadra, Jainism established itself as a great religion as against the Buddhist and other Vedic faiths in this area. The personality of Samantabhadra was a great influence on the intellectuals and the people in the Tamil region. Similarly the work and personality of Akalaṅka brought great credit and impetus to the spread of Jainism in this region. Akalaṅka was associated with the Pallava king Himaśīta in the 8th century A.D. It is difficult to identify the king Himaśīta.

The next phase of the development of Jainism was possible through the missionary activity of sage Vajranandi. He made Jainism popular in this area. He established the Draviḍa-saṅgha in Madurai. This was an important step in the propagation and establishment of the Jaina faith in this region. Owing to the continued popularity of Jainism in this area for about four centuries, it was possible to establish the Draviḍa-saṅgha, although the first step in this direction was taken earlier by the sage Vidyānandi by setting up the Draviḍa-gaṇa. There is ample evidence to show that Jainism was a great influence in the Tamil country even up to the 13th century A.D. Tagaḍūr in the Salem District was a Jaina stronghold in the 9th century. Vilakapattanam in the North Arcot District was a Jaina locality in the 10th century, and Tirumalai a Jaina centre in the 11th century. During the reign of king Rājārāja III, the grant of 'land and tank' was made by the residents of the *dēvadāna* village of Sāttamaṅgalam and those living in the *paḷlichchandam* (*basadi*) of the same village.⁶

Karnataka

The Kuppattūr inscription has this to say about the influence of Jainism on this land. "Among the many beautiful countries it contained, an abode of the Jina-dharma, a mine of good discipline, like the dwelling of Padmāsana (Brahma), having acquired great fame, the birthplace of learning and wealth, the home of unequalled, splendid earnestness thus distinguished in many ways was the lovely Karnāṭaka country".⁷

Exactly when Jainism came to Karnataka it is difficult to say. We have earlier referred to the Jaina tradition that Mahāvīra came down to the south for the propagation of the teachings. According to *Jīvandharacharite* the land was ruled by Jīvandhara in the 6th century B.C. who was himself a Jaina. He met Mahāvīra when he came down to the south. Mahāvīra gave *dīkshā* to him and the king became an ascetic.⁸ Apart from this tradition it is fairly certain that Jainism entered Karnataka much before the Christian era. The Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta tradition is very much significant in determining the origin and the extent of the influence of Jainism in Karnataka. Bhadrabāhusvāmi, the last of the *śrutakēvalins* reached Karnataka

by stages, a country filled with happy people. He was accompanied by Chandragupta, the Maurya. Bhadrabāhu practised *sallākhana* on the mount Chandragiri. Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, was himself a Jaina in his earlier days.⁹

For nearly 12 years, from the 2nd century A.D. to the 13th century, Jainism played an important part in the social and political life of the people in this part of the country. It influenced the lives of the princes and people alike. As seen above, sometime in the 3rd century A.D. the two princes of the Gaṅga family, initiated by Āchārya Simhanandi in the *syādvāda* and Koṅguṇivarma I established the Gaṅga dynasty with the blessings of that *āchārya*. At that time there was popular support and there appears to be a large Jaina population already living in that area. The Gaṅga kings, except in a few cases, gave royal patronage for a long time after Koṅguṇivarma I. Avinīta (470-530 A.D.) and Durvinīta (530-580 A.D.) were devout Jains. Āchārya Pūjyapāda was their teacher. King Śivamāra II built a *basadi* on the smaller hill at Śravaṇabelagoḷa.

Jainism later gained the royal patronage and benevolence also of the Kadambas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. Kadamba Kakutsthavarman gave to Śrutakīrti the field called *badovarakshetra* which belonged to the holy Arhats. Harivarma continued the tradition and made generous donations for the worship of Jnendra and for the maintenance of the devotees.

The Chālukyas of Bādāmi also patronised the Jainas by giving gifts of land to Jaina temples. Ravikīrti, the famous Jaina poet, received high honour from Pulakeśi II. Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya gave liberal donations to Jaina temples. The sculptures and paintings at Ellōra and Ajanta were copied in the caves of Bādāmi for depicting the Jaina and Hindu deities.

Jainism received patronage under Rāshtrakūṭa Nripatunga who was himself a Jaina. Jainism did not suffer during the Rāshtrakūṭa period although there was, at a later stage, revival of Hindu influence. This was because the people were used to Jaina practices and Jainism was popular among them, and also because some Rāshtrakūṭa generals were also Jainas. Similarly the influence of eminent poets like Pampa and philosophers like Samantabhadra and Akalaṅka was immense. People did not feel any difference between Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. Any one could follow a religion and faith of his choice. The Rāshtrakūṭa period witnessed the production of Jaina philosophical literature.¹⁰

During the Hoysaḷa period also, Jainism was an influential force. Most of the Hoysaḷa kings were Jainas. Jainism was a living faith for many classes of people, from the peasants to the princes. Saḷa, the founder of the Hoysaḷa kingdom had the blessings of the Jaina preceptor Vardhamānamuni. The celebrated king Viṣṇuvardhana is said to have changed his faith under the influence of Rāmānujachārya. Yet he continued to be a benevolent patron of Jainism. The queen Śāntalādevī was a devout Jaina who made liberal donations to the construction of Jaina temples. Instances are not wanting among the royal families in Karnataka where the king professed one faith and the queen another. There is ample evidence to show that there was perfect toleration between the different faiths in the country.

The same tradition of toleration continued under the rulers of Vijayanagara. During the period of Bukkarāya I (1368 A.D.), a dispute arose between Jainas and Śīvaishṇavas regarding some injustice done to the Jainas. Bukkarāya while amicably solving the same declared that the Vaishṇavas and Jainas are one body and must not be viewed as different.¹¹ Bukkarāya II also gave liberal grants to Jaina temples. Other Vijayanagara rulers patronised Jainism to the same extent.

Even the feudatory chiefs like the Śīlāhāras of Kolhapur and Raṭṭas of Saundatti, patronised Jainism. Jainism wielded a great influence in the west coast in South Kanara District. The history of Karnataka is marked by perfect toleration and mutual respect among different religions. The influence of Jainism had reached to the west coast upto Goa. However, the decline of Jaina influence started after a conflict between the rulers of Ikkēri and of Bidnūr with the rulers of Bhaṭkaḷa. Out of the sixty eight *basadis* at Bhaṭkaḷa only two remained.¹²

II

Having surveyed the extent of the influence of Jainism on the political life of the people with special reference to the royal patronage and public participation, we may now turn to the influence of Jaina faith on literature and art. Jainism can claim to have contributed immensely to the literature and art of the people in the south. The Jaina teachers were 'intellectual custodians', very much respected by the princes and people alike. They cultivated the regional languages of Telugu, Tamil and Kannada in which they wrote great works of permanent value in literature. Purism was an important characteristic of their compositions. The theme was generally a religious story with the sole aim of presenting the Jaina tenets to the people. The tenets of Jaina faith, specially the *anēkānta* attitude and ethical doctrines permeated the writings of the Jaina scholars. The Jainas gave profundity of thought and elegance of style to the renowned classics in Kannada, Tamil and Telugu. *Champū-kāvya* is their special contribution to Kannada literature and through it to Telugu. The impact of Jainism on Telugu was to be seen in the earlier literature. Later, when the Brahminical faith overpowered Jainism, religious works must have either perished or been desecrated. There must have been a period of Jaina literature during the 9th and 10th centuries. This can be seen by the study of later Telugu literature. Nannaya-bhaṭṭa must have been influenced by the earlier Jaina works, although contrary to the convention of his age, he did not specifically refer to the predecessors in his work. This may be due to the fact they were Jainas by persuasion.¹³ The Kannada poets like Pampa and Nāgavaiṃa must have influenced him in his style of using the *Champū* form. His *Mahābhārata* very much bears the impact of *Champū* style. However, Telugu literature is devoid of distinct traces of the impact of the Jaina influence, while Tamil and Kannada literature have been profoundly influenced by the Jaina faith.

Tamil literature has been very much influenced by the activities of the literary academy, the *Śaṅgam*, in the 1st century A.D. Jaina writers from the *saṅgha* and

gana made substantial contribution to the development of Tamil literature. Famous works like *Tōlkāppiyam*, the earliest extant work on Tamil grammar and other early compositions like *Kuraḷ*, *Śilappadikāram* and *Nālaḷiyār* bear the impact of Jaina influence. *Śilappadikāram*, *Valaiyapati* and *Chintāmaṇi* are attributed to Jaina writers who enriched Tamil literature by their works on grammar, prosody and didactics. A large number of Jaina works appear to have been destroyed as a consequence of the revival. Hence, Tamil literary works on Jainism are fewer than those in Kannada. However, we find prominent Jaina influence in the epic *Śilappadikāram*. Some maintain that the author Iṅgaḍo Aḍigaḷ was a Jaina by faith, although there is no agreement among the scholars on this point. Similarly, the *Kuraḷ* has presented a problem for the scholars in determining its authorship. It contains many references to Jaina thought.¹⁴ According to Jaina tradition, Ēlāchārya was the author of the *Kuraḷ* and Ēlācārya has been identified with Kundakundāchārya, although it is difficult to say whether Kundakundāchārya was ever called Ēlāchārya. However, it has been rightly opined that Jains gave to the Tamil people their didactic classics like the *Kuraḷ*, major *kāvyas* like *Nīlakēśi*, *Perumkathai* or *Bṛihadkathā* and *Chintāmaṇi*, minor *kāvyas* like *Nāgakumārakāvya*, *Chūḷāmaṇi* and quite a number of other works as well.¹⁵

The story depicted in the *Śilappadikāram* and the presentation of the glimpses of the Jaina doctrine in the background of the pantheon of gods assert themselves against the vigorous onslaught of Hindu thought in the Jaina *dharma*. Kōvalan, the son of a merchant lost all his property owing to his infatuation for a dancing girl. He and his wife Kannagi left the place and went to Madura. A Jaina nun called Kuvanti escorted them to the place and gave all the assistance necessary. At Madura he wanted to sell one of the anklets of his wife. He approached a merchant who betrayed him by complaining to the king that Kōvalan had stolen the anklet of the queen although, the real thief was the merchant himself. Without giving careful thought to the various aspects of the complaint given by the merchant, the king in a hurry, sentenced Kōvalan to death. He was beheaded. Hearing of the tragic death of her husband, Kannagi went to the king, produced the other anklet of hers before the king and proved the innocence of her husband, and the treachery of the merchant. The king was filled with remorse. But it was too late. The king, shocked by his own injustice caused to the young couple, died. The sins of injustice visited the city of Madura. The city was consumed by flames. This is the story of *Śilappadikāram*. The flashes of Jaina ethical doctrines have been interspersed in the narration of the story. This contains frequent references to the worship of the Hindu gods. This was probably meant to regain the losing prestige of Jaina *dharma* and to popularise it among the masses. We have just mentioned it in order to emphasise the continuing influence of the Jaina faith amidst the vicissitudes of its history in Tamilnadu.

The contribution of Jainism to Kannada literature is immense. Jainism was an inspiration to the writers in Sanskrit and Prakrit as well as in Kannada.

The greatest among the *āchāryas* in Karnataka is Kundakundāchārya who must have lived in the 1st century B.C. He was the earliest and the best known among

the Jaina writers in the south. His writings have been known for their philosophical thought and literary excellence. Some of his books like (i) *Pañchāstikāyasāra* (ii) *Pravachanasāra* (iii) *Samayasāra* and (iv) *Niyamasāra* are philosophical classics.

The next name in the list of prominent writers is that of Umāsvāti or Umāsvāmi who is said to have lived in the 1st century A.D. He was a disciple of Kundakundāchārya. The most celebrated work of his *Tattvārthadhigama-sūtra* is the Jaina Bible. It has many commentaries in the south; chief among them are by Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Akaṣaṇka, Vidyānanda and Prabhāchandra.

Samantabhadra is the next important writer. His date cannot be easily fixed; it appears that he flourished in the 5th or 6th century A.D.¹⁶ There is a good deal of legendary information about the life of Āchārya Samantabhadra. He was one of the few whose works have stood the test of time and are read even today. His *Āptamīmāṃsā* and *Ratnakaraṇḍaka-śrāvakaṇḍakā* are classics. They are characterised by deep devotion which was an important trait in the character of Samantabhadra. *Ratnakaraṇḍaka* is an authoritative work on the Jaina social ethics.

After Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda and Akaṣaṇka are great names. Pūjyapāda distinguished himself by his study of grammar. Akaṣaṇka was a great logician. Dēvanandi was another name of Pūjyapāda.¹⁷ His work on grammar *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* is famous. *Pañchavastuka*, the best commentary on Jainendra, is also supposed to be the work of Pūjyapāda. Besides grammatical works Pūjyapāda wrote a treatise on medicine. His work *Sarvārthasiddhi* is an elaborate commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra* of Umāsvāti. Dr. Hiralal says that he must have lived in the 6th century A.D. Akaṣaṇka was a great logician. Tradition says he was the son of Śubhatuṅga, king of Mānyakhēṭa, who is identified with Kṛishṇa I, the Rāshṭrakūṭa, who reigned during the latter half of the 8th century A.D. He is said to have challenged the Buddhists at the court of king Hastimāla of Kāñchī for a discussion. His most famous works *Tattvārtha-vārtika-vyākhyāṇakāra* which is a commentary on *Tattvārthasūtra*, *Ashṭasāti* and *Ashṭasahasri* are well-known. It appears he hailed from Śravaṇabelagoḷa.¹⁸

Among the later successors of Akaṣaṇka, Prabhāchandra is famous. He is the author of *Nyāya Kumudachandrōdaya* and *Pramēya Kamalamārtanda*. Considerable literary activity was carried on under the patronage of Rāshṭrakūṭa kings. The Sanskrit and Prakrit works present the Jaina philosophical concepts in a clear and lucid way. The *Tattvārthasūtra* and *Pañchāstikāyasāra* are important landmarks in the Jaina philosophical literature.

The next important contribution to Jaina philosophy is by Nēmichandra-siddhānta-chakravartī. He was the preceptor of Chāmuṇḍarāya who was instrumental in installing the monolithic statue of Bāhubali at Śravaṇabelagoḷa. He lived in the 10th century A.D. His *Dravyasaṅgraha* marks an important step in the exposition of Jaina metaphysics. His other works, *Gommaṭasāra*, *Labdhisāra*, *Kshapaṇasāra* and *Trilōkasāra* are important.

Among the Jaina contributions to Sanskrit and Prakrit literature, Jinasēna's *Ādipurāṇa* is important. The Jaina version of *Rāmāyaṇa* has its own special charac-

teristic, in which Rāvaṇa like Rāma is claimed to be a Jaina with sterling character. There is also a Jaina version of *Mahābhārata*. One of the most important of them is *Harivamśapurāṇa* of Jinasēna. It deals with ancient dynasties like the Kurus, Pāṇḍavas and Yādavas, cast in Jaina moulds and devoted to Jaina worship. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* as presented by Jainas need to be appreciated in the context of Jaina religion and philosophy.

Jainas have made substantial contribution to the enrichment of Kannada literature. The most important among the Jaina writers in Kannada is Pampa. His *Ādipurāṇa* gives a graphic picture of the life of the first *īrthanīkara*. This was composed in 941 A.D. when the poet was thirty nine years of age. *Pampabhārata*, the earliest extant version of the epic in Kannada, gives the Jaina version of *Mahābhārata* which has some distinctive features in the light of Jaina philosophy. The poet identifies Arjuna with Arikēsari, his patron, and compares him to Viṣṇu and Śiva. Another writer who deserves mention is Ranna whose *Ajitapurāṇa* and *Gadāyuddha* are famous. Sōmadēva's *Yaśastilaka Champū* written in mixed prose and verse is characterised by great learning and masterly style. Nāgavarma and Ponna are also prominent writers.

It is not possible to cover the entire extent of influence of Jainism on Kannada, Sanskrit and Prakrit literature in this paper. Suffice it to say that Jainas are prominent in presenting effectively the Jaina philosophy in Karnataka and are pioneers in contributing to the richness and variety in Kannada literature.

The contribution of the Jainas to art and architecture has been equally significant and has been mainly in the field of iconography. The architecture of the Jainas has been characterised by specific traits such as simplicity, purity, set pattern or uniformity, and above all serenity. The aesthetic sense is aroused by the spiritual approach to the appreciation of a work of art. For example, *Mānasāra*, the work on art, has given a detailed description of the instructions that sculptors have to follow in the cutting of the image of a *īrthanīkara*. There was a regular code of instructions on sculpture and architecture that the workers had to follow. This uniformity was rigorously practised in Jaina art. The images of Bāhubali standing erect for a thousand years in some cases are an example of the strict uniformity and simplicity that the Jaina art followed. The images of Gommatēśvara at Śravaṇa-beḷagola, Kārkaṇa and Vēṇūr differ only in the degree of perfection attained in the mechanical execution. However, one is struck with the beauty, perfect symmetry of the figures of Gommatēśvara and also one loses oneself in the serene contemplation of the childlike simplicity and innocence of the face of the statue. Another contribution of the Jainas to art in India and specially in the South is the free standing pillars called *mānastambha* in front of every *basadi* specially to be found in front of the *basadis* in Karnataka. "In the whole range of Indian art, there is nothing, perhaps, equal to the Kanara pillars in good taste.... Nothing can exceed the richness and variety with which they are carved."¹⁹ The plans are generally uniform although there is a rich variety of architectural decorations in the interior of the temples. The Jainas have not lagged behind in the perfection of the architectural designs on the pillars and walls of the temples.

III

Jainism is a faith that enquires. It is philosophy of non-absolutism. Jaina approach to life has been significantly characterised by the synoptic outlook as presented in the *anēkānta* doctrine. And *anēkānta* is the symbolisation of the fundamental non-violent attitude of the Jainas, the expression of the intellectual non-violence. On the ethical plane, the principle of non-violence pervades the whole life. *Anēkānta* consists in a many-sided approach to the study of problems. It emphasises the catholic outlook towards all that we experience. It emphasises that truth is many-sided. Reality can be looked at from various angles. Two doctrines result from the *anēkānta* attitude:—*nayavāda* and *syādvāda*. *Nayavāda* is primarily conceptual and *syādvāda* is mainly synthetic and verbal.²⁰ It is the logical expression of *nayavāda*. *Naya* refers to the point of view one takes in understanding an event. A thing can be looked at from the analytic or from the synthetic point of view. The example of the elephant and the blind men describing the elephant is an expression of the Jaina theory of *naya*. *Samgraha-naya*, for example, is a synthetic point of view of looking at things. *Vyavahāra-naya* is the analytic point of view. The sevenfold classification of *nayas* has been generally accepted. *Syādvāda* is the logical expression of *nayavāda*. It is called *saptabhaṅgi* because of its sevenfold predication. It is the formulation of the doctrine of the possibility of apparent contradiction in a real whole. In it all the aspects of truth are woven together into the synthesis of conditioned dialectic. Without going into the analysis of sevenfold predication, it would suffice to say that *syādvāda* is a unique contribution of the Jainas to Indian logic, and it is a methodological scheme consisting of seven ways of looking at reality.

The impact of Jaina philosophy on the life of the people of the South is immense. The Jaina *Weltanschauung* presents a synthesis of the right intuition, right knowledge and right conduct. The cardinal principles of Jainism are 1) *syādvāda* which is a logical expression of *anēkānta*, 2) eternity of the self, and 3) the concept of self-effort. Jainism presents the rationalistic atheism and a high spiritual idealism. It also mentions the importance of personal moral responsibility. Jacobi says that the concept of *Jīva* is a hylozoistic theory which pervades the whole philosophical system and code morals.²¹ The rationale underlying the Jaina metaphysics and ethics is their doctrine of the universality of *ahimsā*.

1) The Jaina doctrine of *syādvāda* had a profound influence on the philosophy and life of the people in the South. In fact Jainism was identified with the doctrine of *syādvāda*. The inscriptions in the temples in the south begin with invocation of the Jina and songs of the glory of *syādvāda* doctrine.

2) The doctrine of *ahimsā* has played an important part in moulding the life of the people in the South. It has also permeated the spirit of their literature. This is evidently illustrated in the *Yasastilaka Champū* of Sōmadēva. The prince Yaśōdhara was resisting the persuasion of his mother to offer sacrifice of animals. He protested as it would involve violence of life. He was in the end persuaded to

sacrifice an effigy instead of a living animal. As a consequence of this symbolic violence, he had to undergo suffering in a round of transmigrations. The principle underlying this story is the universality of *ahiṃsā* and the doctrine of *karma*. Owing to the practice of *ahiṃsā*, it was possible for the Jainas to influence society to a great extent to eschew sacrifice.

As a philosophy Jainism is realistic and pluralistic. It presents the doctrine of sevenfold categories, although it is possible to add two more categories as some have done. The categories are: i) *jīva* ii) *aḥīva* iii) *āśrava* iv) *bandha* v) *saṃvara* vi) *nirjarā* and vii) *mōksha*. Two more have been added by some: i) *pāpa* ii) *puṇya*. The fundamental classification of the principles of the universe is dichotomous—*jīva* and *aḥīva*. From the noumenal point of view, *jīva* is considered a spiritual substance, pure and perfect. From the phenomenal point of view *jīva* is the doer and enjoyer of the fruits of *karma*. *Jīva* is involved in the wheel of *saṃsāra* due to *karma*.

3) The rationalistic atheism of the Jainas denied the existence of a creator God. He is not necessary because the self and universe are uncreated and therefore eternal. We do not have to seek God in the world outside, nor is God to be found 'in the dark lonely corner of a temple with doors all shut'. He is there within us. He is there with the tiller tilling the ground and the pathmaker breaking stones. Each individual soul is to be considered as God as he is essentially divine in nature. However, the Jainas worship the *īrīhaṅkaras* not because they are gods but because they are ideals for us, they are human and yet divine.

But the Jaina concept of divinity and their practice of worship were also influenced by other ideas and practices prevailing in the society. This influence is evident in the Jaina practice of worshipping the deities like Padmāvatī and Jvālāmālīnī. This was due to the psychological and sociological necessity. Akaṣaṅka is said to have invoked the goddess Kūṣhmāṇḍinī to work a miracle against the Buddhist goddess Tārā and by her intercession won a victory over his rivals. Elāchārya allays the devil by means of the *Jvālāmālīnī-stōtra*.²² Later on we are told that Yakshi became worshipped as the goddess Vāsantīkā.²³ Similarly, Jainas in the south have notions about demons and ghosts very much similar to the ideas of those prevailing in other sections of Hindu society. Jainas in South Kanara have the practice of worshipping the *bhūtas*. They set apart a room for them in their houses. Thus we find the sociological influence of the practices of *mantra* and *tantra* among the Jainas. These forms of worship must have arisen out of the contact with the other competing faiths and with the purpose of popularizing Jainism. These tendencies have been absorbed and assimilated in the struggle for existence and survival, 'We may, here, refer to the inconceivable changes the Buddhist forms of worship have undergone in the various countries of the world, like the tantric forms of worship in Tibetan Lamaism'.²⁴

4) In the Jaina ethics there is a distinction between the individual and social morality. Jainas have made a classification of the society into distinct levels, the *munis* and the *śrāvakas*³ this distinction had played an important part in preserving the Jaina theory and practice of worship and making the society more compact.

Jainism has survived through centuries the onslaughts of social and political influences of other communities. The Jainas are quite aware that there is a division of functions between the *munis* and the *śrāvakas*. The *munis* are to preach religion and to see that the *śrāvakas* follow the Jaina practices of worship. The *śrāvakas* have to support the *munis* and follow their teaching in the practice of worship and prayer. The *Ratnakaraṇḍaka-śrāvakācāhāra* of Samantabhadra is a classic for *śrāvakas*, which they have to read everyday and live to the ideals presented in the book.

We have mentioned the influence of the Jaina doctrine of *ahiṃsā* on the people of Karnataka. But it should be noted that the Jainas have made a distinction in the practice of *ahiṃsā* by the *munis* and the *śrāvakas*. This is to preserve the social structure and also to enable the *śrāvakas* to function in society without losing the spiritual ideals of life. Jaina ethics is meant for men of all positions, kings, warriors, traders, agriculturists and, in fact, for men in every walk of life. For instance, *ahiṃsā* as a *mahāvratā* is to be practised by the *munis* without exception. But *śrāvakas* have to practise *ahiṃsā* to the greatest possible extent without interfering in their duties and functions in society as citizens. A soldier has to fight for the good of society, a judge has to pronounce judgement of hanging till death to a murderer. The king has to punish criminals. These are duties which must be performed for the good of society. These are permitted in the Jaina ethics. Similarly a citizen, say an agriculturist, is aware that while tilling the land it is possible that there may be injury to life during the operation of tilling, but he has to till the land for the sake of society. This is permitted. It is *ārambhahiṃsā*. It is not a negation of the principle of *ahiṃsā*.

It is recognised as a duty of a Kṣatriya to defend the weak if need be even with weapons. In the *Ādipurāṇa* there is a description that Ṛishabha, the first *tīrthaṅkara*, gave training to his disciples in agriculture, trade and in the use of arms.²⁵ Gandhiji exhorted the Indian women to resist the attack of the goondas and of the roadside Romeos even with violence. 'I do believe that where there is a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. Hence it was that I took part in the Boer war, so-called Zulu rebellion and the late war!'²⁶ But Gandhiji also said that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence. Forgiveness adorns the soldier.

Jainism has been largely responsible for making the south, especially Karnataka, in the main, vegetarian; and *ahiṃsā* still forms the substratum of Indian character as a whole. For hundreds of persecutions of the Jainas we can hardly find a single instance where the reverse happened. This spirit of toleration is to be traced to *syādhāda* and *anēkānta*.

The doctrine of *samlēkhanā* is an important contribution of the Jainas to social ethics. *Samlēkhanā* is a step towards self-realisation. It is meant to free oneself from the bonds of the body and to reach perfection. It is to be adopted in two cases: i) in cases of emergencies and ii) as the end of a regular religious career. The two forms of *samlēkhanā* are equally applicable to the monks and laymen. As an emergency measure, we are to fast unto death only when we are faced with terrible famine, overpowered by foreign domination, at the time of spiritual calamities when it would be impossible for us to live a pious life and to do the duties as good citizens.²⁷

The same should be practised when we are in the grip of an incurable disease and when we are too old to live a normal religious life. In these cases we have to depend on others. We become a burden to society without any possibility of reciprocating the good either for oneself or for others. Only under such circumstances, one should decide to end one's life by fasting unto death. If a monk falls ill and if it is not possible for him to continue the practice of his vows and to lead the ascetic life, he should decide to take *samlēkhanā*.²⁸ For the ascetics *samlēkhanā* forms a culmination of the religious life.

The concept of *samlēkhanā* has played an important part in influencing the lives of the *munis* and *śrāvakas* in Karnataka. As mentioned earlier, Bhadrabāhusvāmi, along with Chandragupta, the Maurya, took *samlēkhanā* at Śravaṇabelagoḷa in the first century B.C. There are innumerable instances of monks and nuns as also of princes and the people taking *samlēkhanā* as the culmination of spiritual life. An inscription at Nallūr records that one Jakkīyabbe performed *sanyasana* (death by starvation), by resolving to obtain *mukti*.²⁹

IV

We have so far made a brief survey of the influence of Jainism on the life of the people of the South. We have also mentioned the influence of ideas and practices of other communities on the Jaina way of life. It is difficult to say whether there is a different culture called southern culture. Indian society breathes the same air of the secular and spiritual values of life. However, each area wears these ideas with a difference and each part of the country contributes its own special features to the Indian *Weltanschauung*. In this sense, we may say that the South has a special contribution to make to the spirit of Indian life. Jainas have made a substantial contribution in moulding the life and thought of the people of the South, specially Karnataka. Jaina view of life has permeated the spirit of the culture in the South. The spirit of toleration and the spirit of *ahimsā* have entered the life of the princes and the people alike.

In describing the culture of the south in India, we may adopt the verse of the famous Kannada poet Nṛpatuṅga who sang the praises of Karnataka: "Skilled are the people of the region in making speeches with apt words and also in understanding and pondering over speeches (of others). Naturally intelligent, they are, even without special study, versed in the usages of poetry. All are skilful in their speech. Even young children and the dumb learn wisdom and words respectively at a hint".³⁰

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ISLAM IN SOUTH INDIA

K. MOHAMMED SHARIFF

ISLĀM WAS INTRODUCED into India by the Arab invaders who entered Sind under Muhammad-bin-Qāsim in 712 A.D. and founded a Muhammadan State which was eventually absorbed into the Mughal empire. Arab occupation was confined to Sind and the Muhammadan conquest of the rest of India did not begin until nearly three centuries later, with the raids of Sabuktāgīn and Muhammad of Ghazni; when, however, Muhammad died in 1030 A.D. Lahore was the only province of Indian territory he bequeathed to his successor. The permanent extension of Muslim rule in India dates from the latter part of 12th century. The conquest of Muhammad Ghōri resulted in the establishment of Muhammadan dynasty in Delhi which continued to be a Muhammadan capital upto the extinction of the Mughal empire. Thirty-four sovereigns belonging to five dynasties—the so-called Slave kings (1206 to 1290 A.D.), the Khiljīs, (1290 to 1320 A.D.), the Tughlaks, (1320 to 1413 A.D.), the Saiyids (1414 to 1451 A.D.) and the Lōdis (1451 to 1526 A.D.)—reigned in Delhi, for 320 years. During this period the Muhammadan conquests extended further to the east and southern India.

Islām came into touch with the south much earlier than the north. This was due to long established trade connections with the pre-Islamic Arabia which continued almost unaffected by the religious revolution in that country. A Muslim fleet first sailed in the Indian waters in 636 A.D. when a governor under Caliph Umar sent an army to Ṭhāna; but Umar disapproved of this. Muslim traders, however, continued the contacts of pre-Muslim days, settled in several parts of the Malabar coast, married women of the country and created the class of Māpiḷlas or Moplars, whose unruly fanaticism has occasionally led to serious disturbances to the peace of the country, the last instance having occurred as recently as 1921.¹ The Muslim traders were encouraged by Hindu kings who bought the horses they imported and employed them and their progeny for manning their fleets. Rawlinson also opines that the first Muslim Arabs settled in the Malabar coast about the end of the 7th century. Francis Day in his *The Land of the Perumals* and Strurrock in his *South Kanara, Madras District Manuals* make similar statements. Elliot's account of the causes of the Arab invasion of Sind also indicates that Arab settlements had already been established in the west coast. Innes in his *Malabar and Anjagode District Gazetteer* quotes an inscription of a tomb from Kollam of one Ali who died there in 788 A.D.² The Rāshtrakūṭa kings who had unfriendly relations with the Gūrjara kings allowed the Arabs on the west coast and permitted them to build mosques. Sulaiman, a Muslim merchant of the 9th century has left a record of his impressions wherein he says that the Muslims were given full freedom to practise their religion openly and permitted to build Jumma-musjids. Muslim magistrates were appointed to administer the code of Islām to their co-religionists.³ Al-Ishtakhri, an Arab writer, who knew India at first hand in the 10th century testifies to the same.⁴ A doubtful legend relates the conversion to Islām of the last of the Perumāḷ rulers of

Kerala, Chēraman Perumā]. He is said to have made a pilgrimage (*haj*) to Mecca in 825 A.D. and directed from there the rulers of his homeland to receive Muslims hospitably and to build mosques for them.⁵ From the 8th century onwards small colonies of Arab traders had settled at various points in and near the coastal region from Ṭhāṇa to Bhaṭkal and further south. A few Muslim missionaries and saints had also taken their abode at various centres in the three kingdoms of South India, of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, the Kākatīyas and the Hoysaḷas. These saints had gathered round them a cluster of devotees some of whom must have been new converts to Islām.⁶ Travellers like Masūdī (916 A.D.) and Ibn Battuta (14th century) testify to the presence of Muslims and mosques all along the west coast. There were Muslim settlements on the east coast also of which Kāyalpaṭṭaṇam (Tirunelveli District) and Nagore (Tanjavur District) were the most important. Islām was actively preached in the neighbourhood of Tiruchināpalli early in the 11th century by a Sayyid prince of Turkey, Nathad Vali, a missionary who spent his last years converting many Hindus.⁷ Ibn Battuta affirms that the army of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III included 20,000 Muslims. In Vijayanagara there was a considerable number of foreigners including Arabs, Jews, Persians, Chinese and others. Vijayanagara had to recruit Muslim infantry and cavalry for more effective defence against the Bahmani kingdom and its successive states. Dēvarāya II is said to have built a mosque in his capital for the use of his Muslim soldiers. During the time of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, royal patronage was extended to Islām. Ferishta says that Rāmarāya also began to admit a large number of Muslims into the army. He is said to have caused the *Qu'rān* to be placed before him in the Audience Hall in order to reconcile the Muslim soldiers to the act of making obeisance to him when they came to pay their respect. This had been done earlier by Dēvarāya II also. He allowed them to build mosques and offer worship according to their practices as in a Muslim State. By the time of Abdul Razak's (1443 A.D.) visit Calicut was a secure harbour for ships from Africa and Arabia. More than seventy years later Duarte Barbosa found that the trade of Calicut was very large and on that account, natives of diverse lands—Arabs, Persians, Guzerates, Kharassanians and Daquanis—settled there.⁸ He has estimated that one-fifth of the population of Malabar comprised the Māpillas.

Islam as a religion

Islām is the name of the religion promulgated by Muhammad (the Arabian prophet) and one who accepts this religion is called a Muslim. The word 'Islām' means surrender, submission (to the will of god). It occurs several times in *Qu'rān*, in its literal as well as technical meaning. The form is an infinitive noun from a stem used in the *Qu'rān* in connection with the submission of Abraham and his son, at the attempted sacrifice by the father, to the Divine Will. It is presumably this act that first prompted Muhammad to coin the new designation for his religion. "This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My grace unto you; I have chosen for you as religion al-Islām". "Verily to religion with god is al-Islām." The sources for the religion, called "the traditional proofs" are the *Qu'rān*, the *Sunna*, the *Ijma* and the *Qias*. These are the foundations for the doctrines of the religion.

The religious structure of Islām is composed of dogmas, beliefs and acts of worship. The first and most important article of Islamic faith relates to the oneness of God. It is expressed in the formula, *Lā ilāha illa-l-Lāhu*, no God but Allāh. This is one of the most often repeated formulas in the Arabic language. Its concept lies at the very foundation of the entire structure. Muslims pride themselves on being the only *muwahhidūn*, unitarians. God is one, He is pre-existent, omnipotent, omniscient. He is the creator of all things. "He is God, the one; God the eternal. He begets not and is not begotten; nor is there like unto him any one." In the *Qu'rān* He is again and again described as "powerful overall things", "knowing all things". But He is also gracious, forgiving, merciful and compassionate. As the ruler of all things He may do whatever seems good in his sight, yet He is a just God. He punishes only where punishment is due. Humble submission of His will has throughout the ages constituted the essence of Islamic piety.

Closely joined with this dogma is the second, one expressed in the formula *Muhammadun rasūlu-l-Lāhi*, Muhammad is the messenger of god. The two are usually repeated together. Muhammad, according to the learned systems, was not divine. He was a messenger, a warner and a prophet. As a prophet he was in the tradition of Noah, Abraham, Moses and Christ. But he was "the seal of the prophets", the last and therefore the greatest among them. He was the sole channel of revelation for his own time and generation, and the last apostle for all times and all generations. His dispensation supplements and, wherever necessary, supersedes all earlier ones. He performed no miracles unless it be that of the *Qu'rān*. He was the means through which *Qu'rān* was revealed.

The third article of faith relates to the *Qu'rān*. This book is the uncreated word of God. It was dictated piece by piece in Arabic through Gabriel. As such, it should be studied and recited in the original tongue. The *Qu'rān* is a forceful document basically expressing an *ēlam* of religion and social justice. The early chapters (*sūras*) of the *Qu'rān* reflecting Muhammad's grim struggle against the Meccans, are characterized by grave warnings of the imminent judgement, while the later chapters, of the Madina period, are chiefly directed to regulating the internal and external affairs of the young Muslim-community-state, besides narrating the stories of the earlier prophets.

The Quranic theology is rigorously monotheistic: God is absolutely unique—"there is nothing like him"—omnipotent, omniscient, merciful. Men are exhorted to obey His will (i.e. to be Muslim) as is necessarily done by all inorganic objects.

Then comes the belief in the angels, arranged in a hierarchy and headed by Gabriel, bearer of the revelation. Angels were created long before the world and are of finer material. The names of many of them are recorded in the *Qu'rān*.

The last fundamental article of faith is belief in a Judgement Day, immortality of the soul, reward for the righteous, and punishment for the wicked. "The Last Day", "the Last Hour", "the Day of Judgement" will be ushered in by certain extraordinary signs. On it all actions shall be weighed in the scales. "Those whose scales are heavy are the successful ones; and those whose scales are light shall lose their

souls and abide in hell forever". The sin for which one is punished may be moral or ceremonial.

Belief in God's absolute decree is often treated as a sixth article of faith. The *Qu'rān* is explicit in its teaching that everything that happens to man has already been fixed by God. "Naught befalleth us save that which God hath decreed for us." "No soul can ever die except by Allah's leave, in accordance with what is written and determined."

Islām is not only a system of faith but also one of practice. It enjoins on its followers five acts of worship, religious duties, often termed the pillars of faith.

The first pillar involves a verbal profession of the unity of God and the prophethood of Muhammad. It is not enough for a Muslim to believe in God, he must declare his belief. No god but Allāh; Muhammad is the messenger of Allāh. This formula is of such importance that once a non-Muslim recites it, he is to all intents and purposes a believer. In order to be a good believer he should then proceed to the practice of the other acts.

The second act of worship is prayer. A good Muslim could informally commune with God any time of day or night, but he is obligated to practise five legally prescribed and defined prayers. The five times are early dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset and night.

Alms giving, laid down as third duty of the believer is often joined with prayer in the Quranic injunctions. "Observe prayer, pay the alms and kneel with those who kneel." In the early days of Islām alms were collected from believers by officials appointed for that purpose and were used for building mosques, helping the needy, and in other ways promoting the cause of the religion. With the spread of Islām the procedure was necessarily abandoned. Alms giving became a personal affair. The obligation to give is nevertheless universally recognized by Muslims. Even those among them who neglect other duties may not neglect this.

Fasting is the fourth religious duty prescribed by Islām. The month of Ramzān is devoted for this purpose. In it the faithful are supposed to abstain from food, drink and other indulgences from dawn till sunset. Ramzān was chosen because it was the month in which the *Qu'rān* was revealed. To fast at other times is meritorious but not obligatory. The object of fasting is not so much to mortify the body as to atone for evil deeds and to commune more intimately with God.

The fifth requirement of practical religion is the pilgrimage to the holy places in Arabia (Mecca). Once in a lifetime the Muslim, whether man or woman, is supposed to undertake the religious pilgrimage at a stated period.

Apart from these, the obligation of waging holy war (*jihād*) has been raised to the dignity of a sixth pillar of faith by one of the Islamic sects.

Islam through the Ages

Even though the contact of Islām with South India began in the 8th century A.D. at the time of Rāshtrakūṭas, it was only after the birth of the Bahmani kingdom

in 1347 A.D. with Gulbarga as its capital that effective contact of Islām was operated. The spread of Islām through missionaries in South India can be seen at the close of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries. This period witnessed the influx of a large number of Muslim saints and holy men into South India from Delhi. These were Sūfī divines of different orders. These Sūfīs or the Muslim mystics were men of deep religious feelings who led ascetic lives and laid emphasis on the practices of self-discipline as preparing the human for the intuitive knowledge of God. Being devout Muslims they moved within the limits of *Shar'* (Law of Islām) and believed it as the true way for salvation. They however "attached an esoteric significance to the teaching of *Qu'ran* and regarded inward light or intuitive experience as of far more importance than dogmatic formalism of the orthodox type."⁹ Legend has it that in 1300 A.D. at the instance of Khwāja Nizāmu'd-dīn Aulia of Delhi, a band of seven hundred Sūfīs from Delhi, came to the south and established themselves at various centres in the Deccan. The leader of this band of missionaries was Muntajabu'd-dīn Zarjauī Zar Bakhsh who himself settled on the outskirts of Daulatabad at a village now known as Khaldābād, where he died in 1309 A.D. On his death his elder brother, Burhāmu'd-dīn Gharīb Shāh was directed by Nizāmu'd-dīn Aulia to wend his way to South India. A wave of Sūfī divines under Burhāmu'd-dīn arrived in that year and spread all over the South. The mission of these Sūfīs was to spread and propagate Islām in the Deccan and South India. Burhāmu'd-dīn died in Daulatābād in 1338 A.D. By this time Muslim rule was firmly established in the South. These missionaries acquired a following of non-Muslims, not all of whom were converted to Islām. Their work undoubtedly contributed towards stabilization of Muslim rule in South. Though at first conversion to Islām seems to have been voluntary, later on, as political power passed to the Muslims, it appears to have assumed a comparatively aggressive form.¹⁰

Under Bahmani (1347-1527) a number of foreigners—Persians, Turks, Arabs and Mughals—came in search of trade or office, settled in the South and married the women of the land. They formed an important element in the total Muhammadan population and exercised a preponderating influence in the social organisation and religious life. Thus the influx of the Persians into South India and their influence over the life at the court led the way to the spread of the Shī'ite doctrine in the Bahmani kingdom. The tendencies of Firōz in particular pointed in the same direction and the influence of Muhammad Gavān, who was in all probability, a Shī'ah, was bound to have been immense. His murder must have fanned the progress of Shī'ism in the Deccan and South India. Yūsuf Ādil Khān, who had been a close associate of Muhammad Gavān, declared Shī'ism as his faith in June 1503 A.D. Sultān Muhammad, though he remained a Sunni, believed in the priority of the fourth Caliph over the three Caliphs who had preceded him. Yūsuf Ādil's declaration, however, touched Muhammad to the quick and at Amīr Barīd's instance he sent summons to Qutbu'l-Mulk and 'Imādu'l-Mulk to be present at the court and ordered Yūsuf Ādil to put a stop to the innovation. Yūsuf proceeded to Berar to seek advice from 'Imādu'l-Mulk, but was pursued there by the Sultān himself. When the king had entered Berar, royal etiquette demanded that 'Imādu'l-Mulk should pay homage

to him and not fight, and Yūsuf 'Ādil was bluntly told to go back to Bijāpur. It was the embassy of the great Shī'ah monarch of Iran, Shāh Ismā'il Safawī, to Bijāpur and his addressing Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān as "Shāh," which confirmed Shī'ism as the state religion of Bijāpur. Ismā'il 'Ādil now ordered that his "Mughal" or Afāqī soldiers should have the twelve-peaked (Shī'ah) cap as a part of their uniform.

To sum up, the religion of Islām, at least in its popular form, in South India underwent substantial change, influenced as it was by the Sūfī beliefs. The majority of the Muslims remained, on the whole, religious and conformed scrupulously to the moral standards set up by Islām.¹¹

The Mughal period however marked the decline of the pantheistic form of Sūfism. The moderate Naqshbandīya and Qādirīya schools, became more popular than the Chishtiya school, partly due to the fact that no outstanding saint of the Chishtiya sect appeared in India during this period and partly to the emergence of certain bitter critics of that sect who, helped by the prevalent political and social conditions, succeeded in attracting a large number of followers. Religious divines and scholars who held lucrative posts as *qāzis* and *muftīs*, slowly were on the decline, as a consequence of greed and cupidity combined with senseless bigotry and parochialism. From the accounts given by contemporary historians of the fabulous wealth which some of them managed to amass by all sorts of questionable means and their high-handed actions in dealing with those who had the temerity to differ from them in religious matter one can conclude that they themselves were responsible for their downfall and not any radical change of attitude towards religion on the part of the rulers or their subjects.¹²

Tribes and Castes

Muslims in South India, as in other parts of India, are divided into four groups—viz. Shaik, Sayyid, Mughal and Pūthān. There are among the Muslims less important groups some of which deserve mention. The term *Navāyat* was supposed to mean 'new comers' but it is more probably derived from *Nait*, a branch of the Arabian Quaraish tribe who are supposed to have been expelled from Iraq or Mesopotamia in the 8th c. A.D. and to have migrated to South India. Further, South Indian Muslims are also divided into two main sects viz. Sunni and the Shī'ah.¹³ The majority of the people are Sunnis and owing to the high level of theological learning maintained by the *ulamā* (scholars) for centuries and the close relations kept up with centres of religious life and thought in other parts of Muslim world, there has always been a large body of orthodox opinion and practice among the Indian Sunnis, and these have not differed materially from similar manifestations in other Muslims. The Shī'ah have always been in a numerical minority in South India. Under the rule of the Shī'ah Sultans of Bijāpur and Gōlkonḍa and later under that of the kings of Oudh the Navābs of Murshidābād and such of the Navābs as became Shī'ah, they enjoyed the favour of the ruling power but under Sunni rule they were often "exposed to persecution and accordingly practised *takīya* i.e. concealment of their distinct doctrines." Shī'ahs are mainly Persian or Turkī in descent with the exception of the converts of Hindu origin.

Among the modern sectarian developments the most important are the Wāḥḥābī the Ahmadiyāh and Ahl-i-Kurān.¹⁴

The people belonging to Mahdavia community (Mahdavia Muslims) are followers of Syed Muhammad, who took the title of Mahdi—Mauvood (the predicted Mahdi). The origin of the Mahdavia community dates from the beginning of the 10th century Hijra. Mostly in Sind, Gujarat and Deccan hundreds of thousands of people embraced this religion. In the earlier part of the tenth century, Hejara Mahdavisism widely spread throughout the Deccan. Even Burhan Nizām Shāh (1508-1553 A.D.) the third king of the Nizām Shāhi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, embraced this religion. They are now found in Mysore and Hyderabad States.

Bohras are a Muhammadan community of traders who belong to Gujarat and speak Gujarati. They are found in Bangalore, Mysore and other trading centres. The Bohras are divided into two groups, namely traders who are all Shī'ahs and a large number of cultivating Bohras who are Sunnis.

Memens or Believers are the Sunnis to which most of Indian and Turkish Muslims belong. Their original habitat is in districts of Gujarat and in the States adjacent to it. As traders they are found all over India and even outside. They are found in Bangalore, Mysore and other parts of South India. As a class they are very religious and are fond of going on pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina.

The Labbas are a Muslim community of Tamil origin. They are a mixed class of Muhammadans consisting of compulsory converts to Islām made by the early Muhammadan invaders and Tipu Sultān. In Tanjore District of Tamilnadu they are numerous. Even in Karnataka they are in a large number.

Pinḍāris or Pendharis are the descendants of the famous freebooters who followed the Marāṭha armies and were doubtless recruited originally from numerous sources including Pathān, Marāṭha and Jāt. There are amongst them both Muslims and Hindus. They are numerous in Tumkur and Mysore Districts and even in Bangalore city.

The Jonakam Māppiḷlas or Māppiḷlas or Moplahs¹⁵ are a Muslim community found all over Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. They are peculiar to the west coast of South India. They are largely found as labourers in the Kolar Gold Fields and railway and other works. Some are petty traders in Mysore.

Missionaries

The history of the spread of Islām in India by missionary efforts is not quite so scanty, but it has largely been overshadowed by the absorbing interests of political events; for, though the Indian Muhammadans have produced a large body of historical literature, their references to the propaganda of their faiths in these histories are few.¹⁶ The biographies of the saints and local traditions contain many references to a successful propaganda. The Deccan and Southern provinces provided a fruitful and favourable field for the spread of Islām. It is true that kings like Muhammad of Ghōri, Taimūr, Aurangzēb, Tipu Sultān and others that ruled South India were

the lovers of Islām, but, they did not take any steps to spread this religion in their kingdom. Neither the ruling kings nor the Muslim societies have taken their part in this respect. The only work that they have done is they have brought a large number of foreign troops, and attracted to their courts military adventurers, poets, scholars and others who ultimately settled in the country. These foreign immigrants and their descendants—Arabs, Persians, Turks, Mughals and Paṭhāns—formed an important element in the total Muhammadan population and exercised a preponderating influence in the administration, social organization and religious life.

Many of the Muhammadan saints played an important part in the promulgation of Islām in South India. Among them Sayyid Nather Shāh (1039 A.D.) was the pioneer of Islām in South India and his tomb in Tiruchināpaḷli is still a place of pilgrimage. Muhammad Gīṣūdārāz migrated to the Deccan, where he had his descendants and enjoyed the liberal patronage of the Bahmani Sultān and a magnificent tomb was erected in Gulbarga over his remains when he died in 1422 A.D. At the close of 13th and the beginning of 14th centuries a band of seven hundred Sūfīs left Delhi under the leadership of Muntajabū'd-dīn Zarjarī Zar Bakhah and came to South India. Another wave of Sūfī divines under Burhāmu'd-dīn arrived in the South in 1309 and spread all over the South. The mission of these Sūfīs was to spread and propagate Islām in South India. His successor who was equally famous was Zainal Dīn Dā'ūd (1370). Sayyid Mazhar Valī of Tiruchināpaḷli (c. 1226 A.D.) Sayyid Ibrāhīm Shahīd Bābā Fakhrud-dīn and Muhammad al-Husaini, known as Banda Navāz Gīṣu Darāz of Gulbarga were perhaps the greatest of them. Bābā Buḍan (a Sūfī saint of 12th century), the Bābābuḍangiri hills in Chikkamagalur, Sirājud-dīn Junaidī of Gulbarga (1379 A.D.), Tāj al-Dīn (1698 A.D.), one of the descendants of Abdul-Qādir al-Jilānī and Shāh Musāfir, whose tombs are at Aurangabad are some of the other saints.

The peaceful missionary propaganda by these Muslim divines must have played a large part in the conversion. The saintly character of some of the Muslim preachers must also have appealed to the religious minded Hindus. But while these normal means of conversion played their part, we cannot ignore the fact that force or violence was one of the most fruitful sources of conversion of the Hindus *en masse* at least in the early period.¹⁷

Festivals

The chief festivals of the Muslim year in South India are Bakrīd, celebrated on the tenth day of the Muslim month Zil Haj, and Ramzān at the end of the fast of Ramzān. The other festivals are Shab-ē-barat, Bārāh Vafāt, Ākhir Chārshumba, and Muharram. The Shab-ē-barāt (the Night of the Decree) is on the 14-15th day of the Shābān. God is believed to register on this night the deeds and fortunes of men during the coming year and therefore the Muslims spend this night on the eve of the festival in prayer for deceased relations.

Bārāh Vafāt is observed on the 12th day of Rabi ul-avval, in commemoration of the death of Muhammad or in some parts, the day of his birth.

Ākhir Chārshumba, the last Wednesday of the month of Safar is the day on which Muhammad obtained some mitigation of his fatal illness and bathed for the last time.

Muharram—the first ten days of the month of Muharram are observed as days of mourning for the death of Ali and Hassan and Hussain by Shīa'hs pre-eminently; but the 10th day is observed as a popular festival in most cities with a Muhammadan population, on which days, quite often Hindus also take an active part.

In honour of the more famous saints, a celebration called *urs* is held on the anniversary of his death, when a large concourse of persons visit his tomb, recite prayers, read the *Qur'ān* offerings are made to the guardians of the tomb and alms are distributed to the poor.

Hindu-Muslim Relations

The Muslims made a large number of converts in South India and thus a vast majority of South Indian Muslims must have been descendants of Hindu converts. Even the Muslims who claimed descent from foreigners or foreign immigrants into Southern India lived as close neighbours of the Hindus, for generations. It was natural, therefore, that there were reciprocal influences between the two communities. Some of the social practices of Indian Muslims such as marriage and class distinction and some of their ideas and beliefs which differ materially from those of their co-religionists elsewhere, were probably due to the "influence of Hindu society." As regards dress, food, language, music, art and architecture, each influenced the other to a certain extent. In religious matters there was some mutual influence, as is indicated by Sufism on the one hand and the doctrines of medieval Hindu saints on the other. Muslim saints particularly of the mystic school, were revered by the Hindus, though, be it noted, the Hindus would not admit them in their houses nor give them food or water in their own utensils. The Hindu mendicants, Yogis, and astrologers were held in high respect by the Muslims. Some local cults like those of *Satyapir* (True saint) were popular with village folks of both the communities. Even in some minor matters, such as the auspicious day for commencing a journey, Muslims adopted the customs of the Hindus.¹⁸ Fawcett, in his notes on the people of Malabar (*Anthropology* III. 1) draws attention to the growth of the Bhakti cult in South India. He suggests that this was due to the influence of Islām. Grierson, Logan and Bhandarkar opine that this was due to the influence of Christian communities on the South, where according to Grierson Islamic mysticism or Sufism, which influenced Bhagavatism in North India later was little known, while Carpenter and Barnett regarded this as due to internal causes. Barth, in his *Religions of India* also suggests a similar explanation for the advent of new religious movements in the south.¹⁹ The Māpillas on the west coast of South India have always continued to follow the customs of their Hindu ancestors in preference to the Muslim law of succession.

Most prominently in the 16th and 17th centuries, there flourished in the Tamil country a monotheistic puritan creed, that of *Śītar* (*Siddhar*, meaning the perfected)

who denounced idolatry. Their teaching may well have been the outcome of Muslim and Christian influence on Hindu thought and practices.²⁰

Firōz Ahamad, the Bahmani ruler was a believer in the fusion of cultures and the influence of Hindu culture also had a place in the economy of Bīdar. An example of this fusion may be perceived in the '*urs* or the death anniversary' of the Sultān at Bīdar to this day. The anniversary is celebrated, not according to the Hijri calendar but according to the Hindu reckoning. Then it is the Jaṅgam or the head of the Lingayats of Madhyāl in the Gulbarga District who enters the sepulchre every day of the *urs* with a large orchestra of his own, breaks the cocoanuts in Hindu style and makes an offering of flowers. But this Jaṅgam is dressed as Muslim *darvēsh* in flowing robes. The *urs* is still attended by Hindus and Muslims who consider Ahamad to be a saint.

The shrine of Sayyid Nathar Shāh at Tiruchināpaḷli, of Bābā Buḍan (the Sūfī saint) at Bābābuḍaṅgiri hills in Chikkamagalur District, of Mahātmāminār Sāhib at Nagore, Ahamad at Bīdar and of Sikandar Shāh near Madurai are some of the well-known shrines of South India, which attract many Hindus and Muslims. Every Muslim who visits the shrine of Sikandar Shāh also visits the temple of Subrahmanya near by.

In the field of scholarship and literature there was some sympathetic understanding between the two communities. The Muslim scholars studied Hindu philosophy and sciences such as the systems of *yōga* and *Vēdānta*, medicine and astrology, while the Hindus learnt from them subjects like geography, arithmetic and chemistry. But all these touched merely the fringe and external elements of life. In short the reciprocal influences were too superficial in character to affect materially the fundamental differences between the two communities in respect of almost every thing that is deep-seated in human nature and makes life worth living. So the two great communities, although they lived side by side, moved each in its own orbit, and there was as yet no sign that the "twain shall ever meet."²¹

It has been thought that although some traits of Hindu revival such as the increasing emphasis on monotheism, emotional worship, self-surrender, the need for devotion to a spiritual teacher and the growing laxity in the observance of caste rules and indifference to ritual at least among some sects, have all been held to be in some way or other the results of Islamic influence, these may as well be explained from the internal history of Hinduism itself.²²

Religious Differences

While the Hindu States of South India did not inspire love or goodwill towards Muslims, the social and religious differences were so acute and fundamental that they raised a Chinese wall between the two communities. The wonderful capacity for assimilation of this "all-tolerant, all-compliant, all-comprehensive, all-absorbing religion"—brought into its fold men of different races who came into India from time to time; but it failed to absorb the Muslims who were zealous by devoted to their own faith.²³

As an ethical system Islām presents in so many ways a strong contrast to Hinduism. The ascetic ideals pursued by the few Hindu and Muslim ascetics have much in common and both have often received the veneration of pious adherents of the rival creed. But the stern puritanism of Islām has set its face rigidly against some characteristics of Hindu conduct.²⁴

Thus religion which formed the very basis of culture and the key note of life, among both the Muslims and Hindus, kept them apart like the two poles. They differed fundamentally in their theological conception, method of worship, and everything connected with daily devotion to God. The images and temples, the most sacred objects of the Hindu were anathema to the Muslims. Their philosophical notions and sacred literature, their conception of heaven and hell, of the life here and hereafter in short, the whole outlook on men and things lacked a common basis. Interesting is the fact that the Muslims turn towards the west and the Hindus towards the east while offering prayers.

Notes and References

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5. But another and perhaps more likely tradition makes him, the friend of Nāyanār Sundaramūrti with whom he journeyed to Kailāsa, the Himalayan abode of Śiva. In fact, Chōṣṛāṇian Perumāḷ seems to have been one of those truly spiritual men whom every religion proudly claims as its own—Jainism, Christianity, Śaivism and Islām in this instance.
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CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH INDIA

L. SUNDARAM

CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH INDIA is nearly as old as in the country of its origin. The tradition that it was preached in the south-west coast in what is now Kerala is much too strong to be set aside as unhistorical. For history is to be found not only in monuments and documents but in the living and continuous tradition of a people whose memory is tenacious of a transcendental experience such as religious faith is. History is life not merely as seen in events palpable to outward view but as lived in the minds and hearts of human beings. It is the *smriti* of a nation and a people. It is of course mixed up with a great deal of what has been imagined but as we know, behind every mythology there is a kernel of valid objective experience of real persons, events and things. The many stories that have been circulated for instance, concerning the coming to India of one of the twelve Apostles of Christ, St. Thomas, and his doings in Kerala and his martyrdom and death in Mylapore, Madras, may be frowned on by the exacting historian of today but behind these tales there is the undoubted fact of an intensely felt contact with a new religious faith and its demands upon the mind and the will. A Christian community in Kerala fully aware of itself and possessed of what it had received, is traceable to the beginnings of our era.

It is beyond the scope of this brief essay to sketch the story of the Christian Church in South India. Its purpose is only to indicate in broad outline, its impact upon the national life and its contribution to the composite Indian culture.

It was the Syrians from Asia Minor who first gave to India, that is, the south-west seaboard which had already had contacts with traders from Rome, the *gospel* or glad tidings of Christ. The Syrian rite, or form of public worship is perhaps the oldest in the Christian Church. In Kerala, it became part of the culture of the local population and although maintaining from time to time its links with the parent Church, became native to the soil so that the Christian religion and way of life was at home here, long before the missionaries from Europe came with their Latin culture and liturgy. One strange fact, however, of Syrian Christianity is that over the centuries it did not spread out to the rest of the sub-continent, not even into neighbouring Tamilnadu but kept itself as distinctive and independent, developing its own social frame and tradition. In our day, however, especially in the context of almost complete stoppage of missionaries from the West, it is the Keralites, young men and women, who provide the largest number of evangelisers of the Church in the whole of India. And the Syrian rite has penetrated into the dioceses, or ecclesiastical districts, of the North, far away from the bounds of Kerala.

The Missionaries who came from the West from the beginning of the fifteenth century were first the Franciscans, then the Jesuits and very soon afterwards the Dominicans. Being very different in their outlook from the people whom they were coming to evangelise backed mostly by the dominant Portuguese power and following in the tracks of the trader and conqueror, they were unable in their zeal to enter

with sympathy and understanding into the indigenous Christianity of Kerala. So misunderstanding and conflicts arose, creating sects and schisms which have persisted down to our own day creating fissures within the Christian Church and providing the opportunity to ecclesiastical worldings to fish in these troubled waters. Even the strong ecumenism of the post-Vatican era in which we live, has had little power to heal the wounds of the past and make all Christians feel one in Christ as the first preliminary step in bearing witness to One who declared himself the Saviour of all and by whom Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian, East and West are all equally called to be children of the same Father.

It will not be profitable in a brief review of this kind to enter upon an account of those crucial events in Kerala Church History, like the Synod of Diamper (Udayamperur) in 1599 A.D. or the Oath of Coonan Cross, in 1653 A.D., which have been turning points for the Christian community. That today the Christians of Kerala are numerically strong (they make one fourth of the population) and influence effectively the politics of the State, is undoubted. But whether that influence is a sign of deeper Christian living and witness to the Kingdom of God which Christ preached and came to establish on earth, is the question that is asked these days by the Christian leaders of Kerala themselves. The very fact that they are seriously asking it may be considered a sign of religious vitality, for no evaluation is so valuable as self-evaluation; it explains also how so many of them, in spite of the strong hold on them of a conservative tradition and a love of the clan (in the best sense of the term) have sallied out as messengers of the Good News.

In Tamilnadu the story has been very different. On the Coromandel or Fishery Coast a small Christian community brought into being by the chaplains of the Portuguese traders and left spiritually uncared for, received a new consciousness and increased numerical strength through the advent into their midst, of one of the greatest missionaries of all time, St. Francis Xavier, who is therefore looked upon by them as their Father in Christ. Francis Xavier was the first Jesuit to come East, sent by St. Ignatius of Loyola, the Founder of the Order. This small community was the first to receive a bishop of its own in 1923, Bishop Roche, the first Indian Bishop of the Latin rite with his See in the coastal town of Tuticorin. An Indian hierarchy had been established in 1886 but all the bishops had been non-Indians. In the southern states today, out of about forty bishops only one is non-Indian.

Xavier who has been described as a saint in a hurry, had no time to study the missionary problems of the countries he traversed under the impulse of his extraordinary zeal that burnt him out within ten years of incredible labour. The Jesuits who came after him were faced with the problem of making the Good News acceptable to the people of interior Tamilnadu the home of an ancient and strong religious tradition and culture. Robert de Nobili, Italian by birth but Tamil by adoption, who combined within himself an unusual intellectual power with a deep religious inner life and fervour, chose to live in all its details of dress and food, the life of an Indian ascetic, a true *sanyāsi*. By means of an amazingly successful mastery of Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu in the city of Madurai, which was then ruled by the

Nayaks, viceroys of Vijayanagara empire, he was able to make his Christian preaching credible to the learned and high-caste communities of the Tamil country.

The Christians of present-day Tamilnadu owe their religious faith to the pioneering work of de Nobili and his great successors like de Britto (Aruḷāṇḍar Svāmi) and Beschi (given the title of Vīramāmunivar by the Madurai Tamil Śāṅgam) whose literary work in Tamil is recognised as of the first order. His great epic *Thembavani* (The Unfading Garland) is a classic of Tamil in which Christian ideas are rendered in the imagery, the music, the very conceits of the Tamil literary tradition. He was also the pioneer of Tamil prose, a reformer of the Tamil alphabet and a grammarian and lexicographer. Thanks to him and the missionary methods that he had inherited from de Nobili and passed on to his successors, the Christian community in Tamilnadu now five percent of the population has been able to participate fully in and contribute to Tamil culture. One of the outstanding upholders of this tradition was the English missionary Pope, translator of the *Kural*, the classic of Wisdom Literature in Tamil. The pioneer of modern fiction in the language was the renowned District Munsiff of Mayavaram at the end of the last century, Vedanayagam Pillai whose *Pratapa Mudaliar Charitram* began a new form in Tamil writing. He was also the author of many *kīrtanas*, hymns and religious lyrics, which are widely sung even today despite the shifts in artistic tastes. He was a devout Christian and a true representative of the culture of his people.

Foremost among Tamil Christians to command international respect was the late L. D. Swamikannu Pillai who died in 1925 as the first elected President of the Madras Legislative Council under the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms. He was not only a great civil servant and administrator but one of the most seasoned scholars of whom any country should be proud. A linguist of eminence, he was a master of Greek and Latin and Sanskrit too; he was conversant with modern European languages, French, Italian etc. spoke and wrote impeccable English besides being at home, naturally, in his mother tongue Tamil, the ancient classics in which he was well versed, and he was fluent also in Telugu. But what he is most remembered by today is his monumental work as mathematician and astronomer, *An Indian Ephemeris* a work of the highest merit praised by foreign astronomers but available now only in a few copies in public libraries because of the extreme difficulty in reprinting the crowded pages of tabular statements, comparative tables, signs etc. Contributions of the first order to public life have been made by eminent Christians like K. T. Paul, Jerome Saldanha, C.J. Varkey, R. N. Arokiasamy Mudaliar. Pannirselvam, Roche Victoria, Masilamani Pillai, not to speak of Father Jerome DeSouza, the adopted son of Tamilnadu, whose outstanding contribution to the deliberations of India's Constituent Assembly and as a member of the Indian Delegation to the United Nations belongs to present history. Tamilnadu is also proud of its distinguished son, still happily with us as a nonagenarian, M. Ruthnasamy, one of the best authorities in the country on political science and history, public servant, academician, professor and parliamentarian whose many roles in life have kept him vigorous in mind and body. Reference must also be made to the part played by Christians of Tamil-

nadu in the contemporary renaissance of art and music. The use of Carnatic music in Tamil liturgy, the presentation of biblical themes in the form of dance-dramas, films, radio-broadcasts etc. have greatly helped national integration.

Christianity was first preached in Andhra by the Jesuits of the French Carnatic Mission who did such spade work that in spite of their official suppression at the end of the eighteenth century, their successors were able to build on some foundations. American Baptist Missionaries have had some notable successes in this region in the building up of a considerable community. The French Foreign Missionary Society and the Mill Hill Mission who inherited the work of the Jesuits had much uphill task to perform. During the last twenty years, however, the foundation of prominent educational institutions like the Andhra Loyola College at Vijayavada, has helped to win much public sympathy and support for Christian labours and given to the Christian community much needed self-confidence. Christians now account for about four percent of the population in Andhra. They have to make their full impact on the cultural life of their State.

In the Mysore region, owing to circumstances of history the Christians represent different language groups and are largely concentrated in Bangalore. They make about two percent of the population of the present State of Karnataka. Their social and educational influence especially in Bangalore is out of all proportion to their numbers. On account of its situation Bangalore has become the headquarters of a large number of All India Christian Organisations, the city from which Christian work in every field in the sub-continent, is being now directed. One exception to this general statement must however be made in the case of Mangalore, which formerly was part of the old Madras State. This has been one of the most Christian cities of South India but looking always outward, its best known children are serving the whole country north and south with a distinct 'Mangalorean' stamp of their own. They have become adopted children in Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Bombay, recognisable everywhere, tenacious of their faith which they received from the Portuguese missionaries, and making bright careers for themselves in all the important services and in business and in plantations. One of them, the late Dr. Frank De Souza, graduating from Tamilnadu was the first Indian Christian to be selected for the I.C.S.

Among the missionaries, the members of the French Foreign Mission Society who evangelised Mysore, the Abbe Dubois, is perhaps the best known because of his *Hindu Manners & Customs* published by Oxford University Press, a book that has provoked much controversy not because he got his facts wrong but because of his unimaginative and apparently unsympathetic presentation of them and the generalisations he permits himself. It is however a mine of information and used to be recommended to the empire-builder and the young I.C.S. recruit, coming out to India, of the old British Raj. The attitudes and pre-suppositions revealed in this work laboriously and sincerely composed, are not those of the missionaries of today whose first aim is to build bridges of understanding between them and the majority community before attempting to put before their hearers, the authentic Good News of Christianity.

This survey of Christianity in South India has had perforce, to be brief and rapid, by passing many landmarks, omitting many facts; it is intended to be no more than a humble tribute to the one whom this Volume is meant to honour. The writer is acutely conscious of the inadequacy of what has been presented here. Statistics have been avoided in this account since they are never up-to-date and one is often prevented by them from seeing the wood for the trees. The ordinary unbiased South Indian, if asked about Christianity here, automatically points out to the Convent School, the Christian teacher, most often a religious nun or priest, to the great Christian Colleges which have given to the people authentic testimony of the universality, unselfishness and reliability of Christian service, regardless of worldly gain or fame or communal interests. He also remembers the kindness and warmth of affection bestowed on him and those dear to him by hosts of doctors and nurses inspired by the same spirit of service. He may not be aware of the immense sacrifices of ordinary people which lie behind the massive organisations of service to the nation that are called the Christian Missions. The present writer does not wish to mention names of institutions for most of them in South India have become household names; such a list may leave out those which may not be well known but are equally important. In a small, tiled hutment the other day, the writer of these pages saw some nuns tending with incredible love and care some thirty broken and friendless bodies of men and women picked up in the street, the castaways and rejected of our society. The joy that lit their faces was as much a witness to the purpose and inspiration of the Christian effort in this country as the findings of research in the well-equipped laboratories in University Colleges run by the Christian Missions or as the acknowledgedly good teaching and moral training imparted in their educational establishments. All their institutions, hospitals, medical colleges, homes for the sick and aged, orphanages, centres of active social work in the countryside and the organised schemes for social welfare, have become part of the nation's wealth and the people's pride. Christianity is at home in South India, and those who have brought from afar, or as sons and daughters of the soil announce the glad tidings of Christ, have been largely accepted as servants of a great cause and dispensers of those things that silver and gold cannot buy in the markets of the world.

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH INDIA

PREMA NANDAKUMAR

WHAT WAS THE EARLIEST RELIGION in South India? The part of religion in primitive Dravidian world-picture is not quite clear as yet. For this region, recorded history begins only round about the last Śaṅgam Age. By that time waves of Aryan influence had passed over the Dravidian culture and one could distinguish no more the Dravidian religion. However, Aryan influence did not destroy Dravidian religion. It only coalesced with the Dravidian and extended the frontiers of Dravidian mythology. The Aryans never meant to be militarily aggressive in South India. Obviously, they did not care to occupy South India by force as they themselves were few in number. Perhaps Aryan sages were welcomed as harbingers of a greater knowledge by the Dravidians and so there was a steady influence through the centuries. There is the well-known myth of Agastya standing on the Podigai hill to keep India from tilting into the ocean during Śiva's wedding. Agastya in Tamilnadu's mytho-history is the founder of the Tamil school of grammar. Agastya and his like must have contributed judiciously to the proper mingling of language, culture and spiritual life. It may be noted here that another sage, Paraśurāma, went to Kerala and became the forefather of the present day Nambūdiri Brahmins.

Tamilnadu

Early South Indian civilisation had goddesses like Korravai and Kandazhi. It is said that in those historically forgotten days the cult of the Mother Goddess was widespread from India to Egypt. We get a very detailed account of Korravai Worship in the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram*. Korravai is described as a goddess riding on a speeding deer and is also known as Aiyai. Korravai was the Mother Goddess of the Tamils, an eternal virgin delighting in human sacrifice, but is also at times described as the consort of god Śiva. She is the Maid of the Immortals and the presiding deity of hunters. *Śilappadikāram's* Korravai foreshadows the Tantric rites of later days. She is described as Mahāśakti who combines in herself the concepts of Mahā-sarasvati, Mahālakṣmī and Mahēśvari. The legend of Kannaki got merged in the concept of Korravai and temples to them were to be found in many places in Tamilnadu and Kerala till the middle ages. In the *Śilappadikāram* we watch Śālini being possessed by Korravai and saying that Kannaki is an incarnation of the Divine Mother. The Mother Goddess as the presiding deity of female chastity became a popular godhead for centuries. At the same time the legend of Kannaki was merged with Buddhist lore when Buddhism became strong in South India. In *Maṇimekalai* we are given to understand that Kannaki will take several births at the end of which she would listen to the Sage of Kapilavastu and attain *nirvāṇa*.

Tribal dances and festivals with a religious character mark the first upward point in religious movements of the early days. We hear of such indigenous dances and festivals in ancient Tamil literature. *Ōnam*, for example, was a Dravidian dance.

The *Madurai-k-kanji*¹ describes the festival of *Ōnam* dedicated to Mayon, the deity of the Mullai region. Though this dance festival has become extinct in Tamilnadu it is still a major focal point for Keralites to gather annually. *Tiruvāṭṭirai-k-kall* is another dance that is now seen only in Kerala. Tamil literature has mentioned dances like *Tunankai*, *Kuravai*, *Vādavalli* and festivals like *Indira-vizha* that seemed to have been quite popular in those far off days. These religious dances and festivals were closely associated with the hills and rivers of South India. The magnificent evocation of river Kaveri in *Śilappadikāram* is well known. The song collection *Paripadal* has a few brilliant verses dedicated to the river Vaigai. Nature, Man and God are presneted as a unified, intimately inter-connected universe in old Tamil literature. Religion, to the ancient South Indians was a way of cultured living. The inter-religious rivalry which led to eruptions of brutal acts of revenge and counter-revenge were latter-day abominations. Upto the three Śaṅgam periods all religions existed side by side and each person professed a religion according to his heart's dictates. The literary works of the Śaṅgam period bear witness to this. In *Paripadal* we see how Tīrumāl (Vishṇu) and Śēv-vēl (Subrahmanya) were worshipped together. Works like the *Śilappadikāram* give a long list of many religions that sometimes thrived in the same town. Thus we see the Brahmin woman Mālati with her dead step-child seeking help from various temples:

The temple of Holy Tree; of Iravatham;
Baladeva's niche; the temple of the Sun God;
Of the presiding deity of the town;
Of Muruga; of Indra's thunderbolt;
Of Iyanar; of the Jain Supreme;
Of the temple of the Moon God.²

Such passages give also an idea of the various gods and goddesses worshipped by the South Indians and the prefect secular way of life in South India.

At some stage of this ideal state of culture, the Jain and Buddhist religions suddenly rose into great prominence in almost all parts of South India. The Dravidian religious godheads and the Aryan Hinduism that had been making tremendous progress into the Dravidian fold were both put in the shade. One of the major reasons may have been royal patronage. As it is, the Jain legends profess that Drāviḍa, one of the sons of the first Jain Tīrthankara Rishabhadēva, was the originator of the Dravidians. Some scholars have even found literary evidence for this legend. Iḷango Adigaḷ, author of the *Śilappadikāram*, was a prince of Kerala whose royal family professed Jainism. Royal dynasties of the South such as Gaṅgas, Kadambas and Rāshṭrakūṭas helped Jainism in various ways. The *Rājāvalī Kathē* in Kannada gives us vital information about the second wave of Jainism that literally overwhelmed South India for a few centuries. Bhadrabāhu was a Jaina leader of Chandragupta Maurya's time, and lived towards the end of 3rd century B.C. He realised that the Magadha country was to be stricken by drought for twelve years and left for South India with the king and twelve thousand disciples. They reached

Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa in the Kannada country and became an irresistible religious force in Karnataka. Bhadrabāhu sent the saint Viśākha to the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries in Tamiḷnadu. According to the *Rōjāvali Kāthe* Viśākha energised the already existent Jainism in these places. His ministry was such that Jainism remained a great force in Tamiḷnadu till the end of tenth century A.D.

To have held the centre of the stage for nearly 1,300 years was no ordinary feat. Almost all of ancient Tamiḷ literature is either written by Jains or influenced by them. Two of the three major epics of Tamiḷs are by Jains. These two are *Jivaka Chintāmaṇi* and *Śilappadikāram*. The Jains also authored Tamiḷnadu's first lexicon, grammar and book of moral precepts. Of the many important works in this field, the *Tōlkāppiyam* and the *Tirukkural* are known widely outside Tamiḷnadu. Indeed, the pioneering work of the Jains for Tamiḷ poetry, prose, grammar, mathematics, ethics, music and astrology laid the foundations of the glorious Tamiḷ literature and culture. This shows how deep and wide was Jainism's impress upon Tamiḷnadu. It is also opined that Vajranandi, a Jain scholar, established the first Dramaḷa Saṅgha in Madurai in 5th century.

What was it that made the Jainism hold sway over the Tamiḷs for such a long time? One can deduce many reasons.³ Firstly, the Jains professed a basic simplicity in everyday life. The Jain religion had great regard for asceticism. This naturally reflected upon the ordinary people who found it easy to eschew ostentation. The religion laid stress on charity. Hence people found it easy to avoid luxuries and provide as much as they could for charities. This led to good feeling amongst even the non-Jains who blessed the Jain householder and monk and preferred to adopt Jainism.

Among other reasons may be mentioned the use of local language by the Jains in disseminating religious knowledge. The Brahmanic religion of the Aryans was mostly in Sanskrit and the common man found it hard to follow his own religion. As Prof. Vayyapuri Pillai says:

"No doubt the Brahmins also who settled in the South have got equal claim, but their cultural influence stopped with the nobles and the gentry of the land and did not at first try to reach the masses beyond. The Jains on the other hand, began cultural contact with the people and it was only later that they tried to bring under their influence the nobles and kings. Their sacred language also helped this upward movement of culture. It was Prakrit, probably Addhamāgadhī, which was easy to learn and to speak and which had several points in common with Tamiḷ. The tendency to reduce all declensions to one type, absence of dual number, assimilation taking the place of conjunct consonants, disappearance of some sounds, existence of the short vowels *e* and *o* and the avoidance of final consonants are some of the points of agreement."⁴

The Jains did not stop only at religious literature. As they took upon themselves the role of the teacher too by writing books on grammar, medicine and music, they drew thousands to the circle of their influence. The Jain monasteries were known as colleges of Ethics in those days where monks taught humanities and sciences.

through the local language. There were some monks who were good doctors too. All this led to the giving of a strong base for Jainism amongst the general population of the land.

The Jain movement that held mastery over Tamilians for 1,300 years followed closely the precepts as laid down by the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras. The central point of Jain philosophy is easily stated:

"The living and the non-living, by coming into contact with each other, forge certain energies which bring about birth, death, and various experiences of life; this process could be stopped, and the energies already forged destroyed, by a course of discipline leading to salvation".⁵

The Tamil Jain books have explained in detail the entire religious philosophy and have placed great emphasis on the vows of householders and monks. The householder's *aṇuvratas* of *ahiṃsā*, *satya*, *astēya*, *brahmacharya* and *aparigraha* imposed the necessary controls in his daily living. Thus self-controlled, the Jain householder helped to keep the religion away from the shame of self-indulgence. In the same manner, the vows of the monks which included the difficult twenty-two *parīśahas*, their readiness for sacrifice and desire to heal others contributed much towards making the religion popular. Due prayers were offered to the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras by installing their images in temples. Jain monks trained in Jain metaphysics became experts in logical argumentation and played an important part in drawing devotees to their fold. The temples where the images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras were installed, and the caves of Jain monk-scholars dot the entire geographical area of South India. Many of them, even though in ruins, still present an impressive sight and remind us of the glorious days of simple living and high thinking that had marked the age of Jainism in Tamilnadu. They also provide priceless clues to the history of Tamilnadu. Among cave retreats mention may be made of Māmaṇḍūr and Jinakoṇḍa in North Arcot, Śittannavāsāl in Pudukottah, Ānaimalai and Tiruparankuṇṇam in Madurai, Ādichchanallūr and Kaḷugumalai in Tirunelveli and Piḷḷayārpaṭṭi and Tiruvaḍavūr in Ramanathapuram Districts. There are also hundreds of Jain temples in Tamilnadu still in existence in spite of latter day religious vandalism. Like the cave retreats, these temples too have architectural beauties of a rare kind. The *jinālayas* in VijayaMaṅgalam near Erode, Tiruparuttikuṇṇam near Kāñchīpuram and Veṅkuṇṇam near Wandiwash have beautiful Jain sculptures and paintings. Archaeological investigations and excavations have brought to light new facts and remains of sacred Jain temples. A recent example is the very striking sculpture of Pārśvanātha found in Vilaṅguḍi near Madras.

The Jains themselves have divided history into discernible periods, each constituting an age of growth (*utsarpiṇi*) and an age of decay (*avasarpiṇi*). According to them the present is an *avasarpiṇi* age. This feeling coupled with their natural bent for peace and non-injury contributed no doubt to the decay of the movement in Tamilnadu. By the 8th century A.D., the devotional mystics called Ājvārs and Nāyanmārs were spreading Hinduism all over the land bringing to an end the Jain sway over the religious and cultural life of South Indians. In fact, the religion was

almost completely extinguished, though we hear that some pockets of Jain influence around temples and cave retreats were to be seen in the tenth century. Jains comprise a minority group in South India today.

Apart from Jainism, Buddhism too had considerable following in Tamilnadu in the first two centuries after Christ. Most of the Buddhist literature is unfortunately lost, including the epic *Kuṇḍalakṣṣī*. But we have the *Maṇimēkhalai* written by Sīttalai Sattanar. Like its co-eval *Śilappadikāram*, *Maṇimēkhalai* describes a perfect secular age. But Buddhism is the main subject and the story is about young Maṇimekhalai, daughter of the rich courtesan Mādhavi, rejecting a life of sin to become a Buddhist nun. She ends her days engaged in deeds of charity. The epic no doubt reflects the feelings of the countless Buddhist devotees who were then part of the secular culture. The epic refers to Vaidika systems and other dialectics and states the viewpoints of those religions and concepts to prove the greatness of Buddhism. The author naturally dismisses the Veda-based religions as heretical.

The positive contribution of *Maṇimēkhalai* to Buddhism in Tamilnadu is to give a detailed account of the ethical teachings of Gautama. Placing emphasis on *dāna* (charity) and *śīla* (righteousness), it refers to the three focal points of the creed—Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. Buddha's life is retold with touching simplicity and there are references to other stories culled from Buddhist lore. According to Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, the tale of *Maṇimēkhalai* "must be traced to an avatara about the past births of either Sariputta or Moggallāna, who were the chief disciples of the Buddha".⁶ The extraordinary intensity of *Maṇimēkhalai*'s religious faith and humanitarian compassion give an inspiring glow to the epic. It is not surprising that Buddhism was held in veneration by Tamilians as the Buddhist preachers used chaste and simple Tamil to teach their religion to the common man. Saint Aravaṇa in the epic is no doubt drawn from real life and so too his words as these to the heroine:

Know then things ever changing,
Sorrow-giving, soulless and disgusting.
Give up attachment. May you have no anger.
Have good views like universal friendship,
Pray for universal welfare.
Bless those who do good deeds,
Consider body and wealth impermanent.
Accept the basic equality in creation.
May your doubts vanish by studying
Scriptures, thinking good thoughts,
Bhavana and *darshana*.
By these four let the night on thy soul
Be chased away.⁷

Like Jainism, Buddhism too eschewed caste differences, laid stress on social service and charity and took upon itself the job of general education. Its popularity can be gauged by the fact that Nāgapattinam had a Buddhist settlement in the 8th century which is said to have been plundered of its valuable golden dome by Tiru-

mangai Āḷvār. Kāñchi was of course a stronghold of Buddhism with a *rājavihāra* and one hundred retreats. Its importance was still recognised as late as the 14th century A.D.⁸

It is sometimes said that people grew tired of the philosophy of Jains and, Buddhists as there was nothing tangible to hold on to. The former would recognise no god and the latter's was based on the theory of *śūnya*. Thus, when the Hindu revivalist singers appeared in Tamilnadu, people gave their support to them *en masse*. This would be an over-simplification. There were many causes, both external and internal. And by the 7th century the tide had begun to turn against Jainism and Buddhism.

Religious movements are usually strengthened by emotional psalmists, for devotional music is one of the easiest ways of popularising a religion. Jainism and Buddhism depended on a variety of ecstatic hymns to draw people into their fold and keep them therein. The Jain *stōtras* to the Tīrthaṅkaras and the Vidyādēvis are well-known. There are countless prayers to Jain Tīrthaṅkaras in Tamil. The *Jivaka Chintāmaṇi* contains beautiful hymns to the Jain Divinity, Arugadevar. The entire *Maṇimēkhalai* rings with the music of the spheres due to the presence of prayers to the Buddha and places of Buddhist pilgrimage.

Betokening the renaissance of Hindu religion in the 7th century A.D., there arose a group of Tamil psalmists who sang brilliant prayers to Viṣṇu and Śiva, and thus energised Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. The Vaiṣṇava poets are known as Āḷvārs or 'those absorbed in the divine name'. In spite of some historical controversy, we may take it that the twelve Āḷvārs lived between 7th and 10th centuries. Poygai Āḷvār, Pēy Āḷvār and Bhūtattāḷvār are known as the 'first three'. Periya Āḷvār and his daughter Aṇḍāl, the Kerala king Kulaśēkhara, the untouchable Pāṇ Āḷvār, the metaphysician Tirumaḷisai, Tirumaṅgai of Kaḷḷa caste, the devotees Toṇḍarāḍi-poḍi and Madhurakavi along with the most well-known Nammāḷvār are the other nine Āḷvārs. Their devotional hymns have been collected into *Nālāyira divya prabandham* which is regarded with high veneration by the Vaiṣṇavas of Tamilnadu. Nammāḷvār belonged to the Veḷḷāḷa caste and has contributed more than a thousand hymns to the *Prabandham*. The Āḷvārs, like their Śaiva co-evals did many things to popularise Hinduism. Their eschewing of caste differences was a direct result of the Jain and Buddhist religions. By paying respect to even the untouchable Pāṇ Āḷvār, the Hindu religious leaders drew thousands of lower castes into the Hindu fold. Besides, their ecstasy-laden hymns translated the Vedic religion into a recognisable entity for the common man in Tamilnadu. He felt nearer to the divine principle, and the songs of the Āḷvārs created a vision of God communing with Nature and Man in and around the temples built in picturesque settings by Tamilians and Keralites. This in its turn enthused kings and chieftains to build loftier structures with artistic improvisations never-attempted hitherto by man. Thus the new age of Hinduism flowered in multi-foliate grandeur, enriching the cultural life of South India in many ways.

The *Prabandham* verses themselves lay bare the adventures of the soul in its

search for unification with the divine. The Āḷvārs sorrow, thrill, frown, smile and wonder by turns.

"The Vaishnava concept of God as *saguṇa* gave the Āḷvārs any number of concrete images and events as instruments of expression. One section of modern Hindu thought under the influence of the luminous abstract speculation of the Upanishads tries to explain them as mere symbols. But to the Āḷvārs they were not mere symbols; they were the embodiment of reality, the only way that the Infinite could reach out to a conditioned world".⁹

And so when they sang of Nārāyaṇa as the human prince and human cowherd, when they worshipped the visible idols in the various temples as the *archāvatāra*, and when they constantly associated God with the nature around, people could feel a direct communion with the transcendent reality.

He stands on a Hill, stays on a plain,
And reclines on the sea; Wondrous Lord
The First Being, Madhava stands,
Stays and swims in my heart as well.¹⁰

The work begun by these was consolidated by a series of teachers of whom the best known are Rāmānuja and Vēdāntadēśika. Rāmānuja granted the right of initiation to all the devotees irrespective of caste and gave permission to wear the caste mark and study the *Prabandham*. By the 11th century Jainism and Buddhism had ceased to be religious forces and the South Indian stage was occupied by Śaivism and Vaishṇavism battling for supremacy. It was perhaps inevitable, as the Śaiva Nāyanmārs were co-evals with the Vaishnava Āḷvārs.

The Śaiva religious canon comprises twelve Books, or *Tirumurai*s containing the hymns written by various Śaiva mystics. The most widely known among these are Sambandhar, Appar, Sundarar and Māṇikkavāchagar. The twelfth Book is the *Periyapurāṇam*, detailing the lives of the 63 Nāyanmārs written by Śēkkīḷār. It is said that the Chōḷa king Anapayan was completely absorbed in the epic *Jivaku Chintāmaṇi*. To turn the king's mind away from the Jain epic, his minister Śēkkīḷār is said to have indited the *Periyapurāṇam*. These twelve Books form the basis of Śaiva-siddhānta. According to Śaiva-siddhānta, the Supreme Being is Śiva. He alone can cleanse our souls of pride, *karma* and *māyā*. As Śiva resides in our soul, His Grace can speedily effect the cleansing process, once we have realised Him in our heart. The way to realise Śiva lies in *Bhakti-yōga*. The Nāyanmārs, drenched in devotion, have sung in mellifluous verse their visions of the Lord and the great shrines to Śiva that are to be found all over Tamilnadu.

The Pallava kings who rose to power in the 7th century became enthusiastic votaries of Hinduism. They patronised these religious poets, built temples and made munificent gifts for Vedic studies. The *Mattavilāsaprahasana* by Mahēndravarmān Pallava is a social comedy that ridicules Buddhism and Jainism. The Chōḷas succeeded the Pallavas as masters of the Tamil country. Āditya conquered the land from Aparājita Pallava. Parāntaka I, son of Āditya ruling from 907 A.D. to 955 A.D. laid the strong foundations of Chōḷa supremacy. The Chōḷas gave a tremendous

boost to Śaivism, and built grandly conceived temples to Śiva. Rājārāja-chōḷa built the Big Temple at Tanjāvūr. He made Ceylon a Chōḷa province, and built a Śiva temple at Polannuruva, thus breaking the total sway of Buddhism in the island. His son Rājendra built a grand temple at Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōḷapuram. Apart from positively encouraging Śaivism, the kings of Tamilnadu used also the negative weapon of religious persecution. The Pāṇḍyan king Neḍumāran who was a Jain became a Śaivite because of his queen Mangayarkkaraśi. She was a staunch Śaivite and a devotee of Sambandhar. Legends tell us that there were debates between the local Jain leaders and Sambhandhar. Miracles were performed, the Jains were worsted and it is said that eight thousand Jains were impaled. Sambandhar is also credited with the worsting of a famous dialectician Buddhānandī. Historical evidences are not lacking for such religious persecution of the Jains and Buddhists during the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries.

There were times of royal persecution of Vaishṇavas too as during the rule of Kulōttuṅga I. His bigotry was such that Rāmānuja, the great Vaishṇava *āchārya*, had to flee Tamilnadu. He could return only after the king's death. His chief disciple Kūrēśa was tortured and his eyes plucked out. Fortunately such instances were rare. For the rest, Hinduism had come to stay. In the succeeding centuries great poets like Kambar and Villiputtūrār re-told Hindu myths and legends capturing the attention of the common man. The Śaiva and Vaishṇava *maṭhas* took up organised dissemination of religious lore and general education. To this day Hinduism has continued to hold a major sway over Tamilnadu, assisted by musicians, poets, *maṭhādhipatis* and temple festivals.

Śaiva-siddhānta had another branch too where the advaitic view of reality held more importance. Just as people question the validity of a Supreme God, there are thinkers who worry about the phenomenon of death. The Siddha cult which seeks to overcome the fact of death, has had its exponents all over India. Tirumūlar, the author of *Tirumantiram* (one of the twelve *Tirumurtis*) has a pre-eminent position in the Siddha cult of Tamilnadu. The greatest of *siddhas*, Agastya, is said to reside on the Podigai hill. The singers Appar, Sundarar, Sambandhar and Maṇikkavāchagar were all *siddhas* capable of performing miracles. Their successors roamed the forests and hilly tracts of Tamilnadu, lost in ecstasies of Advaitic bliss. A considerable number of their verses have come down to us as *Siddhar pāḍalgaḷ*. Several *siddhāśramas* have grown around the buried remains of individual *siddhas*. Tāyumānavar was a *siddha* of 17th century. He was a learned scholar who became a revered *yōgi* of his times. He has left behind thought-provoking verses composed in sweet Tamil. Rāmaliṅga-svāmigaḷ who lived during the last century was greatly influenced by Tāyumānavar's poetry. He established the Samarasa Vēda-sanmārga Saṅgha in 1865. This became a popular venue for thousands seeking illumination. Rāmaliṅga installed a light in the place of an icon in the temple he built at Vaḍalūr, and made arrangements for poor feeding and free education. His *Tiru Aruṭpā* in six books records the autobiography of a soul which has had a vision of Reality and has come near conquering Death itself.

Come, O worldly men
 grovelling in misery:
 through constant brooding
 and steady understanding—
 melting in emotion,
 bathed in perennial tears,
 filled with love—
 imploring the soul's Lord,
 Nectar of Grace, Delight of Being,
 King of Enlightenment—
 Know that you can all gain
 the deathless life....
 this is the time to enter
 the golden Life Divine.¹¹

In this century there have been saintly individuals like Ramaṇa-maharshi and Sri Aurobindo who have influenced large groups of people. They are direct descendants of the *saṅgātana dharma* expounded by Hinduism, but their outlook has been broadened by the study of all the world religions. Islam has also had an impact on Tamilnadu, but it came more as a friend. The kind of religious vandalism that was witnessed all over North India in the destruction of Hindu temples and forcible conversion of Hindus was happily absent in South India. Muslim poets have been honoured by Hindu princes, and Umaru Pulavar's epic *Śira purāṇam* is read by all lovers of poetry even today.

However, Christianity as a religion has had a noticeable impact on Tamil life and literature. Among the earliest Christians was the Roman Catholic Father Beschi who came to Madura in 1710. He spent his early years as an itinerant preacher. Escaping martyrdom at the hands of the commander-in-chief of the king of Madurai in 1713, he moved on to Tirunelveli District, worked in Kayattar, Elakurichi and other places and proselytised many Hindus. At the same time he mastered the Tamil language. When the German Lutheran Protestant missionaries landed in Tranquebar in 1706, there was an inevitable clash. Father Beschi's protracted pamphlet war with the Tranquebar Protestants is well known. He was a successful preacher and he built the temple of Adaikkala Nayaki in Elakurichi and got grants of land for the temple from the Zamindar of Elakurichi in 1735.¹²

In 1731 Fr. Beschi met Chanda Sahib, the nephew of the Nawab of Arcot. This friendship helped the Roman Catholic movement in Tamilnadu. By making use of the Tamil language to write mystical and devotional narratives as in *Temāṇvāṇi*, *Kītheri Ammāḷ ammanai*, *Tirukāḷlūr kalambagam*, *Adaikkala mālai*, and *Tirupāṇvāṇi*, he found a ready audience from Tamil scholars and the middle classes. Besides, his services to Tamil grammar are remembered to this day with gratitude. It is said that annually he alone baptised on an average 721 children and took to the Christian fold 214 persons. He died in 1747.

Beschi's friend Anthony Kutti's poetry was so simple and striking that it helped to gain mass interest in Catholic religion. Kutti enriched Tamil Christian hymnology with his *Perinbakkāṭal*, *Ananda mañjari*, *Kristava sangītam* and *Tiruppugal*. Singers and lecturers like Leyon went around preaching the Gospel by adopting native speech. *Kathākālakshēpams* hitherto used only by Hindus were undertaken by pandits like Savarayulu Naicker who lived in the early years of this century. Naicker, however, was not a mere religious propagandist. His social consciousness led him to take part in reform movements. Though living in French Pondicherry he was strongly in favour of prohibition.

Kings punish the murderer,
the thief, the liar and the gambler;
By properly controlling the evil-prone
the kings guard righteousness.
But why do they allow freedom
to the Mother of all this evil?
They dare not punish the drinker—
Is it because of the wretched income?¹³

Vedanayagam Pillai of Mayūram and Savei Rayar of Tuticorin were two Christians who by their writings and exemplary lives helped the Christian movement. Pillai wrote the first novel in Tamil, titled *Pratāpa mudaliyar Charittiram*. Rayar's *Śrī Bhagarthavilāsam* is a drama that relates the life of Alexis who lived a pure life in Rome in 5th century. Rayar also did good to the farming community by instituting the Punalu Kṛṣhigaḷ Sangham and the first Co-operative Bank in Tiruchi. The great good that the Christian institutions have done for the cause of education and the inevitable evils of proselytisation have been portrayed by well-known novelists like V. M. Kotainayaki Ammal and A. Madhaviah.

The anti-religious movements like Dravida Kaḷagam and Dravida Munnētra Kaḷagam have had some political success. But they have not been able to destroy the religious instinct of the Tamilian. Today the co-existence of various religions in this part of India and the enthusiasm for religious discourses and seminars, festivals and celebrations provide a picture of happy amity.

Kerala

Kerala's early days are inextricably bound with Tamil land. Animism was widely prevalent in the pre-historic era, and traces are still to be seen in Kerala countryside where spirit rituals are conducted regularly. As with the early history of tribal religion, group dances were prominent. Onam dance is celebrated even in this century with great eclat. In the first few centuries after Christ, Jainism and Dravidian Hindusim held positions of power in the cultural milieu. At this time there was no separate language as Malayalam, and Kerala was known only as Malai Nadu. The poets who wrote the Śaṅgam work *Aiṅgurunūru* were from Kerala. *Paḍigruppattu*, an ancient Tamil work gives a descriptive account of ten generations of the Chēra dynasty. The *Śilappadikāram* and *Mañimēkhalai* were written by poets from Kerala.

Later, when Jainism and Buddhism weakened and the Hindu renaissance was in bloom, the Ālvārs sang ecstatic hymns on the deities and temples of Kerala. One of them, Kulaśēkhara was a king of Kerala. Some of his most moving verses are on the presiding deity of Viṅṇuvakkōḍu in Kerala.

The bird that clung to the ship's mast
Found itself adrift on the wide sea.
Witherforth it may fly; still
Water held it far from land.
Tired, the chastened bird returned
To the familiar pole to rest.
Whither shall I find my repose
Except at your blessed feet?
O Lord residing at Vitruvakkodu
Abounding in colourful fish!¹³

Kulaśēkhara's successor was Cheramān Perumāḷ, an illustrious Nāyanār of the Śaiva religion. Another Nāyanār, Vīraṇmandi of Cheṅgannūr was also from Kerala. In any case, unlike in Tamilnadu, Aryan Hinduism had taken roots in Kerala long before the Christian era. The Nambūdiri Brahmins, trace their ancestry to Paraśurāma, and describe themselves as the descendants of a mass-scale Aryan immigration. These immigrants brought their language Sanskrit and the entire store-house of Vedic lore. The native Naga tribes continued to keep their Dravidian religion of animism. However, Vedic Hindu religion soon had the upper hand because of the ability of the immigrant Brahmins to produce treatises on philosophy, astrology and hymnology. When Śaṅkara, the immortal expounder of Advaita appeared in the tenth century, the triumph of Hinduism was complete. While advocating Advaita, Śaṅkara energised ritual worship too, and composed a variety of glorious hymns like *Saundaryalahari*, *Āṇandalahari* and *Bhaja Gōvindam*. A series of great poets like Vāsudēva, Kulaśēkhara and Līlāśuka wrote sparkling prayers spreading the message of Hinduism. To take Aryan Hinduism into the remote corners of Kerala, poets began to use *maṇipravāḷam*, which combined Sanskrit and Malayalam with ease. Numerous *stōtras*, *sthala mātmyams* and Hindu myths and legends were written in *maṇipravāḷa*. The kings of Kerala encouraged the performance of miracle plays like *kūḍiyūṭṭam* within the temple premises. The temples at Trivandrum, Tiruvattaru, Tiruchengunrūr and other places became famous places of pilgrimage. The religious significance and scenic beauty of these places have been wonderfully depicted by the Ālvārs in many hymns. Thus Nammālvār of the Tiruvānvendūr temple and its presiding deity Pambanai-appan:

O black stork that graze
Along with your beloved consort!
Worship my Lord's feet; tell Him
Of my capable faith.
He swallowed the entire universe
And is now staying at

Tiruvanvendur; in that place
The sounds of Vedic sacrifice
Resound the high skies.¹³

Anantapura varṇanam is a devotional poem of the 14th century which gives us an idea of the enthusiasm for Viṣṇu worship in Kerala.

During the 15th century, the Kannassan family retold the *Ramāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata* for the benefit of the Hindu population. The following century was given over to *champu kāvyas* on Hindu puranic themes underlining the growing strength of Hinduism. Eḷuttachchan in the latter half of the 16th century brought in a refreshing breeze of mystical and spiritual fervour to a religion growing somewhat stale under the weight of legends and Purāṇas. Sri Chaitanya-mahāprabhu's travels in Kerala had inaugurated the Bhakti movement and Eḷuttachchan strengthened it.

An important feature of Eḷuttachchan's poetry is that it is a reconstruction in a free and individualistic manner of the original tale. Even while it follows the model rather closely, as in portions of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, it could show in almost every line of it the clear impress of its author's personality. Quite often we find the poet deviate from the original, and borne on the tides of mystic raptures, pour forth unceasing strains of eulogies on his beloved deity, even at the cost of poetic relevance.¹⁴

The *Gurumadhom* established by Eḷuttachchan in Chittoor harboured many poets of genius and was instrumental in producing considerable devotional literature. Poontanam Nambudiri also belonged to this age. His *Bhāṣhā Karṇāmṛitam* is famous for its sweet and limpid style. The Bhakti movement gave rise to visual presentation on the stage of religious themes as Kathakalī. This dance drama of the Keralites and their religious music were fostered by the Maharajahs of Travancore.

But already a rival to the Hindu religion was on the horizon. Vasco de Gama landed at Calicut in 1498 A.D. indicating the beginnings of a new religious movement in Kerala. But Kerala was no stranger to Christianity. Legends say that St. Thomas landed at Cranganore in 52 A.D. and after establishing Christianity there moved on to Madras where he passed away. Historically, we understand that Knae Thomman led Christian immigrants to Malabar coast, landing there in 345 A.D. The followers of this original Church are known as Syrian Christians. By the time the Portuguese missionaries arrived in the 16th century, the Syrian Christians had imbibed most of the native customs and manners, even in the mode of worship. Therefore a synod was convened at Diampur in 1599 A.D. to 'reform' the Syrian Christians. This did not have much result and the Syrian Christians have remained an individual entity in Kerala.

Unlike the Syrian Christians, the Portuguese missionaries and their followers were more interested in spreading the Christian religion. Like their counterparts in Tamilnadu, the missionaries learnt the local language and proceeded upon their work. Arnos Padiri was a Hungarian who worked in Ambalakkada and Trichur.

He learnt Sanskrit and Malayalam and wrote books in the latter language for spreading the message of Christ effectively. *Chaturantyam* by Arnos Padiri is a poem on Heaven and Hell. He also retold the life of the Saviour in *Misihacharithram*. The Austrian Paulinos Padiri who did missionary work in Varapūḷha wrote works aimed at educating the common man in Christian lore. Apart from writing devotional poetry like the Elutthachchan school, and explanatory treatises like *Vēdānta*, the Christians also thought of a rival to Kathakaḷi. *Chavittu Nāṭakam* helped the missionaries keep the Christians away from Kathakaḷi with its Hindu themes. The Roman Catholic scholar Chinnatambi Pillai wrote some of the first scripts. Life stories of Western heroes like Charlemagne and Napoleon and Biblical stories were thus made popular, and even the illiterate peasant learnt speedily about Christianity.

P. K. Parameswaran Nair says that the Portuguese "set about the propagation of their faith with unreserved zeal and a deliberate method". The results were not bad. Christians form a major force in the Kerala population today. Christianity had other uses too. "The new faith brought about many radical changes in the cultural pattern of the society, and in regard to its literature, it ushered in the age of printing and exerted a beneficent influence on its prose."¹⁵

Like the *paḷlis* of the Jains and the *maṭhas* of the Hindus, the Seminaries of the Jesuits took up the task of education in Kerala. The Seminaries at Kodungallor, Chennamangalam, Vypeen and Kottayam boasted of efficient linguists and teachers. The Ambalakkada Seminary established the first printing press. With the help of the press, the priests overwhelmed the population with religious pamphlets. And of course, good Malayalam translations of the Holy Bible did the rest.

Kerala has a sizeable population of Muslims. Islam came to Kerala quite early and continued to spread itself slowly. The Muslims of Kerala, like the Syrian Christians have merged themselves with the scenery as far as customs and manners go. In fact, statistics tells us that 78% of Kerala Muslims are converts from the old backward classes. But for the unfortunate Moplah rebellion of 1921 (which incidentally provoked Kumaran Asan to write *Duravastha*) there has generally been communal harmony. Some of the famous modern Malayalam writers are Muslims, like Vaicom Muhammad Basheer. The underlining pain in his depiction of the Muslim community speaks volumes about its backwardness due to the grip of blind traditions.

In this century, it is the socio-religious movement of Nārāyaṇa Guru that is important in Kerala's religious history. For centuries the Eḷhava or untouchable community of Kerala had suffered privation in the hands of caste Hindus. One hundred years ago they had not even the right to education. Nārāyaṇa Guru, a great religious and spiritual leader, established the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam in 1903. This Society established schools and colleges and helped eager Eḷhava boys to gain education and government jobs. Nārāyaṇa Guru had an able assistant in Kumaran Asan, the great Kerala poet. The SNDP Yogam was based on Hinduism and Asan's first poetical work was *Śivastōtramālā*. Nārāyaṇa Guru, though a Śūdra, built and consecrated many Śiva temples. When he was criticised

for such 'sacrilege' he retorted that he was not installing the 'Brahmin Śiva' but the 'Eļhava Śiva'! In the twenties there was a group of Eļhava leaders belonging to the Yogam who wanted it to accept Buddhism and reject Hinduism as the latter was still a prey to caste divisions. Kumaran Asan brushed aside this suggestion on the ground that one could not change the mental approach that one has cultivated for years, just as one might change a shirt. That was psychologically untenable. Further, there would be no physical benefits. Thirdly, a community consisting of several lakhs of people with varying mental predilections cannot be converted into another religion *en masse*. Such a step would be unwise and lead to disintegration in the community.¹⁶

Andhra Pradesh

Unlike Tamilnadu and Kerala, our historical knowledge of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka begins late. Mahinda, the son of Aśōka is said to have gone to Sri Lanka with six monks and converted the king residing in the capital Anurādhapura. It was natural for such embassies to pass through Andhra which was on the route. And hence, the land was greatly influenced by Buddhism. Andhra Pradesh abounds in Buddhist sites of vital historical value. Buddhist sites have been found from Sālihuṇḍum in the north to Chinnagañjām in the south. The Buddhist *stūpas* or commemorative pillars at Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Jaggayyapēṭa and Guḍivāḍa were built around 2nd-3rd century A.D. The Bhaṭṭiprōlu *stūpa* built in the second century B.C. with the help of the local king Kubēraka is a *mahāstūpa* as it contains a bone relic in a crystal casket along with precious stones. Another *mahāstūpa* is in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. This was renovated by Sāntisrī and other ladies of the local royal family, thanks to whom Buddhism became very popular in Andhra in the third century A.D. All this shows that Buddhism was the pre-eminent religion in Andhra Pradesh for more than one thousand five hundred years.

It is with the Sātavāhanas that the properly recorded history of Andhra Pradesh begins. The Sātavāhanas were Brahmin kings who encouraged Hinduism by performing sacrifices. Sātakarṇi I is said to have performed quite a few, including the *Āṅgīrasa-trirātra*, *Rājasūya* and *Aśvamēdha*. But though they paid homage to Vedic deities like Viṣṇu and Śiva, they did not show antipathy to Buddhism. The Chālukya rule that followed saw the ascendancy of Hinduism and the decline of Buddhism. But Jains received royal help at times.

Jains and Buddhists set the ball rolling for Telugu literature. As in Tamilnadu, they must have taken up the education of the masses through their voluminous writings. This must have gone on till at least the 11th century, i.e., upto the rise of the Chālukyas. Rājarāja-narēndra, the Vēṅgi Chālukya (1022-1063 A.D.) asked Nannaya to retell the *Mahābhārata* in Telugu. Nannaya did his task creditably. He was eminently suited for the job as he was a pious Hindu. However, he could not finish the work. Eṅṇanna and Tikkana in the following centuries completed the task.

During the 12th century Śaivism rose to prominence under Nanni-chōḍa of the Chōḷa royal family. He was followed by Mallikārjuna, Annamayya, Pāḷkurki Sōma-

nātha and other famous Śaivite poets. Pāṅkurki Sōmanātha's *Basavapurāṇam* and *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra* retold the miracles wrought by Vīraśaiva devotees like Basavēśvara and Paṇḍitārādhyā, thus enthusing his followers to drive out Jainism. He used popular metres and even colloquial Telugu to make his works successful as propaganda literature.

Just when Śaivism was to have the upper hand, Vaiṣṇavism began to gain immense popularity. The *Rāmāyaṇa* poets like Budha-reḍḍi, Bhāskara, Mallikārjuna-bhaṭṭa and Kumāra Rudradēva contributed a good deal for popularising the cult of Viṣṇu. Vaiṣṇava literature received its greatest exponent in Pōtana in the 15th century. He adapted the Sanskrit *Bhāgavatam* into Telugu verse. However, Pōtana's work is so brilliant that it eclipses even the original at times.

"Every episode which he presented is an interesting poem, complete in itself, and his piety is reflected in every verse. . . . The right word in the right place, a simile most appropriate to the occasion, a sentiment that is shared by one and all, and a felicity of phrase which evokes beautiful thoughts, are some of the prominent features of Pōtana's poetry."¹⁷

Pōtana's contemporary was Tāḷlapāka Annamāchārya whose devotional songs addressed to Lord Veikaṭēśvara of Tirupati reveal the many modes of Vaiṣṇava devotion. The great king Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagara was a devotee of Viṣṇu. He composed the Telugu poem *Āmuktamālyada* which retells the story of Āṇḍāl. Kṛṣṇadēvarāya describes a vision of Viṣṇu he had in the Śrīkākuḷam temple which commanded him to write the poem. Among other great poets who devoted their pen to strengthening the Vaiṣṇava cult may be mentioned Tenālī Rāmakṛṣṇa who wrote *Pāṇḍuranga-māhātmyam* and Nandi Timmana who composed *Pārijātā-paharaṇamu*.

The tragedy about Brahmanic Hinduism whether as Vaiṣṇavism or Śaivism was its caste consciousness. Jainism and Buddhism had flourished because they were against casteism. Brahmanic Hindus, in a bid to bring back the mass to their fold began to preach against casteism. The Bhakti cult of the Āḷvārs and Nāyanāmars was based on this welcome reform. Kapila in Tamilnadu (1100 A.D.), Basava in Karnataka and Vēmana in Andhra Pradesh organised movements that opposed caste observances. Vēmana who belonged to the 16th century belonged to the Vīraśaiva religion. The religion begun as a reformist offshoot of Hindu Śaivism in Karnataka by Basava had been fostered in Andhra Pradesh by Pāṅkurki Sōmanātha, Mallikārjuna and others. By 16th century, much of its idealism was gone and Vēmana arose speaking up boldly. So powerful has been this one man's reformist idealism that his verses are recited by Andhras even today. Vēmana tried to purify Śaivism of the dross that had accumulated in the course of the centuries and hence his poetry leaps with fury and roars with invective.

What fools! They take a stone from off the hill,
And after knocking it about with hands and feet,
With chisels cut it and with hammers beat: Then chants they *trill*.

The living useful bull you starve and beat;
 But when 'tis carved in stone you it adore!
 How gross such sinful folly is! Abhor so clear a cheat.
 While He, the worshipful, dwells in the heart,
 Why pile your gifts in temple made of stones?
 Can gods who, in and out, are rock alone
 E'er taste a part?¹⁸

Muslim invasion of Andhra Pradesh caused some serious damage to Āndhra temples like Simhāchalam. However, Islam whether under the Golconda Sultans or the Nizam could do nothing to the mass of Hindus and very soon began to co-exist with Hinduism. In fact Muslim rulers like the Tanisha of Hyderabad have given munificent donations to the Bhadrāchalam temple.

In the Āndhra region too 17th century saw the coming of Christian missionaries who propagated their faith ardently. Robert de Nobili, like Father Beschi, wore Indian dress and preached in Telugu. With the increasing number of converts (mostly from the downtrodden classes), it became a necessity to translate the Bible into Telugu. A number of translations appeared in the last century to satisfy this need. The missionaries used only the colloquial or popular Telugu, and hence established immediate rapport with their flock. At the commencement of the 18th century the Carnatic Mission had been founded in Āndhra. The Mission commissioned works on Christian themes. Pingali Ellanārya's *Tobhyacharitra* was one such, and it recounts the life of St. Thomas. Occasionally there were converts from higher classes too. Maṅgalagiri Ānandakavi was one such and his *Vēdanta rahasyam* is about the life of Christ.

The London Mission Society founded at Viśākhapaṭṇam in 1804 engaged itself in educational activities and founded schools. The Godavari Delta Mission was established to spread Christianity among workers building a dam across the Godavari at Dhavalēśvaram. The American Baptist Mission established in Nellore, Ongole, Hyderabad and Kurnool specialised in schools and hostels. The Church of the C.M.S. in Machulipaṭṇam carried out proselytisation on a large scale drawing converts even from the higher classes. The Church established the Noble College in this town. The Andhra Christian College was founded by a German priest. The Canadian Baptist Mission and the American Lutheran Church Mission also untiringly spread Christianity in Andhra Pradesh. Whether the Christian missionaries succeeded or not in their work of proselytisation, they certainly deserve the thanks of the Andhra public. For, it was the Christian missionaries who wrote the first Telugu grammar and compiled the first Telugu dictionary. It was they who with farsight encouraged popular Telugu, as against the pundit-iden classical Telugu; and it was they who laid the firm foundations for higher education in Andhra Pradesh.

Karnataka

The early religious history of Karnataka is much like that of Andhra Pradesh. Karnataka emerges into history in the 10th century when Jainism and Buddhism were

the leading religions. One of the earliest works *Varṇādhane* tells us the story of Bhadrabāhu's coming to Śravaṇabelagoḷa. The earliest Jain inscription in Karnataka is found in this place, in the cave of Chandragupta in Chandragiri. The first major poet of Karnataka was Pampa who had respect for both Jainism and Vedic Brahmanism. His two works are *Ādipurāṇa* and *Vikramārjunavijaya*. *Ādipurāṇa* retells the story of Ādinātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara and of his son Bharatēśvara. As with Jain literature, the work comprehends many tales relating to Jain mythology. The devotional fervour and poetic beauty of *Ādipurāṇa* are an indication of the deep-seated reverence for Jain religion in the Karnataka of Pampa. The *Vikramārjuna vijaya* is about the exploits of Arujna. Ponna, another great poet of the 10th century also chose a Jain subject for his *chamṇū kāvya*. *Śāntipurāṇa* details the many lives of Śāntinātha Tīrthaṅkara. Ponna's contemporary was Ranna, a Jain by birth. He was educated at the Jain monastery at Śravaṇabelagoḷa. He wrote the life of the second Tīrthaṅkara Ajita as *Ajītapurāṇa*. Ranna also composed a poem titled *Gadāyuddha* on a *Mahābhārata* theme. Other contemporary poets too preferred Jain themes as Chāmuṇḍarāya who wrote *Trīśaṣṭīlakṣhaṇa Mahāpurāṇa*. During the 11th and 12th centuries Jainism continued to reign supreme. The notable 11th century Kannada poet was the Jain Nāgachandra, a rich and pious person who wrote an epic poem on the Tīrthaṅkara, Mallinātha. Nāgachandra also wrote a *Rāmāyaṇa* but it is influenced by Jain ideals. In fact, the hero Rāma is so wedded to non-injury, that it is Lakshmana who kills Rāvaṇa! Nāgasēna belonged to the 12th century and authored *Dharmāmṛta* which gives the life histories of fourteen great Jains. The work seeks to explain in simple terms some of the Jain ethical principles. Brahmasīva's *Samayaparīkṣhe* gives an account of many religions, tries to prove their inadequacies and praises Jainism as the true religion. The scholarly Nāgavarma II, a Jain, wrote on prosody and grammar. In fact Jains, as elsewhere in South India, dominated literature and education in Karnataka upto the 12th century, their far-flung monasteries influencing lives throughout the land.

In the middle of the 12th century the advent of Basava put an end to Jainism's popularity. Basava was a Brahmin lad who rebelled against the caste prejudices and blind traditionalism that existed in Śaivism in those days. He became the chief minister of king Bijjala of Kalyāṇa. Bijjala was a Jain and could not be happy about the growing popularity of Basava and his followers. The inevitable break-up led to Basava's retirement and Bijjala's assassination. There followed a communal massacre at Kalyāṇa which emptied the city of Basava's followers. However, the eclipse was temporary. Very soon, Basava's religion became a powerful movement in Karnataka.

Basava named his religion as Vīraśaivism and founded the institution called *Śīvaṇubhava maṇṭapa*. The saintly Allama Prabhu took charge of the institution where religion was wedded to the social structure and all men and women became equal in the reign of *Śīva bhakti*. Basava's twin ideals were to purify Śaivism of its accumulated dross, and found a religion that would be a rival to Jainism's social philosophy. According to Vīraśaivism neither sex, nor social status, nor caste disqualifies a person from attaining salvation. The 'untouchable' and the 'weaker sex'

are potentially the religious and social equals of the members of the highest castes. It is worthy of note that Basava discouraged mere vagrancy and beggary as a means of living, and extolled the simple dignity of labour.

Each Vīraśaiva wears the *līṅga* on his body thus making himself live in actual contact with God. The Vīraśaiva religion is based on the individual soul passing through six stages—*bhakti*, *mahēśa*, *prasādi*, *prāṇalingi*, *śaraṇa* and *alkya*—achieves union with the Divine in the end.

“As the soul progresses from a feeling of helplessness and frustration to the ineffable jubilation of identity, it constantly gains momentum by exploiting certain aids, viz. the *aṣṭāvaraṇam*. These are; obedience to a qualified *guru* or teacher, worship of the *līṅga*, reverence for the *jaṅgama*, the wearing of *rudrāksha*, the use of *vibhūti*, the partaking of the *guru*’s *prasāda*, purification through the holy *tirtha* (water) with which the *guru*’s feet have been washed, and the meditative utterance of the *pañchākshara*. . . . The final union itself is described by Vīraśaiva pundits as *bayala nirbayala*, in other words, a condition of existence which is no existence, a concept rather approximating to the *nirvāṇa* of Buddhism. But unlike Buddhism, Vīraśaivism is inveterately theistic”.¹⁹

Vīraśaivism’s early popularity may be gauged by the fact that the *Śivānubhava-maṇṭapa* had about 300 learned persons including sixty scholarly women. The religious Vachana literature of the Līṅgāyats was fostered here in the assemblage of the scholar and peasant. Basava, Allama Prabhu, Mahādēvi Akka, Siddharāma, Mādara Channayya, Chennabasavaṇṇa and a host of Līṅgāyat poets have left behind thousands of *vachanas* or sayings that form the core of Vīraśaiva philosophy. The Vīraśaiva religion continues to be a potent force in Karnataka and has more than six million adherents today.

Vaishṇavism also stormed the fortress of Jain supremacy at about this time. We have already seen how the eminent Vaishṇava teacher Rāmānuja had become a self-exile from Tamilnadu to escape the wrath of Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga. He had found welcome in the court of the Hoysaḷa king Bīṭṭidēva. Converted to Vaishṇavism, the erstwhile Jain king assumed the name Viṣṇuvardhana and gave all help for the spread of Vaishṇavism. The grand temple to Kēśava at Bēlūr was built by him. With the advent of the *dāsas*, Vaishṇavism was assured of a firm base in Karnataka for the coming centuries. The *Dāsa* movement was a direct result of Madhvāchārya who propagated the *Dvaita* philosophy of Vedantic realism in Karnataka. The *Dāsa* saints directed their love towards Lord Viṭhala of Paṇḍharpur. Madhva’s philosophy was made a living force by the *bhajana* of the *dāsas* sending out a thousand brilliant rays of devotional fervour. By using the Kannada language they captured the attention of even illiterate people.

The line of *dāsas* was initiated by Śrīpādarāja who was the head of a *maṭha* at Muḷabāgal. A Sanskrit scholar, he wrote soul-stirring song-groups like *Bhramara-Gīta* and *Gōpi-Gīta*. Śrīpādarāja’s student Vyāsarāja wrote philosophical treatises as well as musical prayers. Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa are household names in Karnataka even today because of their songs that are the very soul of *bhakti*. Vādirāja

Vijayadāsa and Jagannāthadāsa were some of the other famous *dāsas* who popularised the Vaishṇava movement.

"The central idea of their philosophy is the existence of an independent, transcendent principle called God. Behind the veil of *māyā*, He is the redeemer of human souls struggling from time immemorial to free themselves from the meshes of *prakṛiti*. The Grace of God is the means of such redemption from the flesh and the cycle of births and deaths. This is obtained by *bhakti* (devotion) which flows from love of God, to the exclusion of everything else, with a deep sense of the dependence of souls on Him. The songs draw frequently upon the teachings and legends of the epics and Puranas to inculcate the spirit of devotion".²⁰

There is something in the very soil of India that makes it spiritually inclined. Numerous saints have adorned it, many religions have flourished here and countless religious treatises have been written. South India in particular, has been generally free of the bitterness of communal strife. Religions have co-existed enriching the people's culture and way of living. There have been venerable saints, persuasive preachers, ecstatic mystics, wondrous *siddhas*, honey-worded singers and generous patrons who have all helped life on this earth betouched by the life divine. And it was South India which gave to the world Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva whose re-organisation of Hinduism has endured for nearly ten centuries.

What of the future? The breeze from the West has only helped the Indian religions extend the frontiers of universal brotherhood. The humanistic ideals in Hinduism are being propagated successfully by many saintly souls who are happily with us today. History, archaeology and literary research have helped the twentieth century to draw nearer even the near-extinct religions like Jainism and Buddhism and adopt their ethical principles for the daily life of the common man. The spiritual way of life advocated by Ramakrishna and Sri Aurobindo are becoming increasingly popular in South India; the Vivekananda Rock Memorial at Kanyakumārī and the Auroville Project at Pondicherry symbolise the aspirations of this generation. Faith in our traditional past, study of our religions and work itself as spiritual endeavour are the hall-marks of this century. Jagadguru Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswati of Kāñchī has said: "Religion alone can provide the cohesive force to a community and a country. True and abiding unity can be achieved only on the basis of religion and spirituality. The most intense love that humanity has ever known has come from religion. The noblest words of peace that the world has ever heard have come from men of religion. It has been the grand unifying factor in the history of any country".²¹

South Indians, at any rate, have realised this for centuries, and continue to place their faith in the humanistic ideals of all religions.

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Architecture and Art

CAVE-ARCHITECTURE OF SOUTH INDIA

H. SARKAR

Introduction

THERE CANNOT BE ANY DOUBT that the cave-architecture had its best proliferation in South India; taken collectively, it represents the last phase of an architectural tradition initiated by the great Maurya emperor Aśōka sometime in the 3rd century B.C. The earliest series of caves excavated in the hard quartzose-gneiss by Aśōka and his grandson Daśaratha are located in the Barabar and Nāgārjuni hills, near Gayā, in Bihar.¹ All the caves—four in the Barabar hills and three in the Nāgārjuni hills—are dedicated to the Ājīvika sect. Of them, the most well known are the Lōmasa-ṛishi cave and the Sudāma cave with a circular cella; the Gōpikā or Nāgārjuni cave, however, is elliptical on plan.² To these groups may be added the Sītā-marhi cave, near Gayā.

The Mauryan tradition of excavating into the hard rock must have, in the course of time, reached the south. Thus a granite rail around the *stūpa* at Amarāvati was raised at a period not far too distant from Aśōka.³ Some of the rock-shelters in the far south which were definitely refashioned to suit the convenience of Jaina resorts, bear testimony to this very trend. They have been provided with beds and pillow-lofts, carved out of parent rock. More often than not, such caverns are associated with inscriptions, ascribable to the period between the 2nd century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D.⁴ Sometimes, these cave-resorts have facades and drip-lines showing signs of human hands.

It is worthy of note that the concentration of such rock-shelters is in the Pāṇḍya country despite their sporadic occurrence right up to Nellore area in Andhra Pradesh. In Sri Lanka, similar cave-retreats, though meant for the Buddhists, have also been discovered, thus both South Indian and Sri Lanka series forming morphologically a homogeneous group. Of such rock-shelters in the south, most notable by virtue of their being associated with epigraphs of historical importance, are the ones at Māṅguḷam, near Madurai, Pugalūr, near Karūr, Tiruchchirapalli District, Māmaṇḍūr (North Arcot District), Aḷagarmalai (Madurai District), Piḷḷayārpaṭṭi (Ramanathapuram District), Arachchalūr (Coimbatore District) and so on. By and large, such rock-shelters do not occur in the Andhra country although Orissa has a few such examples, the most typical of which is the Hāthīgumpha on the Udayagiri hills near Bhuvanēśvar, a Jaina cave-resort associated with the historic inscription of Khāravēla.

Utilization of rock-shelters as cave-resorts fell into disuse after the 3rd century A.D. and we are not aware of the existence of any rock-architecture in the far South till the last quarter of the 6th century. Taking peninsular India as a whole, we may, however, reconstruct a continuous history of any form of rock-architecture, be it cut in or cut out of boulders, outcrops or hillocks. But in the early periods of rock-architecture, Brahmanical contribution is virtually nil. On the contrary, Buddhism played the most dominant role in this particular realm of activity. Indeed it is the

Buddhist cave-temple that served as the model for subsequent Brahmanical ventures; and needless to say, no history of Brahmanical rock-architecture is complete without a chapter on the Buddhist cave-shrines.

Buddhist Rock Temples

The majority of the Buddhist rock-temples are confined to Western India, particularly in the Maharashtra region. Here natural trap-formation of softer texture and its horizontal bedding made it easier to excavate temples and carve out magnificent series of sculptures. In the early phase, the eastern seaboard also played an important role in fostering rock-architecture and the most noteworthy of such places is Guñṭupalle (West Godavari District), with its antiquity going back to as early as the 2nd century B.C.⁵ It has to be borne in mind that several phases of activity, either continual or intermittent, are to be traced at the majority of the sites. Perhaps it is a case of localization in that, once a site is selected it goes on attracting more and more people, resulting in its growth into a big hub of monastic activities. Nevertheless, the early rock-cut architecture of the east coast also depended on a softer stone, mostly a kind of coarse sandstone.

So far as the eastern Deccan is concerned, the Buddhist establishment at Guñṭupalle, as it stands now, is a very large one which grew from the 2nd century B.C. to the medieval times. Here the oldest cave is circular on plan, and there occurs a rock-cut *stūpa* in the centre. Significantly, the cave is without any column. It has a small vestibule, of roughly crescentic ground-plan, a thin wall separating it from the circular cella. Yet the most notable feature of this cave is the presence of ribbed vaulted roof, carved out in imitation of its wooden prototype. Its nearest parallel comes from Koṇḍaviṭe near Bombay: here also no column has been provided though a narrow opening connects the *stūpa*-chapel with the oblong vestibule.⁶ The very plan of Koṇḍaviṭe shows its partial similarity with the apsidal *chaitya-gṛiha*. But so far as Guñṭupalle is concerned, it is not even remotely connected with the apsidal plan. It may tend to show that the authors of the circular cave at Guñṭupalle had no familiarity with apsidal ground-plan. Koṇḍaviṭe follows clearly the Bihar groups except for the fact that the entrance here is not from the side but from the front. In case of Guñṭupalle also the entrance is from the front. Perhaps, the circular *chaitya-gṛiha* of Guñṭupalle blends together in its architecture two elements: circular plan of the Mauryan times and the local tradition of circular huts whose survival can still be noticed over a wide area of coastal Andhra Pradesh. The latter factor can alone explain the presence of ribbed domical top of this unique cave shrine. This is probably the earliest rock-cut *stūpa*-shrine of India and its structural precursor is the circular Buddhist temple at Bairat,⁷ in Rajasthan, of the Aśōkan period.

The period of early rock-architecture of the western Deccan lasted for about four centuries, and again, it might not have been a continuous process of development. In all likelihood, it began with the rise of the Sātavāhanas sometime in the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C. Some scholars, however, place the event in the middle of the 1st century B.C. Let it be emphasized here that the date of the early group of

caves is not in the least dependent on this political factor. Scholars are practically unanimous in ascribing the cave-shrines of Koṇḍaviṭe, near Bombay, Koṇḍāne (Kolaba District), Bhāja (Poona District), Pitalkhōra and Caves 8 to 10 and 12 at Ajanta (Aurangabad District) to the 2nd century B.C. During the 1st century A.D. several impressive rock-temples like the ones at Nāsik, Kārle, Kanhēri, Junnār etc. sprang up with the patronage of the royalty and the merchant community. Inscriptional evidence shows that the Buddhist sects like Mahāsāṅghikas at Kārle, Dharmōṭtarīyas at Junnār and Bhadrāyaṇīyas at Nāsik and Kanhēri were in the forefront of this movement. These sects in that period did not subscribe to the idea of image worship. Yet the temple-concept reached a high degree of perfection in as much as the small *stūpa*, carved out of rock, served as the principal object of veneration, if not of worship in the true sense of the term. The cave-temples, in the majority of the cases, were associated with *vihāras* for the monks to live in. But the idea of *vihāras* and the shrine were not then woven into an integrated whole.

Brahmanical Cave-Temples

The Brahmanical cave-temples had their beginning possibly in the initial years of the 5th century under the aegis of the Imperial Guptas. These were excavated in the sandstone hills of Udayagiri, near Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh. The site has yielded two Sanskrit inscriptions of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II, and one of them is dated in the Gupta era 82 i.e. 401 A.D. It is here that one finds the earliest surviving example of the Brahmanical rock-shrine. Some of the caves here are partly rock-cut and partly built of cut stones. All of them have plain rectangular cells having flat roofs. Significantly, the Tawa cave here is the first attempt at carving out a circular monolithic temple out of an isolated mass of rock.

According to the widely accepted view⁸ Bādāmi, in Bijapur District provides the next important landmark in the history of Brahmanical architecture. There are two early centres of this rock-cut activity—Bādāmi and Aihole; the relative chronology between the two groups is a subject of controversy. The Aihole group is represented by Śiva shrine, near Rāvaṇaphaḍi cave or Rāvalagūḍi, single boulder Jaina shrine, Jaina temple on the south-east of the Mēṇuti hill and the two-storeyed Jaina temple. Superficially the Aihole group taken as a whole appears to be less evolved than that of Bādāmi which has a compact group of four rock-shrines, almost in a row, along the causeway leading from the village to the cliff. A basic unity pervades the structural layout and sculptural product of Bādāmi's creations, while the Aihole group seems more amorphous and ill-planned. This overall difference has given rise to the revival of the old theory of dating the caves at Aihole anterior to the Bādāmi group.⁹ However, it is generally agreed that 'somewhat elementary productions at Aihole' are earlier than the excavations at Bādāmi. It is worthwhile to examine the issue before dealing with Bādāmi's splendid series of rock-temples.

The dates of the Aihole group are based purely on stylistic considerations in respect of its art and architecture. Of the caves at Aihole, the Rāvaṇaphaḍi and the small Śiva temple nearby, the latter cut into a boulder, represent the earliest cave-temples of the Chālukyas.

Excavated almost at the ground-level, the small Śiva shrine, having a very low ceiling, is devoid of any ornamentation. It recalls, as it is further argued by Gary Tarr, the Gupta caves at Udayagiri but without their structural facades. At present, a *liṅga*, almost touching the ceiling, has been planted inside an oblong *piṭha*; both the constituents are not rock-cut. As the *liṅga* is disproportionately taller than the dimensions of the cave, we are left with no other choice but to take its installation as a much later event. In its original form it was just a retreat and not a cave-shrine. Its similarity with the Udayagiri caves, so far as the selection of the rock and the method of 'hollowed-out-boulder construction' are concerned, need not be over-emphasized, since small ventures may not necessarily reflect the true spirit and the technological advancement of the time.

The Rāvaṇaphaḍi, also cut into a boulder, almost at the ground-level, has more or less a semi-concentric plan with a central *maṇḍapā* opening on all the four sides (Fig. 1 top, right). Its facade is formed by two dwarf figures—Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi—carved inside the relief of a *kōshṭha*. Two simple columns and two pilasters, besides a *dvārapāla* in Scythian dress on either side of the opening, virtually form part of the same facade. Its main shrine, with a *liṅga* in the centre, has been carved irregularly almost like the quadrilateral *stūpa*-chapels of the Buddhist tradition. It is divided into sanctum and *antarāḷa*, both the units being originally screened by a structural door with carved lintels and door-jambs. The presence of the structural door has been taken as its unmistakable link with the Udayagiri caves of Vidisha. It has to be remembered that the structural door of the Rāvaṇaphaḍi does not form the facade of the cave but serves as an interior decoration. On the northern side, the pillared hall opens into niched corridor while the symmetry has been broken on the southern side by extending the cutting irregularly, perhaps at a later period. Despite the alterations that it has suffered it is not difficult to make out the original plan of the cave-temple. Indeed, it is comparable to the Jaina cave at Aihole, where the central hall opens into an oblong sanctum on the east and niched sculpture-shrines on the north and the south. The very conception of niched sculpture gallery appears to be a developed feature, the like of which has been provided for example in the Varāha-maṇḍapā at Mahābalipuram, the latter dated to the period of the Pallava king Rājāsīmha (700-730). On this comparison, the Rāvaṇaphaḍi, may also be ascribed to the beginning of the 8th century. Now, to complete the description of the Rāvaṇaphaḍi cave it is necessary to say that the sculptural art here, represented by the Naṭarāja and Varāha panels, is unquestionably similar to the plastic traditions of the Chālukyas, though the peaked crowns worn by several figures are suggestive of a Pallava character.

The Jaina cave of Aihole bears comparison, sculpturally and architecturally, to the Rāvaṇaphaḍi cave. But the two storeyed Jaina cave has only its shrines cut into the rock, while the entire front is built of dressed slabs. The lower storey has three cells, all opening into a common verandah, a plan quite common in the early cave temples of Andhra country and Tondaimaṇḍalam; there is only one cell in the upper storey. There is thus a small concentration of Jaina temples on the Māguti

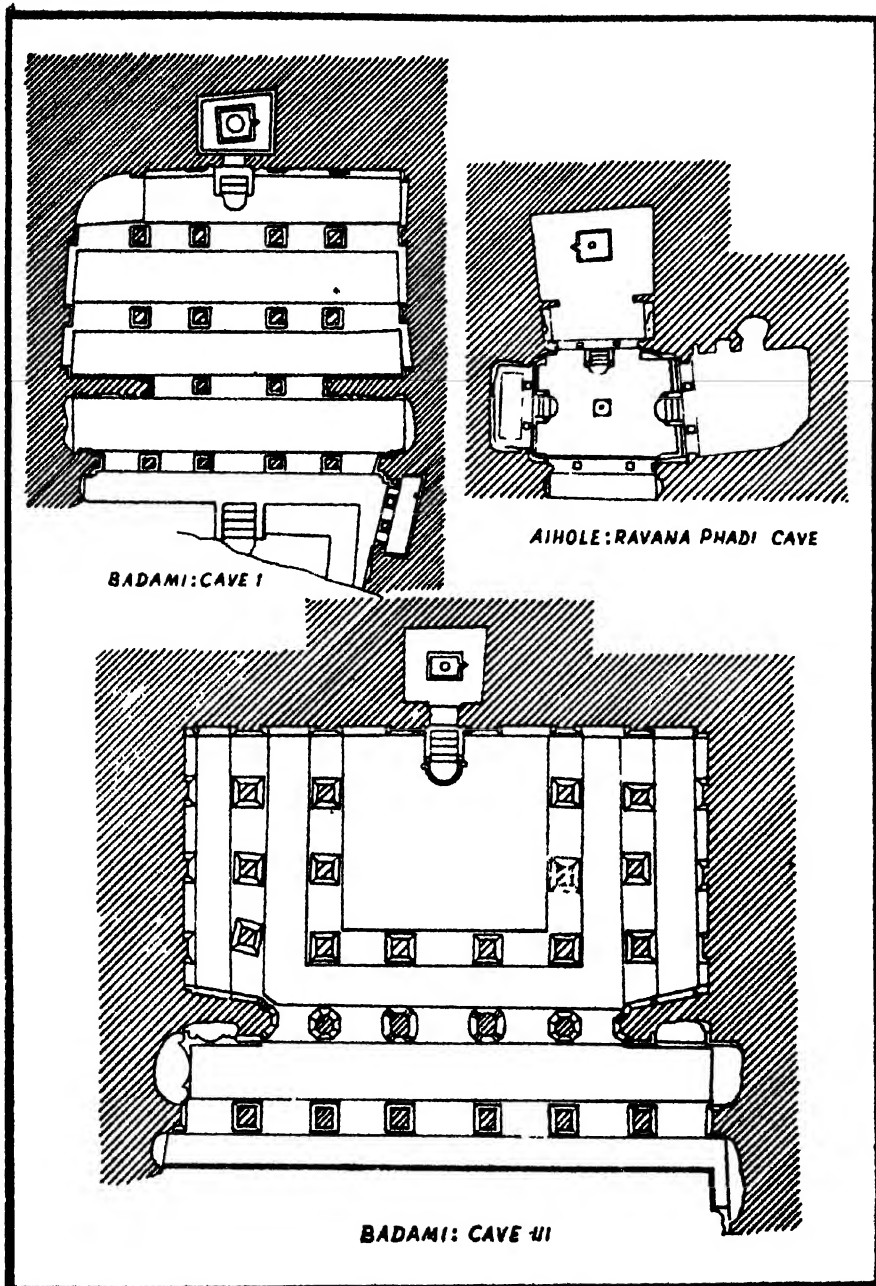


FIG. 1. Plans of Bādami and Aihole Caves.

hill which is crowned by the famous Mēguti temple bearing the inscription of Pulakēśi II dated 634-35 A.D. It is quite likely that the Jaina cave-temples nearby came into existence one or two decades before this date. Even the Jaina cave of Bādāmi (cave 4) was possibly excavated in this phase itself when Pulakēśi (608-642) had been following a religious policy favourable to the Jainas of his territory.

Now to the cave-temples at Bādāmi. Here the Chālukyan architects and sculptors succeeded in giving birth to a new style, far more evolved and ornate than its Vākāṭaka forerunner. The common feature shared both by the new Chālukyan and by the older Vākāṭaka traditions is the oblong or square cella at the back wall of the cave—the arrangement of the larger pillared hall in front following completely a new pattern. Broadly speaking, all the caves at Bādāmi follow a linear arrangement in the form of *garbhagṛiha*, *mahā-maṇḍapa*, *mukha-maṇḍapa* and an open verandah there is a definite effort to demarcate one unit from the other. For instance, the *garbhagṛiha* is separated from the *mahā-maṇḍapa* by a narrow passage and a flight of steps; further, it is a pillarless unit, considerably smaller in dimensions than the other parts. The *mahā-maṇḍapa* has been distinguished from the *mukha-maṇḍapa* by a narrow constriction. Even the verandah being pillarless stands in contrast to the temple proper. Notwithstanding this linear arrangement some emphasis on horizontality is apparent in the layout of the columns and successive units. Another noteworthy feature is the wider intercolumniation in front of the sanctum. A better cohesion of individual units and symmetrical distribution in the layout can be noticed in caves 3 and 4, forming a well-knit series. Both these caves have not been cut deeper compared to the caves 1 and 2, dedicated respectively to Śiva and Viṣṇu. In architectural layout, caves 1 and 2 also constitute a separate unit.

Cave 3 (Fig. 1, bottom), associated with an inscription of Maṅgalēśa dated Śaka 500 (578 A.D.) is a milestone in the history of South Indian architecture. In architectural style and sculptural contents, caves 1 and 2 seem to be less developed than those of caves 3 and 4. Certain architectural features like the larger figure-bracket capitals evolved ceilings and door-frames of cave 3 connect it with the later developments at Ellōra. Other developed features of cave 3 compared to cave 1 (Fig. 1, top, left) and 2 are: unique pillar-arrangement within the *mahā-maṇḍapa* resulting in providing an open space in front of the *garbhagṛiha*; placement of *gaṇa*-figures within an architectural frame work as well as superior sculptured panels infusing greater dramatic element and vivacity of expression. These advanced features make cave 3 posterior in date to caves 1 and 2; this is, in fact, the view of Gary Tarr but not shared by the majority of the scholars. At the same time, none can explain cogently the reason for the occurrence of sculptures stylistically more evolved than those of the other two caves. Perhaps to explain away this apparent contradiction, it has been assumed that the major portions of cave 3 underwent alteration during the Pallava victory over the Chālukyas.¹⁰ Unfortunately, a victory in war during ancient and medieval India never meant annexation of territory of the vanquished. Peace would descend as soon as a king acknowledged the supremacy of the other, and it followed the withdrawal of the army, then playing only a limited

role. In the circumstances, no king could think of altering an array of sculptures to conform to the artistic standard of his own land. Such a theory, on the face of it, is unacceptable. It is better to postulate the migration of a guild of artists from Bādāmi to the Pallava country who initiated a new movement under the patronage of the new royal master.

As the cave 3 has to be dated subsequent to caves 1 and 2, the latter series may be placed during the middle of 6th century. To display their eclecticism, the Chālukyan founders created in quick succession two rock-shrines, one for Śiva and the other for Viṣṇu. The third cave to proclaim the royal glory was taken up in the reign of Maṅgalēśa; and lastly Pulakēśi in the early years of the 7th century allowed the Jains to create the last cave temple of Bādāmi.

Rock Temples on the East Coast

Inspired by the Vākāṭaka, Kalachuri and Chālukyan experiments in Eastern India, several dynasties ruling over different parts of the eastern seaboard took to rock-architecture. Of them, the most notable are Viṣṇukunḍins, the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī, the Pallavas of Kāñchi and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai. Some minor dynasties like the Muttaraiyars, Atiyamāns even possibly the Telugu-Chōḍas, participated in the activity. The Gaṛgas of Karnataka also seem to have made an attempt as testified by a rock-cut cave at Mēlkōṭe.

(i) Cave Architecture in Andhra Country

Apart from the Guṇṭupalle series, there are two main groups of cave-temples in Andhra—the Krishna valley group and the Bhairavakoṇḍa group. The former, again is distributed into two different localities; Vijayawada in Krishna District, and Uṇḍavalli in Guntur District. The localization of two major groups on either bank of the Krishna, which is very much navigable here, clearly indicates the existence of an ancient ferrypoint. Of the two groups at Vijayawada-Mogalrājapuram and the Akkanna-Mādanna groups—the former appears to be important in so far as the gradual development of the cave-architecture of the Krishna valley is concerned. There are five cave-temples in the Mogalrājapuram area and they conform, broadly speaking, to two main types—single-shrined and triple-shrined caves. Of the three single-shrined caves, two face the south while the remaining one faces the east; however, both the triple shrines face the north. There are six excavations in the Indrakīla hill of which the Akkanna-Mādanna and the two-celled shrine at the foot of the same hill are famous. Both these are east-facing shrines excavated into a kind of coarse sandstone.

There is hardly any unanimity regarding the authorship of these cave-temples. This is also the case with the Uṇḍavalli group whose largest excavation is the four-storeyed Anantaśayana temple, the only storeyed cave of the east coast. According to Jouveau-Dubreuil, these rock-excavations have to be ascribed to the Viṣṇukunḍins,¹¹ while Longhurst takes them to be of the Pallava origin.¹² The recent trend is to attribute them to the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī.¹³ But the theory of the

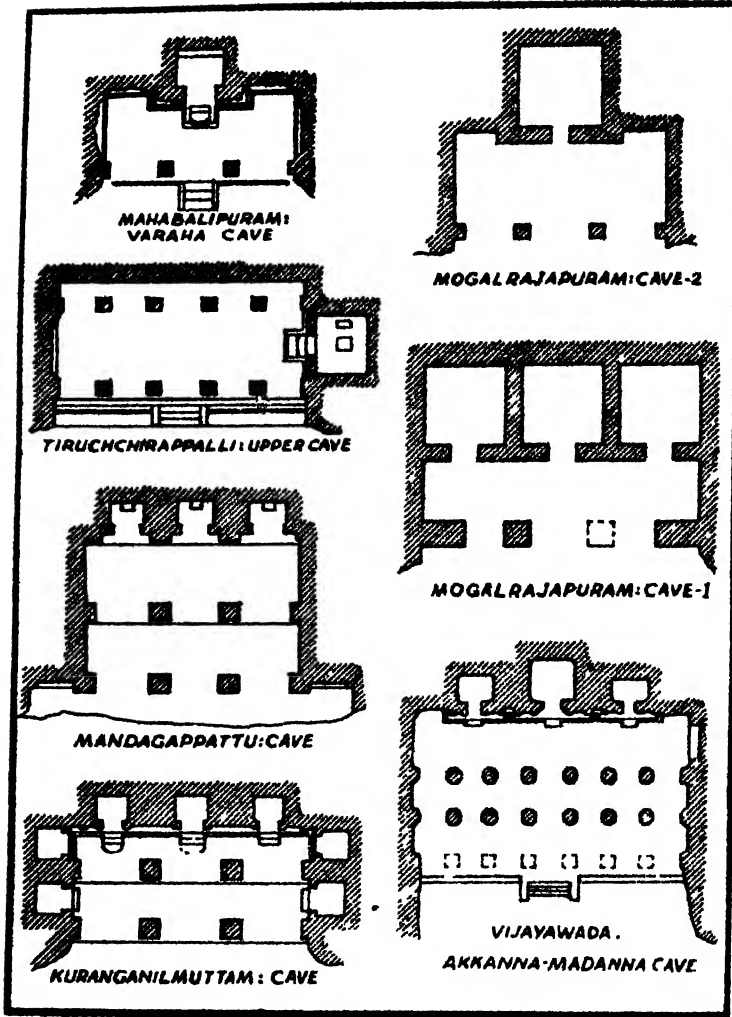


FIG. 2. Plans of Vishnukundin and Pallava Caves.

Vishnukundin authorship seems to have some germs of truth specially when we consider the stylistic features of the Akkanna-Mādanna cave and cave 1 of the Mogalrājapuram group. Both these cave-shrines (Fig. 2, middle and bottom of right) have *garbhagrihas* arranged in a row and all opening into a common hall, an arrangement reminiscent of the Buddhist caves of the Vākāṭaka period at Ajanta, though cave 1 of Mogalrājapuram unlike the other example, does not follow the idea of diminutive shrine fronted by a hall. But the shrines here are of equal dimensions, a feature not noticed in other triple-shrines of Vijayawada and Uṇḍavalli. In cave 1, both the sanctum and the hall constitute an integrated unit and are bereft of ornamentation; two columns of the facade are square from base to top. Moreover, it has no *kapōta* or cornice.

The Akkanna-Mādanna cave, the largest among the Vijayawada group, has twelve octagonal pillars, besides the four pilasters without any corbel or base. It does not also possess any defined cornice. Of the three oblong shrines, the middle one is the largest denoting the supremacy of one god over the other two; and this Supreme God, as it is evident, in cave 4, is Śiva. The same idea of trinity persists in caves 1 and 4, and also in the first storey (*dvitala*) of the Uṇḍavallī cave. It seems that the perfection of the idea of triple shrine with Śiva as the Supreme God is a definite contribution of the Viṣṇukunḍins to the rock-architecture of the south. The same idea was later taken over by the Pallavas, specially in their early excavations. Stylistically, the Akkanna-Mādanna and cave 1 of Mogalrājapuram belong to an archaic group, which must have come into existence earlier than the caves 3, 4 and 5 of Mogalrājapuram and the rock-cut excavation below the Akkanna-Mādanna cave. These caves may, therefore, be dated to the middle of the 6th century.

The first floor of the Anantaśayana temple, at Uṇḍavallī, the largest of the Krishna valley group, has been planned originally in the fashion of the triple-shrine. Each shrine has its own pillared hall which is much larger than the small shrines at the back wall. The hall is reminiscent of the Bādāmi tradition of the early Chālukyas. Here also the central shrine, with its *maṇḍapa*, is the largest of the three; the other shrines in the same floor came up in subsequent times. Thus in this cave-temple as well, the trinity idea, with Śiva as the Supreme God, has been given expression through the medium of rock-architecture. It is quite likely that the Viṣṇukunḍins were responsible for this cave-temple which was completed by about 600 A.D. Undoubtedly, the unit was excavated in stages as it has no uniform entablature. The second floor (*tritāla*), with *hāra* on top, was probably excavated during the supremacy of the Eastern Chālukyas. Its oblong sanctuary enshrines the huge image of Anantaśāyī Viṣṇu. Both the ground floor and the third floor remain unfinished. In sum, the Akkanna-Mādanna cave is the first Viṣṇukunḍin experiment of cave architecture sometime in 550 A.D. The nucleus of the Uṇḍavallī cave, inspired by the Bādāmi group, has to be dated to circa 600 A.D. while cave 1 came up almost near about the same date, when the Viṣṇukunḍins were about to be ousted from power.

The other caves must have been hewn only after 625 A.D. when the Eastern Chālukyas were firmly entrenched in the area of coastal Andhra Pradesh. Architecturally, cave 3 is far more advanced, for it has a heavy cornice decorated with *kūḍus*, and pillars show octagonal *kaṭṭu* in between square *śadurams*. It is also without any *dvārapāla*. Stylistically, it is not far removed in point of time from the early phase of the rock-cut activities in the Pallava country. It may be dated to circa 625 A.D. On the contrary, cave 4 is a clear example of the post-Mahēndra style with *dvārapālas* having bull's horns, columns with *tarāṅga-pōtikas*, heavy cornice decorated with *kūḍus* enclosing deities like Śiva and Viṣṇu with their consorts and Brahma. Above the *kapōta* runs a frieze in which animals like lion and elephant are conspicuous. On the top of the cave-facade is a dancing Śiva, now considerably decayed. Stylistically, it may be dated to circa 700 A.D. Both cave 5 with *bhūta* and *haṁsa-valabhī* and the

two shrined cave below the Akkanna-Mādanna temple are also developed cave-temples. In the last-mentioned cave, the *dvārapālas* have practically decayed but its entablature, with prominent *kapōta* and *harṣa-valabhī*, is fairly well-preserved. Some attempts have been made here to cut out a monolithic superstructure on top. On stylistic grounds it may also be dated to circa 700 A.D. The same idea of trinity in another form is observed in the Bhairavakoṇḍa group of cave-shrines in Prakasam District. But Vishṇu and Brahma are represented sculpturally whereas the sanctum is graced by the *liṅga*. There are eight principal shrines apart from a number of votive shrines, each with a *liṅga* and datable, as the inscriptions show, from the 7th to the 9th centuries. Of the eight cave temples, the first four, as numbered by Longhurst, have been cut into soft schist vein; each of them consists of a square shrine-cell without a *maṇḍapa*. The other group consists of a smaller *garbhagṛiha* fronted by a pillared hall with two pillars and two pilasters. Many of their features recall Pallava tradition of Māmalla or Rājasimha's time and hence may be dated to the 8th century. On the contrary, the *dvārapālas* are typically Chālukyan. Thus there is a definite commingling of styles; at the same time, names of donors and suffixes to names suggest their affinity with the Telugu-Chōḍa family which flourished during the period in the surrounding region. It is then quite possible that the Bhairavakoṇḍa group of cave-temples sprang up under the patronage of the Telugu-Chōḍas of Rēnāṇḍu.

(ii) Cave Temples of the Pallavas

The Pallavas of Kāñchī excavated a series of about thirty four cave temples into hard granite, granite-gneiss and charnockite in the period between the last quarter of the sixth¹⁴ and the first quarter of the eighth centuries. This is the most well-known group, and no less than two scholars, Longhurst¹⁵ and Srinivasan¹⁶ have made detailed study of it in their respective monographs. It was Mahēndravarmān I (c. 580-630) who initiated the rock-cut temples in the Tamil country. The cave-temple at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu (Fig. 2, third from top, left) in South Arcot District, is generally considered as the first excavation by Mahēndravarmān because of the absence of defined cornice, *tarāṅga*-corbels and decorated pillars; an inscription from the very cave-shrine possibly corroborates the same fact, though rather indirectly.

So far as the plan is concerned, the cave-temples of Mahēndra's time may be divided into three categories: single-shrined, triple-shrined and multi-shrined, the last mentioned one being really an innovation. Like the rock-shrines of Andhra and Chālukyan countries, these, too, consist of diminutive cell or cells fronted by pillared hall. In simplicity of form, the one-shrined caves like the Vasantēśvara temple at Vallam (Chingleput District), Mahēndra-Vishṇugṛīham at Mahēndrapura or Mahēndravāḍi (North Arcot District), the northern cave-temple at Māmaṇḍūr (North Arcot District) and Avānibhājana's temple at Sīyamaṅḡalam (North Arcot District), bear similarity with the Andhra examples since in either case the temple consists of a cubical sanctum with an *antarāḷa* in front; in fact, only at Mahēndravāḍi one finds both the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and *mahā-maṇḍapa*. In both the areas, pillars generally two, form part of the facade. A marked departure from this stereotyped plan is the placement of the sanctum on one side instead of placing it laterally facing the entrance, as

noticed in Śatrumalla cave at Daḷavanūr (South Arcot District) and Lalitāṅkura cave at Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi (Fig. 2, second from top, left). The type occurs also in the Pāṇḍya country.

Like those of the Vishṇukunḍins, the triple-shrines of the Pallavas also show the central one larger than the other two cells. Examples of this type come from Maṇḍagappattū, Rudravālīśvaram temple at Māmaṇḍūr and Kuraṅganilmuṛṅgam (Fig. 2, bottom, left) (North Arcot District). Yet the most definite contribution of the Pallavas to the South Indian rock-architecture is the excavation of the five-celled caves the like of which can be seen in the Pañchapāṇḍava cave at Pallavaram (Chingleput District). The unfinished cave-temples at Viḷappākkam (North Arcot District) with seven shallow niches, may also belong to this type but it is rather curious that the cave, which remained unfinished during Mahēndra's time was not completed by any of his successors.¹⁷ Apart from composite shrines, Mahēndra excavated caves dedicated solely to Śiva or Viṣṇu as well.

Mahēndra's successor Narasimhavarman I Māmalla continued to excavate cave-temples like Kōṭṭikāl-maṇḍapa at Mahābalipuram (Chingleput District), Narasimha temple at Śiṅgapperumālīkōvil (Chingleput District), Raṅganātha cave-shrine at Śiṅgaṅṅuram (South Arcot District) and so on. Those mentioned just now are all single-shrined caves, each with a hall in front. Some multi-shrined caves have also been ascribed to this period; for instance, two unfinished caves at Māmaṇḍūr (Nos. 3 and 4) and the Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa at Mahābalipuram belong to this group. Māmaṇḍūr 3 has five principal shrines, besides three or four minor cells. Sculpturally and architecturally, the period saw the development of a new style, generally termed as Māmalla style. The emergence of *hāra* above the entablature, decorative pillars, sometimes with well-defined components, and also *vyāḷa*-based, and superior plastic appendage are some of the characteristics of the Māmalla style.

Several cave-shrines, both single-shrined and multi-shrined, came up during the time of Rājasimha. The cave-temples at Kīḷṇāvilāṅgai (South Arcot District), Vallam 2 and 3 and the Tiger cave at Śāluvaṅkuppam (near Mahābalipuram) are one-celled excavations without any columns. But the ornate Varāha-maṇḍapa (Fig. 2, top, left), unfinished cave-temple near Kōṇēri-maṇḍapa with five cells, Mahishamardini-maṇḍapa and the Trimūrti caves, all belonging to Mahābalipuram, are also attributed to Rājasimha's period.

(iii) Cave Temples of the Pāṇḍyas

It is generally held that the Pāṇḍyas in the far south took to rock-architecture only after the Pallavas and there are about two scores of cave-shrines spread over the entire Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. The cave temples of south Kerala like the ones at Kaviyūr (Alleppey District), Airūrpara (Trivandrum District), Viḷuṇjam (Trivandrum District) etc. are basically Pāṇḍya excavations though geographically they fall within the ancient Āy country. On the basis of the dated Pāṇḍya caves, one can safely fix the beginning of the rock-cut tradition to the middle of the 7th century. For instance, the cave-temple at Malayaḍikkurichchi (Tirunelveli District) yielding on an inscri-

ption of Sēndan or Jayantavarman is ascribable to the third quarter of the 7th century.¹⁸ On palaeographical grounds, the Piḷḷayārpaṭṭi (Ramanathapuram District) cave may also be dated to the 7th century, though the inscription has been ascribed recently to the 5th century.¹⁹ The occurrence of about four inscriptions, ascribable to the 8th century from some of the most developed of the Pāṇḍya caves like the Narasimha-perumāḷ cave at Ānaimalai (Madurai District) and Subrahmaṇya cave at Tirupparankuṇṇam (Madurai District) is likely to show that the climax of the Pāṇḍya rock-architecture was reached during the time of Jaṭilaparāntaka Neḍuñ-jaḍaiyan (765-815) or Varaguṇa I. That the Pāṇḍyas continued to take active interest in the development of rock-architecture till about the middle of the 9th century is evident from Śrīmāra Śrī Vallabha's (815-862) inscription on the Sittannavāśal cave (Pudukkottai District). Thus the activities connected with the rock-architecture in the Pāṇḍya country lasted at least for two and a half centuries, i.e., from the 7th to the middle of the 9th. It is noteworthy that besides the cave-shrines, there came into being during the same period, some cave-resorts for the *sanyāsis*; these have been cut into the sandstone cliff of the Pearl Fishery Coast.²⁰

Most of the Pāṇḍya caves are single-celled shrines even without a real *ardha-maṇḍapa*. But there are other types also, and broadly speaking, all the Pāṇḍya excavations may be divided into five main groups:

TYPE I: Simple squarish shrine-cells, with a semblance of an *ardha-maṇḍapa* and generally enshrining a rock-cut *liṅga*. This type is rare in the Pallava country but it constitutes a dominant type in the Pāṇḍya area. Examples of this type come from Viḷiñjam, Bhūtapāṇḍi (Kanyakumari District), Pīranmalai (Ramanathapuram District), eastern Śiva cave at Malayakkōvil (Fig. 3, top, left) (Pudukkottai District) etc.

TYPE II: Simple squarish shrine-cells fronted by a well-defined portico, often divided into two segments by providing a constriction, or showing differences in levels, but generally with two pillars. Sometimes, sanctums enshrine rock-cut *liṅga*. Examples come from Narasimha-perumāḷ cave (dated 770 A.D.)²¹ and Lāḍankōvil at Ānaimalai, Malaiyaḍikkurichchi (middle of the 7th century), Tiruḡokarṇam (Pudukkottai District), Vīraśikhāmaṇi (Tirunelveli District), Sittannavāśal (Fig. 3, top, right) (earlier than the 9th century)²² and Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pudukkottai District) of the 7th century.²³

TYPE III: One-celled shrine in the centre of the excavation, with *ardha-maṇḍapa* and *mahā-maṇḍapa* and having four pillars in variable arrangements. The shrine is generally square if it does not house the image of Anantaśayana Viṣṇu. Examples come from Kaḷugumalai (Fig. 3, middle, left) (Tirunelveli District), Tirukkaḷakkuḍi (Ramanathapuram District), Māṅguḍi (Tiruchchirapalli District) etc. The cave at Piḷḷayārpaṭṭi (7th century) with three pillars and a pilaster, has its *mahā-maṇḍapa* running north-south, although the shrine-cell and the *ardha-maṇḍapa* have an east-west orientation.

TYPE IV: Caves with a shrine at one of its sides and having pillars at the entrance of the cave. Examples come from Tirunandikara, (Kanyakumari District),

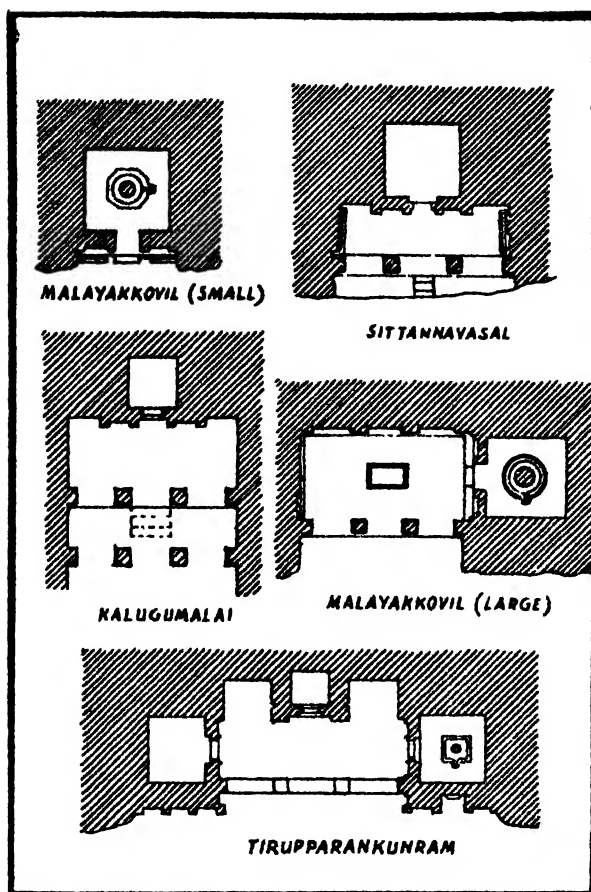


FIG. 3. Plans of Pāṇḍya Caves

Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam (Umaiyaṇḍan cave), Tirumayam (Pudukkottai District), Satya-vāgīśvara Śiva cave dated to the 7th century, Malayakkōvil's (Fig. 3, middle, right) (Pudukkottai District), southern Śiva cave, Tirumalapuram (Tirunelveli District) etc. It is more a Pāṇḍyan than a Pallava type, for the latter class is represented only by two examples, one at Daḷavanūr and the other at Tiruchchirāpaḷli (Upper cave).

TYPE V: Caves with two or more shrines. Examples come from Tiruchchirāpaḷli (lower cave) and Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam (Fig. 3, bottom) (Subrahmaṇya cave), 773 A.D.²⁴ the latter having three principal shrine-cells.

The five types arranged from simple to the most evolved type without however any chronological basis, are temples, generally dedicated to Śaiva faith. There are, however, Vaishṇava caves like the Narasimha cave at Ānaimalai, and the Viṣṇu cave at Tiruttaṅgal. Cave-shrine at Aḷagaipāṇḍipuram, like the shrine-cell of Kīlmā-ṇai, has the base relief of Viṣṇu carved on the back wall. There are, however, several cave-shrines like the ones at Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam, Tirumalapuram, Viraśikhā-

maṇi, Sevilipatti (Ramanathapuram District), Lower cave at Tiruchchirāpalli, Kuṇṇakkuḍi (Ramanathapuram District) etc. which have revealed images of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu images apart, the sculptures of Gaṇeśa, rock-cut Nandi and Sapta-mātṛika images also occur in the Pāṇḍya plastic tradition. In the Śiva shrine at Tirupapraṅkuṅgam has been carved out the Sōmaskanda panel which is more an exception than a rule so far as the Pāṇḍya tradition is concerned. But in some cases, as at Pīranmalai, the relief of Śiva-Pārvatī appears on the back wall instead of Sōmaskanda. It is worthy of note that some of the Pāṇḍya caves like the cave-temples at Tirumalapuram, Tirunandikara and Sittannavāsāl contain traces of beautiful murals.

(iv) Cave Temples of Muttaraiyars and Atiyamāns

In the Tamil country, the Muttaraiyar chieftains, ruling over the region on either bank of the Kaveri between the Pallava and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms, were responsible for a number of cave-temples located mostly in the Tiruchchirapalli and Pudukkottai Districts.²⁵ Examples of the Muttaraiyar cave-shrines come from Tirupaṅgīlī, Tiruveḷḷarai (Tiruchchirapalli District), Nārtāmalai, Kunnāṇḍārkōvīl, Malayadippatti, Pūvaḷakkuḍi, all in Pudukkottai District and other sites; typologically they are more akin to the Pāṇḍya traditions. One of their earliest excavations is the shrine-cell in the compound of the Tirupaṅgīlī temple: a huge bas-relief of Sōmaskanda is carved on the hind wall of the sanctum, devoid of any architectural embellishments. The cave-shrine possibly came into being during the late 7th century. The Tirumayam cave enshrining the colossal Anantaśāyī image may also be a Muttaraiyar enterprise.

The Atiya kings of Koṅṅunāḍu were responsible for two beautiful cave-temples at Nāmakkal, Salem District, both the caves being dedicated to Viṣṇu.²⁶ Ascribable to the middle of the 8th century, the Paḷḷikoṇḍaperumāl temple, enshrining the Anantaśāyī Viṣṇu, and Lakshmīnarasimha temple, also called Śiṅṅaperumāl temple are associated with a fine array of sculptures. The unfinished Vaiṣṇava rock-cut cave at Tandōṇi, near Karūr may also be attributed to the some Atiya ruler.

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15. Longhurst: op. cit.
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17. The theory that the excavation of a cave used to come to halt as soon as some fault in the rock came to the notice needs re-examination.
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23. The cave bears a label *Parnādini-e* which occurs also at Malayakkōyil, Tirugōkaṇṇam and Tirumayam (Upper and Lower Śiva caves).
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EARLY TEMPLES OF ANDHRA

R. SUBRAHMANYAM

ĀNDHRAPATHA OR ĀNDHRADEŚA as it was referred to in the early inscriptions largely corresponds to the Krishna-Godavari valleys of south-east coast. This region was the nuclear zone which fostered a distinct culture. The Sātavāhanas, Ikshvākus, Śālaṅkāyaṇas, Brīhatphalāyaṇas—the most important dynasties that ruled Āndhradeśa from the pre-Christian era down to the time of the Viṣṇukunḍins—were responsible for the growth of Brahmanical and other religions. As a sequel to this, several temples were built by the members of these dynasties which form the early examples of temple architecture in Andhra.

Concurrent to the early folk tradition of the worship of trees and serpents, the Buddhist as well as Brahmanical shrines, in the centuries before Christ by and large, had a stone-railing enclosing the object of worship—be it a tree or an image, erected on a raised platform. These hypaethral temples were found in all the regions of India.¹ In Andhra Pradesh a temple of this kind has been brought to light in the recent dig at Guḍimallam by I. K. Sharma.²

The present fabric of Paraśurāmēśvara temple at Guḍimallam dated usually to the Bāṇa and Chōḷa times revealed in the sounding that the original shrine had a stone *prākāra* around the *liṅgapīṭha* (Pl. I, A). The *liṅgapīṭha* comprised two circular stone bases. Though made of sandstone they are highly polished as the *liṅga* is. Around the *liṅgapīṭha* a square *śilā-prākāra* measuring 1.350 m. was built. The pillars and the cross-bar in its style recall the similar railing found at Mathurā and Amarāvati. Lotuses, floral patterns and roundels are seen over these pillars. The style of the carvings and similar type of shrine as seen on a coin from Ujjain of 2nd-3rd century B.C. and also of the sculpture now preserved in the Mathura Museum datable to 1st century B.C. and above all the unique *liṅga* suggest that this shrine came into existence around 1st-2nd century B.C.³ Developments subsequent to this shrine show a long history beginning from 2nd-3rd century A.D. down to 14th century A.D. Of these we are concerned with only the earliest stages of construction. An apsidal shrine of bricks was laid bare in excavations. The wall revealed large sized bricks measuring 42×21×6 cms. This apsidal shrine of the Sātavāhana-Ikshvāku times when dilapidated, was enlarged upon; a large sized apsidal shrine was built in the Bāṇa regime.

The texts on *vāstu* as well as the epigraphical records refer to the different types of temples. Definitions of the building types like *maṇḍapa*, *prāsāda*, *vimāna*, *gajapriṣṭha*, *sabhākāra*, *valabhī* are found in the *vāstu* texts like *Mayamata*, *Aparājitapricchha*, *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, *Brīhat-saṃhita* etc. Though these texts are late, they embody the traditions of the early times. Confirmation of the usage of the terms as found in the texts comes from the earliest inscriptions as well revealing the early beginnings of the tradition. The term *maṇḍapa-prāsāda* is referred to in an inscription at Vēlpūru datable to the early half of 2nd century A.D. The *vāstu* texts

define it as a building having a *garbhagriha* and a *maṇḍapa* in one unit and the walls are built with pillars and the interstices are filled with either slabs or bricks. Further it is said that this type will have no superstructure. The Vēlpūru epigraph states that a building of this type was raised for *svāmi Bhūtagrahaka*—lord Yama. This type of temples was continued to be built not only in Andhra but also in Karnataka as evidenced from the extant Chālukyan temples. The other temple type is *valabhi* which is, as defined in *Aparājita-prichchha*, oblong on plan and on elevation has an apsidal *gajapriṣṭha* or *śālākāra* superstructure. The *sabhākāra* according to *Mayamata* (26/144) should be elliptical on plan and its superstructure as *śālākāra*. This type is noticed in the sculptures at Jaggayyapēṭa and later at Pāpanāśi. The *gajapriṣṭha* is apsidal on plan and possesses a superstructure of wagon-vault type. The last and the most important form is *vimāna*. It is distinguished by its superstructure which in its storeys has a string of shrine models like the *kūṭa* and *śālā* and each storey in terms of proportions is reduced in its width as well as in height. And it is crowned by an octagonal or square *śikhara* and a *stūpi*. Correspondence to this type of superstructure is identified with the Ghaṇṭasāla relief and explained with the textual data by Dhaky.⁴ The Ghaṇṭasāla relief is dated to 2nd century A.D. Though no structures are extant now, doubtless they existed in the early centuries of Christian era. Against this background I shall review in detail the extant temples in Āndhradēśa.

To begin with, for the developments of early centuries of Christian era i.e. of Ikshvāku times, certainly Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (the ancient Vijayapuri) occupies a pre-eminent position. The Brahmanical temples were largely Śaiva; a solitary one however enshrined Viṣṇu-Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin. Generally the apsidal, oblong and square shaped structures were popular. By and large for the temples brick and stone were used for the construction of *maṇḍapas*. However, the use of wood is also noticed in the Sarvadēva temple. Now to the temples:

Sarvadēva Temple

At site No. 99 magnificent temple remains were excavated. Several versions of the inscription in Sanskrit found on the pillars here record the construction of the storeyed palatial temple of Sarvadēva by the commander Eliśrī in the eleventh regnal year of Ehuvala. More than two phases of structural activity are noticeable in this. To the first phase a pillared hall in two levels can be attributed. The lower one is a 32 pillared *maṇḍapa* covering an area of 74' × 36' and faces east. At the north-eastern corner a shrine chamber is made by enclosing two bays or pillars. In the north-western corner of this chamber a circular pedestal 4' in diameter is found. Also provision is made for another image as a pedestal was found abutting the pillar.

To the west of this and at a higher level is located another pillared hall measuring 70' × 35' and both are interconnected by a flight of steps. Extensions to the *maṇḍapa* towards the river were made by levelling the ground in three stages. In these were found double and triple pillars to support the ceiling. The staircases were found on the southern and northern ends of the *maṇḍapa*. Besides these there is a porch on the north.

To the south of this *maṇḍapa* is another hall possessing 16 pillars and measures $32' \times 32'$. Opposite this square hall at a lower level is a small brick structure in an enclosure. This on plan, consists of a rectangular shrine and an oblong room ($20' \times 7'$). Either end of this oblong room formed a small cell with a common central space.

To the north of hall 'B', is another pillared *maṇḍapa* 'D' measuring $56'8'' \times 64'$. It consists of 56 pillars and a few among them are double and triple columns. From this it is inferred that this building had a floor above. At a later date a staircase, a large rectangular hall measuring $23'6'' \times 69'$ on the west and 30 pillared *maṇḍapa* on the east were added.

The nature of this building can be interpreted if the inscription is understood. The phrase *prāsādam satala-varavaram* can be interpreted as a palace with an additional *tala* or floor. Further, this structure is said to serve as an *adhivāsa* or temporary abode for Gods.

Beyond the Sarvadēva temple and near the western gate of the citadel, a temple complex was unearthed at site No. 97. Excavations here revealed four phases of structural activity. To the earliest phase can be attributed a brick enclosure wall with its entry on the east and an apsidal shrine each on the east and the west. A pedestal opposite the shrine perhaps is intended for the erection of *dhvajastambha*. In the second phase two more shrines apsidal and circular were added besides a 72 pillared hall fronting the early apsidal shrine. No image or inscription of later date in *śaṅkha lipi* reveal its Śaiva affiliation. Hence this temple might have been dedicated to Kārtikēya, and as this is located in the citadel itself, this might have been the shrine where royalty worshipped.

Kārtikēya Temple (site No. 82)

Situated on the river front, on an elevated platform is a shrine square on plan measuring $15'6''$. An 'L' shaped pillared hall consisting of 36 columns forms part of this. The pillars have square base and octagonal shafts. In later times a few shrines were added.

A limestone image of Kārtikēya standing in *samabhaṅga* holding a *kukkuṭa* in his left hand in *akimbo* was found. The right arm is missing.

Opposite to this a rectangular cell ($9' \times 15'$) was added. At site 83A an ablution tank $11'3'' \times 3'3''$ was exposed. Since it is close to the temple of site 83, this might have been an integral part of the whole complex.

The masterpieces of Ikshvāku art were found at site No. 78 where a huge structural complex was located fronting the river. An enclosure measuring $89'9'' \times 128'9''$ has an entrance on all the sides. A pillared hall measuring $88'6'' \times 68'6''$ leads to a raised platform wherein are located two apsidal shrines. Eight shrines around the *maṇḍapa* are found which on plan have oblong, circular, square and octagonal bases. Two apsidal shrines one big and another small are noticed behind the pillared hall. Numerous sculptured fragments were recovered at this site. The railing fragments have friezes of lions, winged lions, fish, *varāha* etc. This temple complex with its

main apsidal shrine, and pillars and secondary shrines of different bases might have been meant to enshrine Śiva with the nine planets. The uprights had half-lotus medallions and mythical figures like beaked and horned lions as well as dwarfs. The beams contain medallions with acanthus in background and figures of winged *garuda* in anthropomorphic form and goats. Among other sculptures a torso of Gaṅgā, bull-headed dwarf, wrestlers etc. are worth mentioning.

A temple complex is located at site 84. On plan it consists of a 24 pillared hall and to its south a shrine chamber. These are rectangular in shape and measure $53' \times 33'$ and $32'6'' \times 15'3''$. No inscription or image is found here.

Dēvasēna Temple

This temple is dedicated to the consort of Kārtikēya, the Dēvasēna and on plan consists of a 36 pillared *maṇḍapa* measuring $58' \times 58'$ and a rectangular *garbhagṛha*. The *maṇḍapa* is paved with Cuddapah slabs. The pillars have cubical base and the octagonal shaft is topped by a cube decorated with half-lotus medallions. The image of Dēvasēna discovered in the shrine is of importance.

Aṣṭabhujaśvāmi Temple

The temple in site No. 29 dedicated to Viṣṇu referred to in the inscriptions as Aṣṭabhujaśvāmi (Pl. I, C) was raised in 278 A.D. It has been identified as the Trivikrama form and since the image was said to have been done in fig tree—*udumbarabhava*—the image is lost leaving the tablet recording the consecration. It is the earliest reference to such a form of Viṣṇu. This temple complex has a compound wall of brick and measures $230' \times 143'$. An oblong shrine chamber measuring $53' \times 32'$ has in front a 28 pillared *maṇḍapa*. To the north of this shrine an apsidal shaped *garbhagṛha* and 16 pillared *mukha-maṇḍapa* measuring $20' \times 9'$ and $29' \times 26'6''$ respectively are situated. Beyond this in front a larger *maṇḍapa* is located. *Dhvajastambha* is also found installed on a masonry pedestal circular in shape. It compares well with the similar *dhvajastambha* in Pushpabhadrasvāmi temple. Temple paraphernalia like *śaikhas* some of them inscribed were found here. The most important feature of this complex is a pair of *chitrastambhas* (Pl. I, B).

Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple

Situated at the point where the river Krishna takes a northerly turn, the Pushpabhadrasvāmi temple was consecrated during the 14th regnal year of Ehuvala Chāntamūla by his son Vīrapurushadatta. This is the earliest structural temple with all the units *garbhagṛha*, *mukha-maṇḍapa*, *dhvajastambha* and a *prākāra* with a *gūpura* on all sides. The *garbhagṛha* is apsidal in form and the apse has been achieved by arranging four pillars at a distance of 3' each. It measures 13' in diameter and 6'6'' in radius while the long axis is 33'. Two box-like structures were noticed on either side at the entrance of the *garbhagṛha* encased with Cuddapah slabs. A comparison of this with the temple of Chējerla indicates that these box-like

structures were actually masonry pillars built to take the beam on them over which the roofing was done. The *mukha-maṇḍapa* is a 16 pillared one.

Regarding the elevation, the apsidal shrine should have had a vaulted roof with stucco decor on the exterior. Numerous broken finials discovered at this site indicate the shape of the roof. The *dhvajastambha* beyond the *mukha-maṇḍapa* consisted of a circular pedestal and the square pillar with octagonal shaft above.

The four gateways are situated a little off-centred and vary in size. As an adjunct to this shrine is added a long beautifully ornamented bathing ghat with balustraded steps to reach the waters. The steps as well as the side steps covering the brick masonry below bear inscriptions of the early third century revealing the name of the guilds of artisans that worked at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa.

Kārtikēya Shrine

To the north of the Pushpabhadrasvāmi temple is situated a small complex, presumably a temple dedicated to the worship of Kārtikēya. Since this has been spoiled to a great extent nothing can be detailed with precision. Only pedestals are extant. An image of Kārtikēya in a mutilated condition was discovered at this site.

Nodagīśvarasvāmi Temple

Site No. 127 yielded a temple rectangular on plan measuring 10' x 6'6". However, a complete plan of this structure was not obtained as it was found in a badly mutilated condition. Facing the temple, a *dhvajastambha* was erected on the platform. The pillar is octagonal in shape and measures 12'4". An inscription on this refers to the god as Nodagīśvarasvāmi.

The Kapōtēśvara temple at Chējerla perhaps can be ranked as the earliest extant temple in South India. Perhaps, it was enlarged and improved by the Ānandagōtra king. Recently the area around the shrine was excavated. This, while revealing an *adhiṣṭhāna* of simpler type showing the mouldings of an *upāna*, a *jagati* and a *paṭṭikā*, also exposed to view an earlier floor.

The walls are plain and topped by a *kapōta* and the clerestory like *grīva* as well as the blunted ridge of the *śikhara* reveals a backward slope. The front of the *śikhara* is made up of stucco images which are perhaps of a later date. In the interior the ceiling deserves special mention. Ten stone pillars with five on each side of the apsidal structure support the ceiling and the stone beams are placed in a transverse direction over which a solid masonry vault has been constructed. Originally the brick work had beautiful mouldings exposed to the view of the visitor, but today, thanks to successive layers of lime coated year after year, their fine work is closed from the view once for all.

Early Viṣṇu Temple at Koṇḍamōṭu

On the slopes of a hill two miles from Pidugurāḷla in the Palnad Taluk of Quntur District the State Department of Archaeology exposed and brought to light a lime-

stone plaque bearing representations of early icons. This plaque was originally installed inside a rectangular bench which was unfortunately lifted for building materials by the neighbouring villagers. No plan of the temple was made by the explorers but a graphic description was made available by the former Director of Archaeology, Sri Abdul Wahced Khan.⁵

The plaque is important for many reasons. Next to the Ashtabhujaśvāmi temple the image of which is lost, this is the earliest form of Viṣṇu (Nṛsiṃha) known to us from any part of Andhra. The tradition of dedication of such plaques became popular in the later ages and Sivaramamurti has referred to one from Peddamuḍiyam in his note on early sculptures and also illustrated by late Prof. Banerjea.⁶

The plaque from Koṇḍamōṭu (Pl. II, A) is made of limestone and contains six figures, a central Nṛsiṃha in the theomorphic form seated on its fours with an uplifted penis. The additional human hands with *kankaṇas* are added to this and carry a *gadā* and *chakra*. Two standing figures of Kārtikēya and Viṣṇu flank this image. The two-handed Kārtikēya holds his weapon *śakti* in his right hand and the *kukkuṭa* in his left. A two handed Viṣṇu stands in *śamabhaṅga* and holds a *śaṅkha* and the right is held in *abhaya-mudrā*. He wears a crown similar to the one worn by the figures in the Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures. On the right of these figures Rāma holding a bow and arrow stands cross-legged in *tribhaṅga*. Balarāma wearing *kuṇḍalas* and the typical Amarāvati headgear holds his wine cup. Lastly perhaps Kalki is shown holding in the hands a sword and a shield.

The delineation of the figures in their drapery, ornamentation etc. is typical of Amarāvati school of art and therefore cannot be far removed in date from the third and fourth centuries A.D.

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ARCHITECTURE AND ART UNDER THE BADAMI CHALUKYAS

A. SUNDARA

Introduction

THE PERIOD OF THE Bādāmi Chālukyas is one of vigorous and tremendous activities in raising monuments, mostly religious and very few secular, of architectural grandeur and artistic beauty. They are heavily concentrated in Māhakūṭa, Bādāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakallu, in Karnataka and at Alampūr, Satyavōlu, Bikkavōlu, in the present day Andhra Pradesh. Stray monuments are found also at Hungund, Humcha, Iṭṭagi Saṇḍūr and Haḷlūr. Some are known only through the inscriptions of the places as at Lakshmēśvara, the monuments themselves being now ruined.

It may be noted that in these places the building activities did not begin with the establishment of the Chālukyan power in the early part of 6th century, and that the tradition continued even after the downfall of that power. Small structural stone temples with *śikhara* of the proto-type Nāgara-vimāna, consisting of a *garbhagṛīha* and a *mukha-maṇḍapa* located on the slope of the hill to the south-east of the temple group within the enclosure at Hosa-Mahākūṭa, the plain apsidal Īśvara temple at Hale-Mahākūṭa, the lower Śivālaya at Bādāmi, the rock excavated Śaiva cave temple, the partly structural and partly rock excavated Buddhist monument, Bhagavati (Gauḍara-guḍi) temple, the completely dilapidated apsidal temple and the nearby Īśvara temple No. 3 (Chikki-guḍi—Pl. II, B) etc. at Aihole, are most probably pre-Chālukyan. Recent debris-clearance around these temples in Aihole and Paṭṭadakallu have revealed some late Śātavāhana pre-Chālukyan brick structures as the one in front of the Saṅgamēśvara, the other beneath the Sūrya temple (Ambigēra). Similarly, there are others-like the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, of Yeṇiyār and Gaḷaganātha groups of the temples excepting three in the latter, the Pārśvanātha group (Yōginārāyaṇa), etc. at Aihole; the northern Bhūtanātha group of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, etc. in Bādāmi which are of later Rashtrakūṭa and Kalyāṇa Chālukya periods. Some of the Early Chālukyan monuments are enlarged or added with *śikharas* during the later phases. Huchchimalli temple No. 2, Jinēndrālaya (Mēguḍi), Īśvara temple No. 11 with super-structure facing west of the Kōṭi group at Aihole may be cited as instances.

STRUCTURAL TEMPLES

Buddhist Chaityālaya

This monument situated on the sloping hill to the left of the present flight of steps to the Jinēndrālaya at Aihole formerly considered as a Jaina temple, is now correctly identified as a Buddhist *chaityālaya*.¹

This single-storeyed *chaityālaya*, (Pl. II, C) partly excavated and partly structural consists of an open porch with pillared facade, a *maṇḍapa* without pillars

and a sanctum (*garbhagṛīha*) with two rooms on the sides probably meant for the monks to reside. The upper storey has an open porch with pillared facade and a small sanctum. The door-frames of the *maṇḍapa* and the sanctum are richly carved. In the latter, one of the *śākhās* on each side has six niches with miniature sculptures, indicating important episodes from the life of the Buddha and Buddhist Jātakas such as Buddha's birth, Māra's attempt to dissuade Siddhārtha from attaining the Buddhahood, Buddha's discourse to the laity, Buddha with his disciple Ānanda and his devotees etc. On the ceiling in the upper storey is the figure of Buddha seated in *padmāsana*, his right hand in *vyākhyānamudrā*, but unusually with triple umbrella (*mukkoḍe*) shown above probably owing to the influence of local Jainism. It is this *mukkoḍe* in spite of the clearly visible folded upper garment that perhaps made Cousens identify this figure as Jina and the monument as Jaina. A few meters way from the monument there is a sculpture of a Buddha seated in *padmāsana* and with the hands in *dhyānamudrā* (Pl. II, D) and clearly visible folded upper garment on the chest and the left shoulder, in round relief but with the head missing. This must have been the idol enshrined in the sanctum on the ground floor.

Other Structural Temples

These temples stylistically fall into four distinct groups (1) The indigenous flat-roofed temples or *maṇḍapas* with the sanctum raised against the wall at the back of the hall and the apsidal or *gajapṛisṭha* temples (or Vēsara temples according to a few scholars) resembling the early *chaitya* type in plan; (2) the temples with *śikhara* of the Dravidian or Southern style (the Vīmāna temples); (3) temples with *śikharas* of Indo-Aryan or North Indian style (*prāsādas* with *rēkhā-nāgara śikhara*), and (4) temples with *śikhara* consisting of a series of diminishing horizontal tiers with *āmalaka* at the top (the *kadamba-nāgara* temples)

Yet the architectural features of some of the parts such as the *adhishṭhāna* (plinth), the pillars and the door-frames are common to most of the temples of all the types. While the plinth of the *maṇḍapa* temples of the *sāndhūra* type (i.e. having closed circumambulatory passage around the sanctum) is of *mañchabandha* type, that of the sanctum within is of *padmabandha* type as e.g. in the Īśvara temples Nos. 2, 3 etc. The *adhishṭhāna* of the temples of the *vīmāna* type is invariably of the *padmabandha* type. In the temples of the *rēkhā-nāgara* style, while the *adhishṭhāna* of the sanctum is of *padmabandha* type that of the *śākhā-maṇḍapa* and *mukha-maṇḍapa*, is of *mañchabandha* type.

The pillars in most of the temples of all the types are baseless, heavy square shafts with or without ornamental *paṭṭikas* carrying heavy capital of either the *taraṅga* (i.e. of scroll design) or the *mushṭibandha* order. It is only in a few temples of the late phase as in the Pāpanātha and Kāśī Viśvēśvara in Paṭṭadakallu, that the pillars are provided with moulded bases (*pīṭha*) the shaft being fluted, with heavy *padmabandha* in the upper part.

The door-frame usually of most of the temples of all the types consists of three to five *śākhās* usually richly carved. At the bottom are seen usually a *dvārapāla* holding *daṇḍa* or Virabhadra, Gaṅgā-Yamunā, and *apsaras* or couple (*dampati*). Wherever the *nāgaśākha* is present in the door-frame the figure of the Garuḍa, an adversary of the Nāga, holding the tails of the *nāgaśākha* is carved at the centre of the lintel. And this has no sectarian implication.

The Maṇḍapa Type

Evidently Aihole is the centre of this type of temples ranging from about the middle of the 5th century to the end of the 8th c. A.D. in date. There are nearly seventeen temples of this type of which two are of Sūrya; one is Śakti; another of Jina and the rest are of Īśvara. These temples are raised on a high plinth of the *mañchabandha* type marked by high neck (*kaṇṭha*). The plinth of the sanctum is usually of *padmabandha* type marked by distinct *kumuda*.

The *maṇḍapas* with the sanctum raised against the wall at the back of the hall have no early models, and purely of indigenous origin. It consists of a rectangular or oblong pillared hall, with or without *mukha-maṇḍapa*. The Īśvara temples No. 9 (Ladkhan, Pl. III, A) No. 12 (an east looking temple with a portico in front of the Konti group) both looking east and the temple No. 13 looking north in Konti group, the Sūrya (Baḍigēra) temple and the Īśvara temple outside the fort are of this type. They are oriented to any direction. A noteworthy feature is that the width is more than the length. Īśvara temple No. 9 is, however, square.

The Īśvara temple No. 12 has no *mukha-maṇḍapa* as such, while that of the Sūrya temple does not seem to be its original part. In the Īśvara temple No. 9 the walls with large perforated grills were added subsequently, whereafter the sanctum was built against the central back pillars and the wall by cutting the pillars partially to fix its side walls. Thus an originally square pillared open *sabhā-maṇḍapa* was gradually converted into a temple of the present form, probably in three stages, before 8th c. A.D. On the central roof is raised a small flat-roofed shrine with sculptures of Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Ardhanārīśvara on the exterior walls, at a time when the *mukha-maṇḍapa* with *kakshāsana* was added to it, since the stone ladder to approach the super-structure is provided in the *mukha-maṇḍapa*. The Īśvara temple near temple 14 (in the Huchchappaiah-maṭha group), outside the fort has the *garbhagṛiha* with three plain doorways demarcated by a wall across the width. The sanctum therefore contained three idols enshrined one beside the other. There was a *mukha-maṇḍapa* to it which is now missing.

On the basis of the ground plans and of the presence or otherwise of the *pradakṣiṇā-patha*, the temples of the apsidal type may be classified into three sub-types. The first two are copies of early models built in brick found in the excavations of the early historical sites at Banavāsi, Brahmagiri, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa etc. which in turn are similar to the earlier Buddhist *chaitya* models.²

The Gajapriṣṭhākṛiti Type

There are three temples of this type, two in Aihole and one in Hale-Mahākūṭa.³ One of them in Aihole near the Īśvara temple No. 3 (Chikkī temple) is much dilapidated, only the front door-frame, the disturbed apsidal ground plan and the broken circular *pīṭha* with the *liṅga* being extant. The other temple (the Durgā) appears to be more probably of Brahma than of Sūrya since three-headed Brahma holding *kaṣāṣa* and *padma* in the hands is found in the central *śālā* of the architrave above the *kapṛṭa* of the door-frame of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*. Above Brahma in the upper part of the *śālā* is Sūrya. Exactly opposite to this image in the centre of the beam of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* is another figure of Sūrya. The socket in the centre of the circular *pīṭha* in the sanctum is evidently meant to receive an image and not a *liṅga*. There is a sculpture of four-faced Brahma in round relief now displayed in the museum of the locality. The temple in Mahākūṭa is of Śiva as is evident from the colossal *liṅga* on the circular *pīṭha* in the sanctum.

In this type, the temple consists of an apsidal *maṇḍapa* at the back of which is located the apsidal sanctum leaving space for *pradakṣhiṇā* and a *mukha-maṇḍapa* with a flight of steps in the front. But the Brahma(?) temple is on a high apsidal platform with the sides open, having equally spaced pillars supporting the roof extending from the temple proper. On the flat roof over the sanctum is a subsequently added *rēkhā-nāgara śikhara* partially dilapidated. Near the south-east corner is a *mahādvāra* with Sūrya in the *lalāṭabimbā* and Garuḍa below. In the Īśvara temple of Hale Mahākūṭa there is a loose sculpture of standing Kartikēya with his vehicle, the peacock behind.

The Brahma temple is rich in sculptures. There are eight-handed Śiva with Nandi behind, Narasimha of the type found in the Viṣṇu-layaṇa in Bādāmi, Bhūvarāha, eight-handed Mahiṣamardini and eight-handed Harihara etc. in the *dēva-kōṣṭhas* on the exterior walls of the *maṇḍapa*; Ardhanārī, Ugranarasimha, Śiva, Śiva holding the swooning Pārvatī etc. on the pillars, fourteen panels narrating important episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the plinth of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, *rājapurushas*, women, couples etc. in the *kūṭas* on the beams, and Nāgarāja in the ceiling.

Yet another type consists of a spacious oblong hall with open or closed sides, the sanctum located in the rear part providing space for circumambulation and with or without *mukha-maṇḍapa*. The Durgā-bhagavatī (Gauḍara-guḍī), the Īśvara temples Nos. 2, 3, the Sūrya (Ambigēra) temple and the Jinēndrālaya (Mēguḍī) at Aihole are of this type. In the open-sided Durgā-bhagavatī, looking east, the floor of the hall was originally at a lower level as in the case of the Brahma (Durgā) temple even now. Probably in the latter half of the Chālukyan period, the floor of the hall was raised to a thickness of the uppermost two horizontal mouldings of the present *adhishṭhāna*. To that level was also raised the flight of steps provided on the front side concealing the earlier one. The *kakshāsanas* were necessarily provided in the hall. Similarly, in the Īśvara temple No. 2 facing west, a *śikhara* of *rēkhā-nāgara* style over the sanctum was raised during 8th century and a doorway in between the rear pillars of the hall was provided probably in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period. The east facing Sūrya

(Ambigēra) temple raised on the remnants of a pre-Chālukyan brick structure was similar in plan to Īśvara temple No. 3, as is evident from its broken edges and the discontinuation of the original plinth. Subsequently, the walls between the back wall of the sanctum and the side walls of the hall on both the sides were raised against which *pīṭhas* carrying idols for worship were placed. Further, on the exterior side of the side walls, on both the sides the plinth was enlarged with a row of pillars along the edge, and a small sanctum on each side at the back wall of the extended part was also constructed. A flight of steps was provided at the north-eastern corner. Thus in course of time but before the end of the Chālukyan period, a single-shrined Sūrya temple was enlarged into five-shrined temple. But the added part on the left side having fallen, the plan of the extant temple is not readily intelligible unless the dilapidations and the renovations are properly understood.

The Jinēndrālaya (Pl. III, B) oriented to the north got built by Ravikīri in 634 A.D. originally consisted of a square hall with a sanctum at the centre leaving space for *pradakṣhiṇā*, a small *maṇḍapa* without pillars with a flight of steps in front of the doorway and a still smaller *mukha-maṇḍapa*. Over the sanctum is raised a plain shrine. Thus in plan it slightly varies from the plan of the sub-type I. Ravikīrti's inscription is fixed into the right exterior wall of the *maṇḍapa*. Subsequently, the side walls of the *maṇḍapa* were extended upto the front of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and a spacious pillared *maṇḍapa* with *kakshāsanas* and side flights of steps in the front, were added to the *mukha-maṇḍapa*. This addition is clearly evident from the broken alignment of the plinth the turnings of the *kapōṭa* and its continuation along the front top of the small *maṇḍapa*, the double front pillars of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the sloping of the roof of the pillared *maṇḍapa* on its rear side. As a result of the new additions the closed areas on the sides of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* actually formed sub-shrines meant perhaps for Yaksha and Yakshi. A most graceful sculpture of Ambikā, now kept in the site museum near the Brahma temple was in the *maṇḍapa*. The super-structure, a plain square cell containing originally a Jina image was also probably added more or less at this time. These additions were made probably during 8th century. Another rather unwise change that was effected was the conversion of the back part of the circumambulatory into three cells by putting across four walls three of which have entrances to the cells. Thus it became ineffective. When this conversion was made is not clear. A noteworthy architectural feature in the case of closed *pradakṣhiṇā-patha* of the temple type is the provision of perforated grills of varied geometrical designs meant for letting subdued light into the *pradakṣhiṇā-patha* which is otherwise dark.

These temples are invariably plain. On the pillars, the ceiling and the door-frame and in the *dēvakōshṭhas* on the exterior walls of the sanctum are sculptural panels and miniature bas-reliefs. The door-frames usually having four or five *śākhas* including the *nāgaśākha* have at the bottom royal couples, Śaiva *dvārapālas*, and Garuḍa in the central lintel and in the architrave are Brahma, Naṭarāja and Viṣṇu in the Īśvara temples, Gaṅgā, Gajalakshmi with four elephants and Yamunā in the Durgā-bhagavatī. The door-frames of the Sūrya temple and of Jinēndrālaya are plain. In the sanctums of the Īśvara and Sūrya temples and also of Jinēndrālaya are

liṅgas (of sandstone), the sculpture of Śūrya in round relief and of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra respectively the latter two being mutilated. There is no image in the *garbhagṛiha* of Durgā-bhagavati.

In the oblong temples without *pradakṣiṇā-patha* are found a sanctum, and a *sabhā-maṇḍapa* wider than that of the sanctum with or without *mukha-maṇḍapa*. The Īśvara temple No. 15, the three Īśvara temples Nos. 4, 8 (at the extremities in the Jambuliṅga group) and the extant *garbhagṛiha* with the panel of Śiva-Pārvatī playing chess carved on the exterior back wall of another temple No. 5 in that group, Īśvara temple No. 17 facing east (with later additions) of the Gaḷaganātha group, at Aihole, a Śaiva temple each near the Śaiva cave and near the small Jaina cave (at Bādāmi) and the inscribed Īśvara temple in Huligavvana-koḷḷa, Jālihāḷ are of this type. The *sabhā-maṇḍapa* with three doorways to the Īśvara temple No. 17, the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and *Nandi-maṇḍapa* to the Īśvara temples Nos. 4, 8 were added in the early Rāshtrakūṭa period. The temple near the Jaina cave has a *mukha-maṇḍapa*.

These temples are plain excepting the Īśvara temple No. 15 (temple in Huchhaparajha-maṭha group). There are amorous couples on the front pilasters of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of temple no. 15, lotus in the *lalātubimha* of the lintel of the door-frame of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*, Viṣṇu seated on Ananta, Umāmahēśvara seated on Nandi, Brahma seated on swan-all in the ceiling, and Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva in the *kūṭas* above the lintel. In the sanctum is a *liṅga* on a moulded *pīṭha*.

The *liṅga* in the Īśvara temple near the cave has a *brahmasūtra* in double lines not going round the *liṅga*. The *liṅga* of the Īśvara temple in Jālihāḷ is of type 3. There is an inscription on the front wall of the temple, of the time of Vikramāditya II stating that Benemma(?) the son of Devari got the temple built.

The Vimāna type

Temples of this type—ten in number—are in Bādāmi, Hosa-Mahākūṭa and Paṭṭadakallu, but surprisingly none in Aihole. The *śikhara* of these temples is not exactly of the same type in all of them but has some variations suggestive of the development.

The Īśvara temple on the hill-slope outside the *prākāra* of the Mahākūṭēśvara temple group in Hosa-Mahākūṭa, Lower Śivālaya and Upper Śivālaya (Pl. III, C) in Bādāmi belong to one sub-type. The Lower Śivālaya in all probability was originally a Gaṇeśa temple and the Upper Śivālaya, that of Viṣṇu.⁴ While the Īśvara temple is simple in plan consisting of a sanctum and a *mukha-maṇḍapa*, the Gaṇeśa originally had a closed(?) *pradakṣiṇā-patha* and *mukha-maṇḍapa*. Only the *garbhagṛiha* is extant. Viṣṇu temple has a rectangular hall with the sanctum at the rear with a closed circumambulation and a front *mukha-maṇḍapa*, similar to the Īśvara temple Nos. 2, 3 in Aihole. The *adhishṭhāna* of the first consists of two horizontal offsets and that of Viṣṇu is in *padmabandha*. The walls of the sanctums of the latter two are raised right on the bare rock, without *adhishṭhāna*. The *śikhara* is single-storeyed having plain horizontal mouldings. The *stūpi* in the small Śiva and Viṣṇu temples is Nāgara and of the Gaṇeśa Drāviḍa. The *kūṭas* in the east contain bas-reliefs of semi-divine beings(?). The *tala* of the *śikhara* of the Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu temples, is

distinctly high and actually a regular room like the sanctum below, a noteworthy feature. The door-frames of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples are plain and that of Gaṇeśa, ornate. In the Gaṇeśa temples, there is a dwarf door-keeper. In the first two temples, there are fine sculptures of superb workmanship in the plinth and in the *dēvakōshṭhas* of the exterior walls. In the Viṣṇu temple are narrative panels depicting the main episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Harivaṃśa*.

The Mahākūṭeśvara and the Mallikārjuna temples both in Hosa-Mahākūṭa, the Mālegitti Śivālaya (Pl. III, D) in Bādāmi and the Nāganātha in Nagarāḷ, form a second sub-type. The Nāganātha from Nagarāḷ is actually a variant of the Maṇḍapa type 1, but more akin in plan and elevation to the type under study. The type consists of a *garbhagriha* with closed *pradakṣhiṇā-pāṭha*, a *sabhā-maṇḍapa* wider than the sanctum and the *pradakṣhiṇā-pāṭha* put together, a *mukha-maṇḍapa* and a separate *Nandi-maṇḍapa* in front. But the Mālegitti Śivālaya has no *pradakṣhiṇā-pāṭha* and *Nandi-maṇḍapa* probably for want of sufficient space. In recent times, the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Mahākūṭeśvara is enlarged on all the three sides. The *adhishṭhāna* of these, is of *padmabandha* type. From above the *kapōta* is *hāra* of *śālas* and *kūṭas* indistinct in the first two. The *śikhara* is of *eka-tala* order with Draviḍa *stūpi* having *kūṭas* at the corners, similar to that of the Gaṇeśa in Bādāmi.

On the sides of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* in the front exterior wall are two-handed Śaiva *dvārapālas* holding trident. On the walls of the *adhishṭhāna* or immediately above are narrative panels representing deities, episodes from the Śaiva Purāṇas such as the procession of the Asṭadikpālas, Vṛishabhavāhana Śiva, Ugiṇarasimha etc., in the Mallikārjuna temple and Viṣṇu's fight with the *asuras*, Rati and Manmatha Śiva-Pārvati etc., in the Mahākūṭeśvara temple. In the Mālegitti Śivālaya are *kubja-gaṇas* in various actions in the *adhishṭhāna*, Harihara, Viṣṇu and Śaiva *dvārapālas* in the exterior *dēvakōshṭhas* and a god chiding a *kinnari* by placing his left leg on her back, a rare type, to the right front of the sanctum.

The Nāganātha temple similar in plan to that of Mallikārjuna has a roof of the Maṇḍapa type, an *adhishṭhāna* of *padmabandha* type, but rightly no *hāra* of *śālas* and *kūṭas* at the roof level. From above the sanctum rises the *śikhara* of the Vimāna type. On the right exterior wall are miniature bas-reliefs of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kārtikēya on the peacock, Gaṇeśa and Mahishāsūramardini; Nāga and *mithunas* on the front pillars, on the ceiling of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*, Viṣṇu, Brahma and Umā Mahēśvara on Nandi. In the sanctum is a *līnga* on the moulded *pīṭha*.

The temples of the third sub-type are similar in plan to that of Mallikārjuna. The walls are relieved into projections and recesses, the *śālas* and *kūṭas* of the *hāra* above the *kapōta* of the walls, being quite distinct. The *śikhara* consists two tiered (*dvitala*) with Nāgara *stūpi*. The *sabhā-maṇḍapa* may have three *mukha-maṇḍapas* instead of one. In the rear part of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* near the front corners of the sanctum two small shrines are provided for Durgā and Gaṇeśa in the case of Śaiva temples. The four-handed *dvārapālas*, Nandi and Vīrabhadra, are shown on the rear pilasters flanking the doorway of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* and also of the sanctum. The door-frame invariably has Gaṇḍā and Yamunā with other *dvārapālas* and Garuda

holding the *nāgaśākhā* in the *lalāṭabimbā*. The Saṅgamēśvara (i.e. Vijayēśvara) in Paṭṭadakallu and the biggest temple in the Bhūtanātha eastern group in Bādāmi are of this type. During the 11-12th century A.D., the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the latter is enlarged on all the three sides.

Three architectural features that distinguish the temples of the fourth sub-type are: distinct appearance of *sukanāsa* and correspondingly *ardha-maṇḍapa*, series of narrative panels on all the sides of the pillars and *prākāra* with sub-shrines for attendant deities (*parivāradēvatas*) and two entrances, enclosing the temple. The Virūpāksha and the Mallikārjuna (Lōkēśvara and Trailōkēśvara of the inscriptions), are of this type. They were caused to be built by Lōkēśvari and Trailōkēśvari, the two chief queens of Vikramāditya II to commemorate his three victories over Kāñchi, the Pallava capital. Although the two temples look alike, the *stūpi* of the Virūpāksha is Nāgara (square) and that of Mallikārjuna, Vēsara (circular). The temples therefore are of Nāgara-vimāna and Vēsara-vimāna in style.

The temples are rich in sculptural decorations. Representations of the varied forms of Śiva and Viṣṇu as described in the Pūrāṇas such as Tripurāri, Gajāsura-mādana, Ugranarasimha, Bhūvarāha etc., popular episodes more from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* etc., are noticed. In the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, of the Virūpāksha temple are usually *mithunas*, rarely scenes from Pauranic stories such as Gajēndra-mōksha on the front pillars and life size *dvārapālas* on the rear pilasters. Besides there are *Śaṅkha* and *Padma nidhis* in the interiors of the side walls facing each other.

In the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* all the faces of the four rows of central pillars from the top to bottom are richly carved with figures of deities, episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa*, the Pūrāṇas, the *Pañchatantra* etc. It is to be noted that some parts of the legends of Śākuntala, Vāsavadatta, some aspects of the social life such as *gurukulāśrama* etc. are also represented on the pillars.

The *lalāṭabimbā* of the eastern doorway of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the Mallikārjuna temples carried Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa. Most of the sculptures and the panels on the exterior walls and the interior pillars of these temples are similar to those of Virūpāksha. In particular, the Durgā on lion chasing the fleeing Mahishāsura is comparable to a similar one at Mahabalipuram.

The Kadamba-Nāgara Type

Temples of this type, mostly small, consist usually of a *garbhagṛiha* and a *mukha-maṇḍapa*. The distinguishing *śikhara* consists of a series of horizontal tiers diminishing as they go up separated by *kanṭha* (i.e. constricted neck) in between and crowned with *amalaka*. The Mallikārjuna and the Hṛishikēśa in the Gaḷaganātha group in Aihole and the temple to the south of the apsidal temple in Hale-Mahākūṭa are comparatively large. The first two consist of a sanctum, a *sabhā-maṇḍapa*, and a *mukha-maṇḍapa*, while the last comprises a sanctum and an *ardha-maṇḍapa* probably with *mukhapatti* on the top abutting the *śikhara*. The *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Hṛishikēśa is subsequently added probably in the early Rāshtrakūṭa period. To the Mallikārjuna temple, a *rōraṇa* is added in the late Chālukyan period. To the temple at

Haḷe-Mahākūṭa, is added at a later date another temple with *mukha-maṇḍapa* necessarily to the north. The form and characteristics of the extant *līṅga* in the *garbhagṛiha* of the Hṛishīkēśa clearly indicate that the temple was converted into Śaiva during the Kalyāṇa Chālukya period.

There are about ten temples round the pond in Hosa-Mahākūṭa, one in Haḷe-Mahākūṭa, nine in Jālhāl and two in Aihoḷe. Excepting the Hṛishīkēśa all are Śaiva temples. The temples in Haḷe-Mahākūṭa and Aihoḷe appear to represent the two phases of this style. In the former the tiers are heavy and the *kaṇṭha* narrow, both being plain; in the latter, the tiers have plain trapezium or *chaitya* projections at regular intervals and the *kaṇṭha* is distinct and relieved into series of shallow niches allround. The east-facing small shrine near the south-east corner of the pond and the other looking north near the south-west corner of the Mahākūṭēśvara in Hosa-Mahākūṭa and the one in Haḷe-Mahākūṭa appear to belong to the early phase of this style. Sculpturally these are plain. It is only in the exterior *dēvakōshṭhas* of the *garbhagṛiha* and in the ceiling and rarely on the pillars in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* that some sculptures are carved.

Temples of the Rēkhā-Nūgara Style

Temples of this style consist of a sanctum, a squarish *sabhā-maṇḍapa* wider than the sanctum and a *mukha-maṇḍapa*. The *śikhara* is invariably of *ēkūṇḍa* type, consisting of *bhūmis* with *karṇāmalakas* and *jālakas* in between, crowned with an *āmalaka*. Usually while the *adhishṭhāna* of the sanctum is of *padmabandha* type that of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* and *mukha-maṇḍapa*, is of *mañchabandha*. Invariably on the exterior walls of the sanctum are *dēvakōshṭhas* at the cardinal points.

There are four temples of this type in Aihoḷe, three in Paṭṭadakallu, and two in Hosa-Mahākūṭa. It is particularly noteworthy that no temples of this type are found in Bādāmi. Those in the Hosa-Mahākūṭa are small shrines each consisting of a *garbhagṛiha* and a *mukha-maṇḍapa*. The Jarṇbulīṅga, Kāḍasiddhēśvara and Kāśi-viśvēśvara temples in Paṭṭadakallu have a separate *Nandi-maṇḍapa* which in course of time have become dilapidated.

It may be noted here that the *śikharas* of the *rēkhā-nūgara* type were later added to the existing temples of the *Maṇḍapa* type viz., the Īśvara temple No. 2 and the Brahma (Durgā) temple in Aihoḷe and the Gaḷaganātha (Pl. IV. A) and the Pāpanātha in Paṭṭadakallu. There are no sculptural decorations on the walls in any of these temples.

The Pāpanātha (Pl. IV, D) deserves to be noted separately. It looks as though it is a temple of this type because of the *rēkhā-nūgara śikhara*. It is profusely embellished with carvings of the main episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (ranging from the performance of the *putrakāmeṣṭi-yāga* by Daśaratha to the coronation ceremony of Rāma) and the *Kirātārjunīya*, in the *udgamas* of the walls besides the colossal sculptures of Naṭarāja and Gaḷasuramardana Śiva, in the main door. On the ceiling and the pillars of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* are also sculptures of Naṭarāja with Kṛvati, *mithunas* etc, Gaḷalakṣmī in the *lalāṭabimba*, and *dvārapālas* flanking the doorway.

In the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* are *mithunas* almost in round relief against the wall pilasters, Mahishamardini and Gaṇeśa in the *dēvakōshṭhas* in the centre of the walls; a king and queen in the court, Śiva-Pārvati, Pāṇḍavas with Kunti and Draupadi, etc. In the *ardha-maṇḍapa* are *mithunas* almost in round relief on the pilasters, Naṭarāja and Nāgarāja in the ceiling, Gajalakshmi in the *lalāṭabimba* of the doorframe of the sanctum and *Aṣṭadikpālas* holding their respective *dhvajās* above the lintel. Śiva as Ūrdhvaliṅgin, Sūrya and Viṣṇu are in the exterior *dēvakōshṭhas* of the sanctum.

The temple, in all probability, originally consisted of only a flat-roofed *garbhagṛiha* and a *mukha-maṇḍapa*. Subsequently, the *mukha-maṇḍapa* was enlarged into a pillared hall so as to enclose the *garbhagṛiha*, providing the *pradakṣhiṇā-patha* that concealed the plinth of the *garbhagṛiha*. Again later, the walls of the pillared hall and the sixteen pillared *sabhā-maṇḍapa*, the *mukha-maṇḍapa* the *hāra* of the *kūṭas* and the *śālas* and the *rēkhā-nāgara* *śikhura* were added probably during the period of Vikramāditya II.

Sculptures

So far as the sculptures are concerned, though they are of some standard forms, sculptures of the particular forms are not exactly the same wherever found. This may be illustrated. Gaṇeśa is represented in two forms: two-handed holding *Padma* and *mōḍakapūtra* or four-handed generally holding *danta* or twig of jam fruits, *paraśu*, lotus or *japamālā* and *mōḍakapūtra* both types in seated posture on *Padma*. The sculpture of the latter type, in the Virūpākṣa temple, is a very rare piece. He is seated in *rājyalīlāsana* with the right hand straight and placed on the right thigh and the twig of jam fruits tied to his *yajñōpavīta*. In the sculpture of two-handed Gaṇeśa (Pl. IV, B) from Paṭṭadakallu the trunk is unusually turned rightward and placed in the *mōḍakapūtra* while in the other sculptures of this type the trunk is turned leftward.

The *liṅgas* are at least of four types: cylindrical with rounded top and *brahmasūtra*; or tapering with rather pointed round or convex top and *brahmasūtra* and cylindrical with flat or convex top with *brahmasūtra*. The first two types have a circular or square *pīṭha*, and the last has invariably the square. The Mukhaliṅga representing the five aspects of Śiva namely Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, Aghōra, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna, is the fourth type. There is only one Mukhaliṅga in a pillared *maṇḍapa* situated in the pond near the Mahākūṭśvara temple, Hosa-Mahākūṭa. The *liṅga* cylindrical in form and convex top has faces on the four sides.

Of the various sculptural forms of Śiva, the Naṭarāja with Vṛishabha behind and/or Pārvati and others such as Gaṇeśa, and Bhṛīṅgi and at one place with the Saptamātrikās, is the most popular subject of the Chālukyan sculptor who carved it in several ways on the pillars, walls, on the ceiling, *mukhapatti* and in the *lalāṭabimba*.

Śiva seated in *vāmalalīlāsana* holding the *japamālā*, *damaru*, etc. the left lower hand being in *varadamudrā* form (Paṭṭadakallu); Śiva holding the *vijñā* probably in

gaṇeśānugraha form (Siddhanakallu); as Bhikṣhāṭanamūrti (Aihole Pl. IV, C) as Gaṅgadhara holding *damaru* and *agni* and dancing on *apasmāra* (probably from Nāganātha-Śivayōgi-mandira), Lakulīsa standing on *apasmāra* holding *paraśu* in the left hand (Hosa-Mahākūṭa) are some of the rare forms of god Śiva.

Among the forms of Durgā, such as the two-handed Durgā, Jayadurgā, Bhūta-mātā, Chāmundā, Mahishāsūramardini, the last one occurs most frequently. She is represented with four or six or eight hands holding *triśūla*, *chakra* and *śankha*, *khadga*, *damaru* etc. and as piercing the demon who is either completely in the bison or human form but with horns. The goddess is sometimes seen riding a lion and chasing the fleeing demon whose head alone is that of a bison. One form of Śakti, known popularly as Lajjāgauri, connected with the Tantric Śaiva cult, is shown in the form of a nude woman holding lotuses in the hands, lying flat with knees drawn upwards as if ready for coition. A full blown lotus is shown in the place of her head. Sculptures of this type, rarely found occur as secluded cult objects only and are never represented in the temples proper.

Of the different forms of Viṣṇu the most common is the four-handed figure. Occasionally, he may carry sword in one of his hands, a feature not noticed in subsequent periods. Viṣṇu seated or sleeping on Ananta, Garuḍavāhana Viṣṇu, Aṣṭa-bhujasvāmī, Kṛishṇa lifting mount Gōvardhana (Pl. V, A) Bhūvarāha, Narasimha and Trivikrama are noteworthy. In the Narasimha form there are four varieties: two or four-handed Narasimha in *śayyalalitāsana*, Narasimha standing, four or six-handed Narasimha catching hold of Hiranyakaśipu and Ugra-Narasimha. There is only one sculpture of two-handed seated Narasimha in round relief in Hosa-Mahākūṭa of probably c. 5th century A.D.

There are only two forms of Lakshmī, Gajalakshmī and Vaiṣṇavī. Gajalakshmī is sculptured in three different ways, on the ceiling, in the *lalāṭaśimbu* or above the *udgamas* on the walls. Apart from the presence of Vaiṣṇavī in the Saptamātṛika panels, there are a few separate sculptures of Vaiṣṇavī. In a sculpture of Vaiṣṇavī, from Paṭṭadakallu, the goddess is in *vimalalalitāsana* holding mace, *chakra* and *śankha*.

The individual sculptures of Brahma are comparatively quite a few, barring the representation in the Trinity on either the architrave of the door-frames or the ceilings of the temples. One sculpture of Brahma is found on the northern wall of the Virūpāksha temple. Another sculpture, the only one in round relief, now displayed in the Museum in Aihole, (Pl. IV, F) perhaps belongs to the Brahma (Durgā) temple at Aihole.

Sūrya is invariably represented as two-handed holding lotuses mostly in *sambhāṅga* with female chowri-bearers perhaps Ushā and Pratyūsha on the sides. In the sanctum of the two Sūrya temples at Aihole (Pl. IV, E) are found sculptures of Sūrya in round relief. The one (of sandstone) in the temple of the Maṇḍapa type has oval-shaped radiated halo behind the head and moderately ornamented, an early iconographic characteristic. The Sūrya relief in the ceiling of the front (i.e. eastern) *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Virūpāksha temple in Paṭṭadakallu, is shown standing with Ushā

and Pratyūsha carrying bows on the sides in a seven horse-drawn chariot driven by Aruṇa. It is the most full-fledged sculpture.

The Saptamātṛika panel is found placed usually in the rear right corner of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* in a few of the temples, or, outside the temple as one of the attendant deities mostly in the *rēkhā-nāgara* and the *Maṇḍapa* types about six in Aihole, one in Paṭṭadakallu. It may be recalled that the Chālukyas pride themselves as being nourished and protected by the Saptamātṛikas. It appears that the practice of enshrining a Saptamātṛika panel in the temple complex was introduced as part of the ritualistic requirement at a later stage. The goddesses are invariably shown as seated in *padmāsana* or *vāmapralambapādāsana* with their respective vehicles shown below. Normally only Brāhmi and Kaumāri are shown as having three heads (in the frontal profile) but in one broken panel from Paṭṭadakallu the other goddesses also possess three heads.

The *dvārapālas* in the temples of the early phase are invariably two-handed, standing erect while in the temples of the later phase, invariably four-handed in *tribhaṅga* and suggested by their symbolic characteristics as Vīrabhadra and Nandi.

Probably the largest number of sculptures are of couchant Nandi in round relief found in the separate *Nandi-maṇḍapa* in front of the Śaiva temples or within the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temples, the typical examples being that of the Mallikārjuna in Hosa-Mahākūṭa and of the Virūpāksha in Paṭṭadakallu, of the early and late phases of the period respectively. In the former type, the Nandi has its right leg put forward bent at the knee, with a garland of bells. In the latter, it has its left leg put forward bent at the knee, wearing a garland of large-sized grions and also a decorative thick double thread carrying a bell below. Even in delineating the anatomical features such as the head and particularly the dew-lap etc. there are clear indications of the development of the art.

The humorous *kubja-gaṇas* are sculptured in the plinth level or on the *pīṭha* of the wall sculptures in all the Viṣṇu structural temples at Bādāmi but in the uppermost zones just below the *kapōta* of only two or three structural temples, in the other two places. These *gaṇas* in Bādāmi are found indulging in mischiefs or acrobatic activities or, playing various musical instruments while the ones in the other temples are considerably different in the style of depiction.

With regard to the individual and narrative panels, episodes from the two *mahākāvya*s and the popular works such as *Pañchatantra* and *Kathūsaritsūgara* also are found depicted in the structural temples of the *vimāna* type.

Among the Jaina sculptures, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha and Supārśvanātha on the one hand, Bāhubali on the other are the most common and popular. Invariably Vardhamāna Mahāvīra is shown in the sanctum. There are no clear indications regarding the representations of the other *tīrthaṅkaras* during the period.

In Bādāmi there is an interesting life-size sculpture of a royal man seated in *padmāsana* on a *simha-pīṭha* with back seat, attended by two princely chowri-bearers from behind excellently carved on the steep side of a rock in a natural cave located near the eastern corner of the Bhūtanātha tank. The royal man holds his right hand

in *abhayamudrā* with *japamālā* the left being placed on the legs in *dhyānamudrā*. He is richly ornamented. On his sides symbols of *śaikhā* and *chakra* are carved. To his left, a little away, is a small figure of a sage. The sculpture is locally known as *Kōsh-tharāya* as it is believed to represent a king from *Vāraṇāsi* or a member from the *Chālukya* royal family who suffered from a terrible disease and ultimately was cured of it by taking regular dips in the tank here on the advice of a sage. But the sculpture appears to represent *Kīrtivarman I* probably got carved by *Mangalēśa*, who sincerely revered his elder brother.⁵

Paintings

In the *Vaishṇava* caves in *Bādāmi* and the *Śaiva* cave at *Aihoḷe* are paintings, unfortunately now found in a highly fragmentary state. Some carvings as in the ceiling of the verandah of the *Vaishṇava* cave (of *Maṅgalēśa*) are painted in different colours, green, brownish red, etc. There were paintings on the plain interior of the front *kapōta* of the first, on both sides of *Garuḍa* in three panels. The paintings to the right side of *Garuḍa* are only extant but are in fragments. The paintings have a thin fine lime plaster as carrier or base.

The first panel depicts a private *nṛityaśālā* of the palace where the king and the queen, seated on separate *āsanas* with attendants and chowri-bearers behind and on the sides, witness a dance performance accompanied by music. The king who appears to have been inspired, is shown as raising his hands to keep pause. Some are trying to look at the dance from behind a cloth curtain fitted to a frame with clips and some from the balcony express their appreciation through gestures with their hands. The next panel depicts a royal court with the king on the throne and the queen both with chowribearers and attendants and the courtiers seated in front discussing probably some state affairs and to the right front some persons standing with folded hands, probably making an appeal to the king. The king is perhaps *Pulakēśin II*, a patron of art and letters as is evident from *Ravikīrti's* eulogy. In the next panel is shown a king of impressive stature holding a mace in the right hand with a damsel approaching him while the flying *apsaras* seem to admire his handsome personality, the whole scene perhaps representing *Ūrvaśi* and *Vikrama*.

In all the panels there is profound sentiment of gaiety and merriment, serenity and dignity, magnanimity and appreciation so well conveyed. The delineation of the lines of the anatomical features of the males and females is not very natural. But the distinct facial expressions, the gestures of hands and the graceful curves are harmoniously blended.

Fertile imagination and keen observation of the artists are obvious from the human moods and feelings, expressions and curves in the paintings. The *Chālukyan* artist had to be content with simple colours such as different reds, brown, black, green, dark, blue and yellow.

Conclusion

The above general survey of the extant *Chālukyan* remains of art and architecture exhibit the essential form, character and purpose of the monuments. The

Chālukyan architect and sculptor are at their best in their creative ability. The Chālukyan sculptor is as ingenious in effortlessly portraying genuine human feelings, moods, expressions, difficult postures, bends by simple suggestive methods as in carving the serene, solemn image of the God characterised by a supreme transcendental spirit in the *garbhagṛiha* on the lines of unquestionable scriptural injunctions. Even the ornaments and the deliberately moderate dress on them would only nourish the sentiments of the figures. Perhaps there are no postures, movements, moods and sentiments of human beings from any walk of life that have not been successfully depicted. Even the gods and goddesses representing the highest spiritual ideas are not without the human touch and beauty. The transcendental effect of Natarāja's *tāṇḍava-nṛitya* depicted in the Īśvara temple No. 8 is displayed in the complete absorption of Pārvati beholding the dance, suggested by her being deaf to the loud cry of her dwarf attendant standing by her side with eyes irritated by pain due to her placing the hand unknowingly on his head. Similarly the fear clearly visible on Hiraṇyakaśipu's countenance when caught from behind by the mighty and terrific Narasiṃha in the Virūpāksha temple; the tender bashful aspect of a young, charming lady in Ardhanārīśvara, the unfathomable power of Trivikrama, the loving intimacy of the *mithunas* in many forms, the mischievous tendency of children displayed in the activities of the *kubja-gaṇas*, etc. indicate the sculptor's mastery of the art of depicting human life in all its aspects in stone.

Notes and References

The above study is based on my first hand field survey of the temples in Aihole, Bādāmi, Hale and Hosa-Mahākūṭas, Paṭṭadakallu, etc. The identifications of some of the temples as e.g. Durgā temple as of Brahma, a temple in the Guḷaganātha group as of Hṛṣīkeśa, in Aihole, Lower Śivālaya as of Gaṇeśa are based on my studies. The numbering of some of the temples, for instance, Tāra-basappa temple, Huchhimalli temple, Chikka temple etc. as Īśvara temples Nos. 1, 2, 3 etc. are also mine. Their respective popular local names are given in brackets.

1. H. Cousens: *The Chalukyan Architecture*, (1926); S. Settar: "A Buddhist viihara at Aihole", in *Last and West* (1969), Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2, pp. 126-138; A. Sundara: "Storeyed monument at Aihole: a Chaityalaya?" in *Archaeological Studies*, Vol. 1, pp. 73-74 (Dept. of Ancient History & Archaeology, University of Mysore, Mysore, 1976).
2. M. Seshadri: "Excavations of a Brick Apsidal Temple At Banavasi, District North Kanara", in *Purātattva*, No. 4, 1970-71, pp. 56-57; *Ancient India* No. 4, p. 186, Fig. 2.
3. R. S. Gupta: "An Apsidal Temple at Chikka Mahakuta", *Marathwada University Journal*, Vol. 11, (1964), pp. 58-63. But this temple was first noticed by the Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University and is reported in the *Progress Reports* for the year 1953-57, p. 6.
4. A. Sundara: "Bādāmiya Kṣṇagaṇa Śivālayaḥ Mūlataḥ Gaṇeśa dēvālayave?" in *Manavika Bharati*, (1977), Vol. 1 pt. 1, pp. 179-188.
5. A. Sundara: "Bādāmiya Kṣṇarāyana mūrtiyu Maṅgaśāna apūrvā bhrātrīpīṣṇada ānara saṅkōtave?" *Nandanavana*, Malladihalli Sri Sri Raghavendra Swami Felicitation Volume. The paper was first presented in the *All India Oriental Conference*, Section: Karnataka, Language, Literature and Culture, held under the auspices of the Karnatak University, Dharwar, in Nov. 1976.

ARCHITECTURE UNDER THE PALLAVAS

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Introduction

THE PALLAVAS OF THE SIMHAVISHNU line ruling from Kāñchīpuram were responsible for carving a kingdom in Tamilnadu that spread over the whole of the present Tonḍaimaṇḍalam, and was practically delimited by the Kaveri river in the south, notwithstanding access to certain areas south of this line also in Tanjavur District from time to time in the reign of a few of the Pallava kings. Their empire, of course, spread north of Tamilnadu also into Nellore District about which, however, we are not directly concerned here. In the light of the above, the architecture of the early Pallavas, whether rock cut or structural, was also largely confined to the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. However, the manner in which they spelt out the concepts of temple construction and religious art, depicts a wide range of impacts accumulated partly from their erstwhile heritage in the Andhra country, and partly from the contacts with the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi. It is to be mentioned here that the Pallavas, although they started a rock-art in hard granite for the first time in southern India, had not been in a position to create a vanguard movement in this very material in structural architecture. For this, they largely fell back upon sandstone which they consistently used in many of their centres, both at the capital and outside, although exceptions to this are also to be found at Mahabalipuram and Panamalai where a granular gneissic granite more easily chipped than the hard charnockite (or the best bluish granite of Chingleput District) had been used. The structural architecture of the Pallavas is largely conditioned by the above-mentioned factors, as also the stage in which religious and to a much lesser extent secular architecture were found in the period when the Pallavas initiated their structural style.

For this purpose, it is proposed to include within the period, parenthetically, the art stage of Narasimhavarma I-Māmallā (630-668 A D) during whose time monolithic carvings of temple models, as exemplified in the *rathas* of Mahābalipuram¹ were also attempted. This is for the obvious reason that the above *rathas* are the first major contributions in the early half of the seventh century in Tamilnadu for the first time as it were of the formal models of religious temple building, and, therefore, should interest us greatly, on stylistic considerations, not to mention comparable evidence between the structural and textual data. As they are found now, these *rathas* not only verigate the models known to the early Pallavas and bring them on line common with the rest of the southern India around that time, but also indicate the speciality of the regional idiom. It would be seen that the period prior to the Simhavishnu line of the Pallavas is largely the period when the so-called Śaṅgam classics were in vogue in Tamilnadu. It was also a period of extensive maritime contacts, first caused by the Indo-Roman period in the opening centuries of the Christian era and was overlapping with the extension of the Sātavāhana empire of the Deccan deep into the Tamil country almost upto the Vaigai valley. The literary

theme at that time presented largely certain models which appear to have been adopted probably for funeral shrines for the fallen and departed kings. References to these are found in the Śaṅgam literature giving the names of certain Pāṇḍyan kings qualified as *Chitramādattu-tuṇḷiya Peruvaḷudi*, *Kudākkārattu-tuṇḷiya*, *Ilavandigai-tuṇḷiya* etc. These represent, if one were to understand the terms which became more common in the *Śilpa* text in the later period also, forms like free-standing pavilion (*Chitramāda*) *Kudākāra* (hut-shaped pavilion, almost like the Draupadi-ratha) and *Ilavandigai* (by the chariot or a palanquin shape) referring to the symmetrical storeyed construction or apsidal form. In any event, while these references do mention the availability as well as the technical knowledge implicit in the construction of such rudimentary shrines, not necessarily for god alone but for the king as representative of the god on earth, these were made presumably in brick and mortar, and have, therefore, perished and do not provide any evidence of this age for our knowledge on the temples. Thus, the monolithic carvings of the Pallavas represent the *first* summation of our knowledge of temple models in Tamilnadu in concrete shapes. However, in so far as the structural architecture is concerned, since this involves the question of stress, load, solids and voids and foundational strength, commensurate with the super-structural they indeed reflect, when they get started, the real craftsmanship and engineering potential of the temple builders.

As we see them today, the structural architectural formulae under the Pallavas should have started with simple pavilions with superstructure probably in brick and mortar, the pavilions themselves being in stone-workmanship. One such was seemingly referred to in the Chittūr plate of Nṛpatuṅga, wherein Narasimhavarman (clearly, the I) is credited with having created for Vishṇu in the reclining form a temple of stones on the brink of the seas (*yah śayyāgṛiham-asmābhiḥ jalanidhau chakrē mahat chakriṇaḥ*). There is no means of knowing if this was of large dimensions, but compared to the limitations of the rock-cut form of the reclining Vishṇu found between the Shore temple at Mahābalapuram, it is feasible to consider this as the first faltering beginnings of the structural temple style, in the *maṇḍapa* or a pavilion form, during the time of Māmalla. When Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha started two Shore temples here, nearly a century later, it is likely that very little of the older structure should have survived, since otherwise this king who, on the present evidence, is credited with providing a chamber and a shelter for this god integrated with the *prākāra bandha* in his larger shore temple, would have followed the older clues in dealing with this shrine for the rock-cut reclining form of god Vishṇu. There is at present in front of the smaller shore temple, two base stubs in greyish lime, stone of the Palnāḍ variety, representing two pillars, set fairly wide apart; this stone is foreign to this region and inconsistent with the material adopted by Rājasimha for the Shore temples. It might be possible to argue that these might be residue of a pavilion temple for the reclining Vishṇu built earlier by Narasimhavarman I. Probably, more such evidence in fragmentary form might also be hidden under the basement of the larger Shore temple.

After Māmalla, the first important landmark in structural architecture was during the time of Paramēśvaravarman I in his temple at Kūram, extolled in the inscrip-

tions of the Kūram plates as *Vidyā-vinīta-Pallavēśvara gṛham*. This temple has all but disappeared now, except for certain lower parts of the plinth. This, in so far as it stands, depicts an allegiance which also takes us to the technique adopted earlier by the kings ruling in the Krishna valley wherefrom the Pallavas also emanated. This is in the form of the box-type of building by which a hearting in brick is veneered on either side with stone slabs in the form of box. The cross slab at the intervals provided the bonding. This technique is adopted in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Pushpabhadra-svāmi temple, said to have been constructed during the time of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala Chāntamūla around the early fourth century A.D. The elements of the plinth are also rendered in a composite way, showing three overlapping courses for the three facets of a *tripaṭṭa-kumuda* moulding at Kūram. Thus, the Shore temple for Viṣṇu in the time of Māmalla and Vidyāvinīta Pallavēśvara-gṛham, Kūram of the time of Paramēśvara are still finding the Pallavas, partly at least resorting to the tradition familiar to them in their quondam homeland in the Krishna valley. It is quite likely that at the time of Paramēśvara, the superstructure was also largely restricted to brick and mortar, since we find internal evidence in the above mentioned copper-plate of his, wherein he refers to the endowment of land for the specific kiln which will make brick and tile necessary for the temple. That Paramēśvara's temple was of an apsidal form, while being of some interest in structural architecture is again in tune with the familiar model extensively adopted in the Krishna valley for Buddhists as well as Hindu shrines. It should be stated here that both Narasimha I and Paramēśvara had constant clashes with the Chālukyas and this brought traditions and impulses from Bādāmi to the very doors of Tamiḻnadu.

These resulted in familiarity with forms of temples such as Mālegitti Śivālaya and Upper Śivālaya at Bādāmi, supporting variously octagonal and square forms of *śikhara*, apart from the other architectural data.

To Rājasimha would certainly belong the era of the most spectacular temple-building of the Pallavas in Tamiḻnadu. We have the largest number of his temples standing also today, of which Kāñchīpuram itself accounts for as many as half a dozen, while Mahābalapuram and Panamalai together account for an equal number. The temples, however, seem to be largely in one and the same model, notwithstanding several interesting variations in the interior and the exterior elevation and ground plan. This is the *Drāviḍa-vimāna* or the shrine with octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara*. We have only two examples in Rājasimha temples of the square *śikhara*, for which the term in *śilpa* nomenclature is *Nāgara-śikhara*. We have no example of the circular *śikhara* type (which is to be called the *Vēśara-śikhara*). This is achieved only by the first king of what is known as the later Pallava dynasty (after a short period of inter-regnum around 728-731 A.D.) namely Nandivarman II Pallavamalla who built also in Kāñchīpuram as many as three temples, of which two have circular *śikhara*, namely the Mukteśvara and the Mataṅgeśvara. There is some evidence during the time of this king also for certain secular architectural forms, in the form of a *sabhā* pavilion, where the village assembly met, as at Uttiramēūr, remnants of which are preserved today in the Vaikunṭha-perumāḷ temple premises at this place. However, the first finite structural effort at this place (Uttiramēūr) was

at the hands of the successor to Nandivarman II, namely Dantivarman, who around the second decade of the 9th century built the Sundaravarada temple, almost on the pattern of the Vaikuṇṭha-perumāḷ temple of his predecessor at Kāñchīpuram, but with certain important developments in elevation and ritual traditions. These, briefly, are (1) the utilisation of elliptical form for the *śikhara*, consistent with the adoption of the reclining Vishṇu shrine in the third or the topmost storey of the temple; (2) the application of the principle of *Vaikhānasāgama* in the measurements and proportions of this temple; and (3) the adoption of only a stone plinth and an entirely brick superstructure for the shrines in three storeys, including cardinal as well as main sanctum images in either wood or stucco in this temple, thereby almost adhering to the *āgama* principle of providing a wood or stucco image only in a brick shrine, whereas for a stone image a stone-built shrine is called for; and (4) finally, in the adoption of a large *gōpuram* entrance wherein again, the elliptical superstructural tower was created, consistent with the tower of the main shrine, and unlike the normal *dvāraśāla* types known in the time of Rājasimha, as seen at the Kailāsanātha and at the Shore temple (Mahābalipuram) which incidentally are also comparatively smaller in dimensions than the Dantivarman's temple *gōpuram* at Uttiramērūr. Dantivarman also should be credited with the erection of certain structures at Tiruvelḷarai near Tiručināpalli, a celebrated Vaishṇava centre (with a temple now going by the name of Puṇḍarikāksha), as also the Aivarkōyil at Koḍumbālūr, patterned to a certain extent upon the formulation of Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram, on the *ashṭa-mūrti* concept, with seven sub-shrines for the same god, around the periphery of the main shrine, whereas four shrines were adopted at Koḍumbālūr which, together with the central sanctum, became five in number, on the *mahēśa* concept and was designated as Aivarkōyil. A similarity is also in the adoption by Dantivarman at Koḍumbālūr of only *liṅga* on a square *pīṭha* in the four sancta around the central shrine which also had contained only the *liṅga*. Dantivarman's successors like Nandivarman III (who sometimes is taken as equivalent to *Tellār-eṇina Nandi*, while certain others would make this achievement at Tellār appropriate to a successor of Nandivarman III) were responsible for the creations variously at Tirukkōyilūr (South Arcot District) and Tiruppattūr (Perambalur Taluk of Tiruchī District), while his successor kings, in the last stages of the Pallava empire, like Kampavarman, Nṛipatuṅga and Aparājita variously were responsible for temples created at Kavan-Taṇḍalam (near Kāñchīpuram), Kāvērīppākkam, Tiruvorriyūr, Sumaṅgali, Bāhūr, Tiruchchennampūṇḍi, Tiruttani and Nenmeli (close to the last mentioned) variously. These temples some of which, however, have been modified and built over in later times by the Chōḷas, largely form the examples of structural temples utilising sandstone as well as granite.

Structural Scheme and Textual Correlation

The layout of the temples of the Pallavas, to a great extent, showed the sanctum and the *mukha-maṇḍapa* alone, and sometimes with a detached pavilion, as at Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram. A continuation of the *mahā-maṇḍapa* in front of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* appears to be largely available in the later Pallava period, not earlier than that of Dantivarman. It was provided with a *prākāra* and an entrance tower

of some description and modesty. There was no utilisation of a *upapīṭha* in the earlier stage of the Pallavas in the temples that have come down to us, while the later Pallavas, as in the case of the Mukteśvara of Nandivarman II, provided the high *upapīṭha*. However, a notional *upapīṭha* is already implicit in the *rathas* of Mahābalipuram, as seen below the Arjuna and Draupadi *rathas*, in rock-cut art. But since the temples of more than medium size and of appropriate storeyed elevation do not call for a *upapīṭha* to show off, the *upapīṭhas* were largely employed in these early periods only for the basically smaller temples and of restricted *talas*, a feature found also in the Pāṇḍyan country. It was only the Chōla dynasty which utilised the *upapīṭha* for the larger temples also, where it was indeed serving more as a basal terrace than as a device to show it off. An important series of *Śilpa* and *Āgama* concepts are revealed by the Pallava temples. These comprise (1) the categorisation, as found in the *Śilpa* text of *alpa*, *jati* and *mukhya-vimānas*, of which the first mentioned is single-storeyed, and modest in dimensions while the last mentioned exceeds four *talas*. There is only one example of the *mukhya-vimāna* ascribable during the Pallava period, which is Virattānēśvara temple at Tiruvadigai in South Arcot District, although the temple, on the present showing, includes several renovations of the subsequent periods. The temple was probably built during the time of Paramēśvara varman II whose inscriptions, apart from a reference to a renovation of the temple also by Nṛpatuṅga, are found in the premises. The temples at Kāñchīpuram and Mahābalipuram, pertain to the second category, and do not become *mukhya-vimāna*.

(2) The second feature was the variegation of *sāndhāra* and *nirandhāra* forms of temple layout by which a covered ambulatory is provided between the sanctum and the *prākāra* court, thereby providing two walls, the *antara* and *bāhya bhitti* which could be corbelled to form one basal support for the super-structural scheme. This corbelling itself is known as the *kadalīkaraṇa*. Correspondingly, the superstructural tower also is distinguishable on *śilpa* nomenclature, as *arpita*, and *anarpita*, or applied and free. By the latter is referred the *hāra* parapet around each *tala*, which stands free of the main wall of that *tala*, leaving a passage around for notional circumambulation, while the former is in cohesive scheme of *talas*. These two would be possible only in *nirandhāra* and *sāndhāra* variety respectively. While generally in the evolved temples, particularly post-Pallava, the tendency is mostly towards *arpita hāra* for superstructural arrangement, thereby consolidating the *talachchanda* into the one unified rhythm of storeys, the Pallava shrines, particularly of the classic models adopted in the early stages, form clear cut *anarpita* layout, *tala* by *tala*, with the passage (*ālindhra*) shown clearly. This primarily emphasises the fact that, in many such cases, each of these *talas* is accessible for worship or visit and circumambulation. Indeed the Dharmarāja-ratha at Mahābalipuram and such typical Viṣṇu shrines like the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñchīpuram and the Sundara varada temple at Uttiramēṛūr maintained this functional *anarpita* category.

* (3) This also underscores the essential characteristic of the southern *vimāna*, namely, its amenability to proportionate measurements, both on plan and in elevation. As is wellknown, the term *vimāna* comprises all that is built from the *upāna*

level to the *stūpi* level (*upānādi-stūpi paryantam vimānam*). Additionally, the term *vimāna* also etymologically, signified a structure which is susceptible to proportionate internal measurements; (*vistarataḥ mīyatē iti vimānam*). Thus, the southern *vimāna* is primarily an aggregate of component elements, each of which carries a certain ratio and proportion to the others, individually and collectively. The layout of a southern temple in its classic model is thus a harmonised aggregate of the *karṇa*, *bhadra*, and *jālantara* parts on its elevation, especially on the ground *tala*, which together stand in a *sāndhāra* temple, (a) for the inner dimensions of the sanctum, (b) the thickness of the inner wall of the sanctum (c) the *ālindra* passage, and (d) the thickness of the outer wall visible from the *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. In a *nirandhāra* temple, b. c. & d together represent the wall thickness. It is these that elevationally rise in a type of cellular struts, *tala* by *tala* in larger temples, receding ultimately towards the *grīva*. This topmost member, namely, *grīva* with its *śikhara*, form in fact the minimum *alpa vimāna* core that is contained in the temple, while the *talas* represented below it, down to the ground level, show the expansion of the *vimāna* model. This *grīva* and *śikhara alpa vimāna*, therefore, forms the very crux of the religious import of a temple, becoming its heavenly part, as differentiated from its 'worldly' part which is the *garbhagriha* or the sanctum right below it. It is for this reason that the dimensions of the *pidhana-phalaka* sealing the tower shell, over which the *grīva* and the *śikhara* rise, has dimensions identical to the inner dimensions of the sanctum below, irrespective of the number of *talas*, over which the concerned temple has been raised.² In a *vimāna*, therefore, irrespective of the *talas* there is a consonance between the *grīva-śikhara* unit and the sanctum plan measurement. In fact, the southern *vimāna* is not very much susceptible to vertical measurement in the sense that this necessarily should be the multiple of the number of *talas* with reference to the dimensions or height of the ground *tala*. The vertical proportions of a *vimāna* are, on the other hand, firmly based upon either the height of the door frame of the sanctum, below, or the height of the deity enshrined in the sanctum, and has nothing much to do with the height of the ground *tala*. This is one of the major differences between the structural character of the *vimāna*, as comparable with that of the *rēkhā-prāsāda* or the curvilinear northern temple.

(4) It is for this very reason that the *śilpa* texts give importance to the *grīva*, and *śikhara*, over and above that of the other *talas*, below. The texts by which are meant essentially the southern texts from the time they came to be widely prevalent around the close of the eighth century A.D. had largely been confined to classifying the temples in South India into *Drāviḍa*, *Nāgara* and *Vēśara* category. These terms, in fact, are only too popular in dealing with the temple architecture in South India and, on that very score, the most abused. These terms do not have any relevance to the 'northern' temple, and in their enunciation emphasise largely the diagnostic difference between the three major types of temples that came to be built in South India. *Drāviḍa*, thus, connoted the temple which either from the ground level upwards or in its *grīva* and *śikhara* alone, is octagonal in shape (the hexagonal, however, is also a variant *Drāviḍa* prescription); by *Nāgara*, further is meant the temple which stands either from ground floor upwards or in its *grīva* and *śikhara* alone, in square

form, and, similarly, the *Vēsara* denotes a temple which either from ground *tala* upwards or in its *grīva* and *śikhara*, is circular, in plan. This last would also include the apsidal and the elliptical forms variously in the same manner the square would include the rectangular also. These would only mean that, in terms of construction, these forms had actually been adopted in elevation, in the early times of structural architecture, in their entirety, but in due course, had been restricting the diagnostic traits only to the *grīva* and *śikhara*, thereby making these the rough and ready indices for differentiation. Accordingly, we see in the earlier Pallava structural temples—for which purpose, as we have done, we include also the *rathas* at Mahābalipuram—the octagonal, square, and circular forms have all been variously adopted in the temples. The Dharmarāja-ratha, thus, is in terms of nomenclature, to be described as a *sāndhāra tritala*, *Drāviḍa vimāna*, while the Arjuna-ratha would be a *nirandhāra*, *dvitala Drāviḍa-vimāna*. The Bhīma-ratha would be a *sāndhāra*, *dvitala*, *Nāgara vimāna*, and the Sahadēva-ratha, a *nirandhāra dvitala Vēsara vimāna*. Similarly, a larger structural temple like the Kailāsanātha at Kañchi is a *sāndhāra chatustala Drāviḍa vimāna*, Sundaravarada at Utiramērūr would be a *sāndhāra tritala Vēsara vimāna*, and, correspondingly, the Mukteśvara at Kāñchīpuram would be a *nirandhāra dvitala Vēsara vimāna*. This only shows how compactness of nomenclature and categorisation, which is the very essence of textual prescription in manuals, had been achieved to perfection in the southern *śilpa* and *sthapatya* texts.

The important element of the ground *tala* plan and, of course, its elevation as well, as has already been briefly indicated earlier, is the nature of its demarcation into *bhadra* and *karna* parts with recessions between the two. The *bhadra* which, when suitably projected or emphasised, is also called the *mukha-bhadra*, carried on its top a *śāla śikhara* or inverted boat-shaped *śikhara* (as of the type of Bhīma-ratha), while the *karna* would invariably carry a square *kūṭa-śikhara*. The recession in between carries a *nāsika* or the dormer window type which in essence, is an apsidal (*pañjara*) *śikhara*. The southern temples generally conform to this *karna-bhadra-jālantara* category, with the harmonised arrangement of the miniature *śikharas* on the *hāra* parapet of the entablature, in the form of the square (*kūṭa*) the apsidal (*pañjara*) and the rectangular (*śāla*) types. For this reason, they do not variegate the groundplan, in the manner in which the northern temples do, in the form of *ratha* offsets which could be *tri-ratha*, *pañcha-ratha*, *sapta-ratha* and so on, depending upon the magnitude of the dimensions of the temple. However, a *tri-ratha* projection, sometimes, is also adopted in a southern temple for the reason that it is amenable to the same type of elevational features as the *karna-bhadra* type. An example of this type of *tri-ratha* temple is the Tālagiriśvara temple at Panamalai.

Another important feature of the ground *tala* alone is the provision for the discharge of *abhishēka* water. In the earliest stages of Pallava times, this is primarily in the form of a simple channel, cut in the thickness of the wall and not provided with any external projecting parts. It is, thus, called only the *vāri-mārga* or *aṅbu-mārga*. In the later developed Chōla period, regular *praṇālas* are seen, these being projecting external parts receiving the water from the sanctum floor and discharging them outside. Such *praṇālas* are found, however, in the Chālukyan region from fairly early

times but has not been, in practice, adopted in the early Pallava temples as we know them to be now. This can be checked up in every Pallava temple now standing either at Mahābalipuram or Kāñchīpuram or Panamalai or any other place. Of course, in some of these cases, some later accretionary forms or *praṇāla* projections might have been attached but these, by no circumstance, form part of the original model and are easily detected. The reason for this somewhat unusual exclusion of the projecting *praṇāla* for the discharge of water in the early Pallava temples and in fact in the later Pallava ones also, would appear to stem from the fact that, to a great extent, up to the end of the period of Narasimhavarman II Rājasiṃha, Pallava temples did not provide for any *liṅga* in the sanctum, in the case of Śiva shrines. The object of worship in all such cases was the Somāskanda panel, carefully and elaborately carved and fixed on the back wall of the sanctum (as found reflected even in the cave temple and *ratha* stages also) in the form of a pavilion relief within which Śiva, Umā and child Skanda, together with flanking Brahma and Viṣṇu, are found. This is clearly emphasised and supported also by the adoption of sculptural device, in the form of a series of devotees, queueing as it were, for the *darśan* of the main deity (Somāskanda) and shown on the side walls of the sanctum. These occur, as stated, both in the early Pallava and later Pallava temples, as at Kāñchīpuram. From the close of the time of Rājasiṃha, however, we find for the first time, the *dhara-liṅga* type adopted in the sanctum, in addition to the Somāskanda figure (which, in due course, later, is abbreviated into an Umā-mahēśvara panel) before it is completely eliminated after the Pallava period from the sanctum and the *liṅga* alone ruled there. The *dhara-liṅga* is a faceted type, with facets increasing upwards from 4 to its natural multiples of 8, 16, 32, 64 etc. and has no need for a *pīṭha* and does not also therefore, show any. This *liṅga-pīṭha* becomes a component part of the *liṅga* only from the Chōla times, by which period the *liṅga* itself gets standardised, beyond the *dhara-liṅga* theme, into a typical form wherein it synthesises technically the square, the octagon and the circle, in three vertical sections of the *liṅga* from base to top, and religiously speaking, the trinity namely, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva are also harmonised in these three parts, and respectively named after them. This is, again, a nomenclatural device, adopted by the *śilpi*, for representing easily square, circular and octagonal form, and is thus integrated with the syncretic religious import in a *liṅga*. The circular, for which the *śilpi* used the term *Rudra*, is the part that is visible in a *liṅga* above the *pīṭha*. Such *liṅgas* are not to be found, as already mentioned, in the Pallava period. At a still later stage, the *pīṭha* which was only a supporting part, had been given an esthetic name and termed as the *yōni*, and resulted in *Śākta* overtones for its significance. In the Pallava temples, however, it is common to see either only the Somāskanda panel on the back wall, as at Mahābalipuram, Kāñchīpuram, Panamalai etc. or the *dhara-liṅga* as at the Shore temple or the Mukunda-nāyanār or the Kailāsanātha at Kāñchī or the Kailāsanātha at Tiruppattūr. In some of these temples as in Kāñchīpuram example, in addition to the Somāskanda panel, the *dhara-liṅga* itself is provided with a *pīṭha* ring, slid down it, in a later period, and hardly going with it, either technically or ritually, though it satisfied the then standardised *liṅga-pīṭha* relationship everywhere. In this respect also, the Pallava temples, thus, stand on a separate

pedestal, and highlight certain selective³ absorptions of cult usages in Śaivism in the Tamil country under their patronage. There is no doubt that this situation gave rise to a different facet of Śaivism in the subsequent age, and this ultimately has resulted in the two forms of Śaivism prevalent in the Tamil country, the Āgamic Śaivism and the other Siddhāntic Śaivism, the latter being controlled and propagated by a larger number of natives, while the Āgamic Śaivism is practised mostly in temples to some extent under the influence of Puranic Hinduism.

The essential layout of a Pallava temple, comprising the *garbhagṛiha* and the *mukha-maṇḍapa* slowly changes in the later Pallava period wherein the *mukha-maṇḍapa* or the *ardha-maṇḍapa* itself is divided by its ceiling arrangement into two parts, the front and the rear, separated on the ground by two standing pillars and two corresponding wall pilasters. This method is also adopted in the succeeding early Chōḷa style, in some cases, where these temples had been erected in the areas which were under immediate Pallava domination for a long time, as for instance, in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The Pallava temples with this arrangement are to be found at Uttiramērūr, Bāhūr Kavantaṇḍalam etc. while the Chōḷa usage of this method is to be seen in the Śiva temples at Madagaḍipattu (Pondicherry State).

The pillars of a Pallava temple, generally in the earlier stages, show seated or rampant lions, and divisible on this score, into two stages chronologically, of the pre- and post-Māmalla periods. Aside of this, their features include the characteristic elements of the pillar-order as available in the Chālukya country; but individualised for the Tamil region into certain forms. These features include the *kalaśa*, *padma-bandha*, the *malasthāna* or *maṇḍi*, *kumbha*, the *phalaka*, and the *bōdhika*. The last mentioned which is the corbel form is itself standardised in the form of a *tarāṅga* or wavy corbel, sometimes with a median band, and is a common feature among early Pallava, Chālukya, Pāṇḍya, and even early Chōḷa usage. The difference might largely lie in the manner in which the waves of the corbel are arranged, whether they are in a scroll pattern or a volute pattern or in an almost obtuse shape etc.

Another form of the elevational part of the temple wall in a Pallava temple is in the *bhūtamālā* shown at the *valabhi* zone. This feature again is common with the Pallava, Chālukya, Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa, but in the case of the Pallavas, the ground *tala-valabhi* alone shows the *bhūtamālā* seires whereas the superstructural *valabhi* zone on the top of the *grīva* shows only a *hamsa-mālā*.

Again, in the elevation of a Pallava plinth, the *vēdi* feature does not generally occur. This feature is primarily seen from the early tenth century A.D. under the Chōḷas. The Pallava plinth largely comprises of the three major groups or combinations variously called the *pādabandha*, the *pratibandha* and the *kapōtabandha*. It does not also show in its entablatures over the main cornice of the ground *tala*, the typical *vyāḷavari* that is such a special feature of the Chōḷa style, showing a row of heads of the *vyāḷa*, while the correspondingly Pāṇḍyan method is to show the full *vyāḷas*, in their lateral profile. The Pallava style, primarily, confines itself to wood architectural proto-type, representing the *kaṇṭha* forms in the entablature.

THE MODELS

(1) Kāñchīpuram

Piravātana: *Dvitala-vimāna* with octagonal *śikhara*, cella and *mukha-maṇḍapa*. Somāskanda panel with Brahma and Viṣṇu on a raised pediment and within a *maṇḍapa* relief. No sculptures on the side walls or exterior. Water conduit is scooped over the *paṭṭika* across the wall *liṅga* with large circular *pīṭha*, larger in diameter than the shrine door and thus later. *Dvārapālas* present. *Ardha-maṇḍapa* has Bhikṣhāṭana panel on north wall.

Irāvātāna: *Dvitala-vimāna* with square *śikhara*. Cella and *mukha-maṇḍapa*. Somāskanda panel with Brahma, Viṣṇu in the back wall within a *maṇḍapa* relief. Gajalakṣmī on *lalāṭabimba* in a *makaratōraṇa*, *dvārapālakas*. Sculptures of Gaṇeśa, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Naṭarāja, Gaṅgādhara, Durgā etc. in lower exterior wall. *Praṇāla* cut into the *paṭṭika*. *Liṅga* alone extant in cella on a small raised platform. Water hole in the wall. *Mukha-maṇḍapa* has Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa and Ūrdhvatāṇḍava on side walls.

Amarēśvara (Tripurāntaka): Somāskanda panel over double pediment. *Liṅga* with *pīṭha* too large, and wall scooped partly for the sake of its projecting part. Side walls of *mukha-maṇḍapa* without sculptures. Gajalakṣmī on *lalāṭabimba* within *Makaratōraṇa*. *Vāri-mārga* below *kampa* on the north wall. Outer walls contain Ūrdhvatāṇḍava, Viṣṇu, Varuṇa, Brahma etc. *Dvitala-vimāna* with square *śikhara*.

Airāvātēśvara: Without superstructure. With cella and *mukha-maṇḍapa*, sculptures as usual on external walls *mukha-maṇḍapa* wall having Viṣṇu-anugrahāmūrti (showing a *liṅga* replica of considerable interest) and Ūrdhvatāṇḍava. In the cella Somāskanda panel in *maṇḍapa* relief, with ends of *kapōta* merging with wall corner. In addition to Brahma and Viṣṇu in Somāskanda panel, Brahma and Viṣṇu are also shown on north and south walls, along with worshippers. Later than the other temples above, and nearer to Kailāsanātha. Water hole in the north wall, cut into the *paṭṭika*.

Kailāsanātha: *Chatuṣṭala*, *sāndhāra-prāsāda*. Granite stone used at three levels of the plinth. *Vāri-mārga* over *paṭṭika*. Kubēra, Gaṇapati, Varuṇa, Liṅgodbhava etc. on the walls. Saptamātrikas, Ēkādaśa Rudras, Dvadaśādityas, Jyēsthā etc. also shown on outer walls. Somāskanda panel of very small size with Brahma and Viṣṇu, on a high pediment in a plain niche panel in the sanctum. No *maṇḍapa* relief. Faceted *liṅga*; *vāri-mārga* in a circuitous way. All wall shrines and sub-shrines in the main temples have Somāskanda or Śiva panel on back wall. *Garbha* has a functional inner circuit, and has only an *ardha-maṇḍapa* in original unit, with a separate *Naṭa-maṇḍapa* in the open court.⁴

(2) Mahābalipuram

Shore Temples (Kshatriyasimhēśvara and Rājasimhēśvara): These are *chatuṣṭala* and *tritala-vimānas* with octagonal *śikhara* the shrine cell having a *mukha-maṇḍapa*. Cella has Somāskanda panel in niche in both cases, and faceted *dhara-liṅga* without *liṅga-pīṭha* in the former; holes provided for outlet of water at the base

of the north wall. The former temple has, apart from the Somāskanda panel, Brahma and Viṣṇu panels on side walls separately, while the latter has Brahma and Viṣṇu in the Somāskanda panel itself. *Dvārapālakas* present.

Mukundanāyanār *Dvitala-vimāna* with cella and *mukha-mandapa*. Somāskanda panel in cella wall. Cylindrical polished *liṅga* in the centre. No regular *praṇāla* but only a hole. No lion pilasters. Rock is local granite gneiss. *Dvārapālukas* present.

(3) Panamalai

Tālagiriśvara. *Tritala* temple with three additional side shrines on north, south and west, the former two aligned east and the last towards west. Main shrine shows Somāskanda panel on back wall of cella, and Brahma and Viṣṇu panel on the transept walls. *Liṅga* with *pīṭha* installed in cella, later. Mouldings of the *Adhiśṭhāna* bolder and thicker than anywhere else and similar to that of Shore temple.

Vaikunṭhaperumāl *Tritala*, *sāndhāra*, *Drāvīda-vimāna* for triple shrines one above and other for seated, standing and reclining forms of Viṣṇu. Cellular walling with stairways in wall sections give access to the upper storeys. Cloistered *prākāra* coeval with the temple which, besides a *garbha*, has an *urdha-mandapa* and *mahā-mandapa* at ground floor with *hārā* parapet over edge of the *mahā-mandapa*, and only sanctum and *anarṇita hāra* on the upper *talas*. Entirely built in sand-stone.

Mukteśvara: Temple over an *upapīṭha*. Divided into a cella and front *mandapa* in two *aṅkaṇas*, whose architectural features would seem to suggest an incipient ternary division of the temple into an *ardha-mandapa* and *mahā-mandapa*. Somāskanda panel occupying most part of the wall and on a pediment. Worshippers on the side walls of cella. Brahma and Viṣṇu behind Somāskanda in the panel. Cornice of the panel *mandapa* is shown higher than the *uttara* components on the side walls showing an evolution. The relief is rather shallow. The *mahā-mandapa* left wall panel shows Śiva-Pārvatī figure, wherein Śiva carried in the upper left arm a *liṅga* supported on the shoulder. This feature is very rare, earlier examples being at Aṣhoḷe, Paṭṭadakkaḷ and Ellōra (Kailāsa) and the later examples being at Koḍumbāḷūr and Kīḷaiyūr. *Vāri-mārga* is cut over the *paṭṭika* through the northern wall. *Dvitala vimāna* with circular *grīva* and *śikhara*. Cylindrical *liṅga* with *pīṭha*.

Mataṅgeśvara: No *upapīṭha* but only an *adhishṭhāna*. The *alingapaṭṭi* or *gala* between *kumuda* and *kampa* is comparatively much taller. Unit of temple, cella, and front *mandapa* in two *aṅkaṇas*. *Tritala vimāna* with circular *grīva* and *śikhara*. Sculptures on walls incomplete and only roughed out, or space alone, provided in some cases. Their relief is also very weak. *Dvārapālas* on exterior, side panels of cella door, unlike the occupation of these side walls by carved reliefs in *Mukteśvara*. Cella shows Somāskanda panel with boldness and evolution in figure style, in the middle of the wall but on a very low pediment. *Prastara* of panel pavilion well spelled out, right upto the *saraphalaka* of the first *tala*. The originally extant *saraphalaka* slabs are found in end sections still visible. Above this, the *śikhara* shell is seen rising in receding square tiers, upto the *kalāśa* level. 16-faceted *liṅga* with sand-stone *dīṭha* (later added) with *vāri-mārga* on proper right is improvised over the *paṭṭika*.

Skanda absent in the Rāvaṇa-Kailāsa relief in the *maṇḍapa* wall. Earlier than, Mukteśvara.

Vāltīvara (Inside Ekāmrānātha complex, near the tank): The entire *vimāna* appears to be a later renovation in brick and stucco though simulating the Pallava style. The stone-walled cella shows *liṅga* 16-faceted in upper part, 18-faceted in lower part and 32-faceted on the tip and without *pīṭha* and with a panel relief of Śiva-Pārvati on the back wall similar to the temple of the Pallavas at Tiruvaḍigai (South Arcot), and in the Pudukkōṭṭai cave temples. This temple might belong to the very close of the Pallava period i.e. c. late eighth century A.D. if not later.

(4) Uttiramerūr

Sundaravarada temple: *Tritala*, *ṣṭittāyata Vēśara vimāna*, with *kapōta bandha adhishṭhāna* in stone work and triple shrines for standing, seated and reclining forms of Viṣṇu in the three *talas*, all of the *anarpita* type. The *kōshṭhas* have full projecting shrine form, providing for the *vyūha* manifestations, in the *navaryūha* category. The images in the sanctum and sub-shrines and *kōshṭhas* are either of stucco or wood. *Gōpura* is also with an elliptical *śikhara*, well separated from main temple, and the area in between is filled up by a *tirumāḷigai-chuṅṅu* or cloister, and integrated front hall during late Chōḷa and Vijayanagara times. The sanctum and ground *tala kōshṭhas*, have an inner part and outer separated by double free-standing pillars—a feature of later Pallava modelling.

(5) Tiruvaḍigai

Vīraṭṭāna temple: *Pañchatala Drāviḍa vimāna* of the *mukhya vimāna* class, with 8 shrines, including the sanctum, on the analogy of Kailāsanātha, Kāñchī. Cell has Umā-māheśvara panel and a post-Pallava *liṅga*. Temple renovated extensively in later periods, but clearly is a Pallava norm in layout and elevational model.

(6) Tiruppattūr

Kailāsanātha temple: *Chatustala*, *Drāviḍa vimāna*, *sāndhāra*, *garbha* with *dhara-liṅga*, *upapīṭha* below *pratibandha adhishṭhāna*, with *karṇa*, *bhadra*, and *anuratha*, thus combining the *ratha*-type with, lineal *mānasūtra* type. Carvings of the traditional kind, as in *Iraṇatāna* (Kāñchī) on the walls. Material sand-stone. Only a brief original *mukha-maṇḍapa* also the axis, and a much later and separated *mahā-maṇḍapa*.

(7) Koḍumbāṭūr

Aivarkōil: In ruins, with only the plinth and shrine base preserved, but clearly show central *sāndhāra* sanctum and additional four corner sancta also with square *liṅga* on *pīṭha* and with separate flights of steps for each. A *mukha-maṇḍapa* in front. The *mahā-maṇḍapa* is an early Chōḷa addition. Material granite.

(8) Perunagar

Śiva temple: Apsidal or *Vēsara* *ēkatala vimāna* with *garbha* and *ardha-maṇḍapa* of same dimensions and wider *mahā-maṇḍapa*—extensively rebuilt in granite in Chōḷa period. *Phalaka-liṅga* in sanctum. *Upapīṭha* below *adhiṣṭhāna*.

(9) Tiruvorriyūr

Ādipurīśvara temple: Original dedication clearly of the Pallava period, as indicated by inscriptions of Kampavarman, as well as the nature of the *liṅga*, which is of earth (*pṛithvi*) and of elliptical shape. The temple is an apsidal or *Vēsara vimāna* reconstituted entirely in *kṛishṇa śilā* (black granite) in the time of Rājendra-chōḷa I. It should be noted that the incidence of apsidal temple is mainly in Tondaimaṇḍalam, and initiated mostly during the Pallava times, and continued also in subsequent periods here. This type is very rare (but not absent) in other parts of Tamilnadu.

(10) Nāṭṭēri (North Arcot Dt.)

Chandramaṇḍīśvara temple: Later Pallava *dvitala* temple of sand-stone and granite repaired and expanded during the Chōḷa times. *Nirandhāra*, *vēsara vimāna* of more than medium size with circular *śikhara*. Has the feature of showing Vishṇuite relief miniature and other carvings along side Śaivaite, on the exterior. *Upapīṭha* not present. Has a ruined *prākāra* around. Inscriptions of Kampavarma Pallava, and later times found on the walls.

(11) Bāhūr

Śrīmūlanāthasvāmi: Apparently a foundation of the time of Nṛpatuṅga whose Bāhūr plates refer to the great vedic college here, and its administration. *Ēkatala*, *Nāgara vimāna*, *nirandhāra*, with *upapīṭha* of elephant and *gaṇa* friezes in granite. The *garbha* has a *liṅga* on square *pīṭha*. The *mukha-maṇḍapa* has two free-standing pillars separating it into *ardha* and *mahā-maṇḍapa* sections notionally. Additions during the Chōḷa and Vijayanagara times has made the temple into a larger complex. Inscribed reference to repairs to the wall of the temple during the time of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III (Kannaradēva) invasion in Tamilnadu. Superstructural tower, at present, in brick and stucco.

(12) Tiruttani

Viraṭṭānēśvara temple: A temple with foundational record of the time of Apparājītavarman (18th year) when one Nambi Appi built this temple in granite. Apsidal, *ēkatala*, shrine, *nirandhāra* and with *liṅga* having apsidal top and a boss (*śikhara*)—a feature often of the *liṅgas* consecrated in apsidal shrines. Carvings of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Viṣṇu and Brahma on the cardinal niches and Umā-Mahēśvara on the front face of the tower. Saptamāṭṛika group of great craftsmanship found inside the *mahā-maṇḍapa*. A later Pallava temple in the western periphery of the Pallava empire.

(13) Velakanampūḍi

Viśālēśvara temple: A tritala, nirandhāra Drāviḍa vimāna with octagonal grīva and śikhara and pilastered plain ground tala walls over a pratibandha, adhish-ṭhāna, sanctum has octagonal pīṭha with a liṅga on it, and Umā-Mahēśvara panel on back wall. The ardha-maṇḍapa has elongated central nave narrow side aisles, suggesting early Chālukyan influence. The exterior of ardha-maṇḍapa has stucco dvāra-pālas. The mahā-maṇḍapa has an exquisite set of Saptamātrika, Durgā, Kārtikēya and Gaṇēśa. Inscriptions of Bāṇa kings available in the premises. Pillar records in outer maṇḍapa also datable to the ninth century A.D. Appears to have had originally aṣṭaparivāra sub-shrines within the prākāra, wherein the above mentioned sculptures would have been fixed.

TABLE I -Comparative Features of Pallava and Other Coeval Zonal Styles

Sl. No.	Early Pallava	Chālukya	Later Pallava	Early Chōla
1)	Earliest śikharas are octagonal mostly less square shape and least of circular shape.	Earliest śikharas are octagonal, and square and in Paṭṭadakal stage also circular.	Use Octagonal square and circular forms	Circular mostly, less square and least octagonal, although the last is used in the large mukhya vimānas at Tañjāvūr etc.
2)	Hāra on top tala also.	Yes.	None.	None.
3)	Sanctum and mukha or ardha-maṇḍapa only.	Full complement with hall and integrated ambulatory.	Full complement.	Full complement (ardha-maṇḍapa) having a construction.
4)	No liṅga.	Liṅga (with only square circular parts).	Dhara-liṅga.	Circular topped liṅga
5)	Panel on sanctum wall.	None.	Yes.	None
6)	No mukhya vimānas	None.	Yes.	Yes.
7)	No parivāra shrine but only kōshṭha dēvatas.	None.	None.	Parivāra and kōshṭha dēvatas
8)	Direct approach.	Yes.	Yes.	Lateral approach
9)	No praṇāla.	Praṇāla exists.	Not always.	Yes.
10)	More of pratibandha and kapōta bandha plinth.	Kapōta bandha mostly.	Pāla-and Prati-bandha mostly.	Pāda-Prati and kapōta-bandha.
11)	Embryonic gōpura.	None.	Modest.	Matching gōpura.

Sl. No.	Early Pallava	Chālukya	Later Pallava	Early Chōla
12)	Covered sanctum	<i>Sarvatōbhadrā</i> or <i>ghanadvā</i>	Covered	<i>Sarvatōbhadrā</i> or <i>ghanadvā</i> or covered.
13)	<i>Bhūta gaṇa</i> motif	Yes	Yes	Yes
14)	<i>Vyāghra</i> on ground floor only.	Yes.	Yes	On all floors
15)	<i>Upaṣṭhā</i> optional	<i>Upaṣṭhā</i> present	<i>Upaṣṭhā</i> present	Optionally present.
16)	<i>Dvārapāla</i> outside and inside.	Outside and inside	Outside and inside	At several stages
17)	<i>Mukhabhadra</i> with <i>tōraṇa</i> .	Yes	Pilastered wall scheme without frets	Yes
18)	Niche carvings <i>in situ</i>	Yes	Both <i>in situ</i> and separately carved	Separately carved and installed only
19)	Upper storey shrines also	None	Upper storey shrines also	None
20)	<i>Balipṣṭhā</i> nil	Nil	Starts appearing	Present
21)	<i>Nandi-maṇḍapa</i> optional, Nandi present	Optional but Nandi present	Optional but Nandi present	Optional but Nandi present
22)	<i>Dvārapālas</i> two armed	two armed	two armed	Two armed but with different stances
23)	<i>Sukanḍa</i> absent	Present optionally	absent.	Present optionally
24)	<i>Hāra</i> on the outer parapet of <i>mukha-maṇḍapa</i> also	Yes	Yes	Optionally so
25)	No <i>prākāra</i>	No <i>prākāra</i>	<i>Prākāra</i>	<i>Prākāra</i>
26)	<i>Sāndhāra</i> as well as <i>nirandhāra</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes
27)	<i>Ēka</i> , <i>pañcha</i> , and <i>ashṭa-mūrti</i> shrine concept	No such.	Practice discontinued	Absent
28)	<i>Śurul-vyāli</i> balustrade present	None	Yes	Yes

Sl. No.	Pillar parts.	Pallava	Chālukya	Later Pallava	Chōla
1) <i>Taraṅga</i> corbel.		Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
2) Faceted <i>kaṭāṭa</i> and <i>kumbha</i> .		Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.
3) Wide <i>phalaka</i> .		Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.
4) <i>Kumbhaluta</i> .		None.	None.	None.	Yes.
5) <i>Vādi</i> .		None.	Yes.	None.	Yes (from 900 A.D.)

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Notes and References

1. There have been some efforts, mainly by R. Nagaswami, purporting to assign one and all of the art creations, cave, art, monolithic and structural, at Mahābalipuram, to one and the same king, Rājasimha, for which inscriptions found here have been more pressed into service, than even the art itself, individually or collectively. The author does not accept the above thesis and has dealt with it briefly elsewhere (See Bibliography).
2. In a corresponding Buddhist context such a heavenly abode or level is termed the *harmika*, as in a Buddhist stūpa, which occurs at the topmost level and is encased in a railing enclosure and is provided with a central platform upon which are mounted multiple umbrellas of divine sovereignty (*Chattravali*).
3. For instance, Gaṇḍa figure also does not occur in any Pallava monument prior to Rājasimha although the icon is well known already elsewhere in Chālukyan or Pāṇḍyan region variously.
4. The rectangular, *Sāla śikhara* temple of Maṇḍravarmāśvaram of Maṇḍravarmā III, son of Rājasimha who predeceased him is also in the front side of the court. It has features which can also be noted at Panamalai.

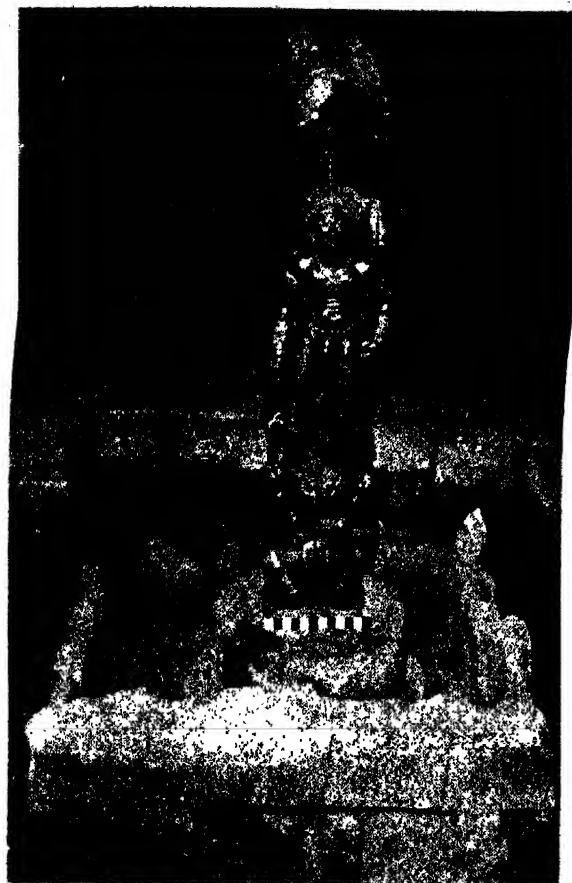
ARCHITECTURE AND ART UNDER THE GANGAS

M. HANUMANTHA RAO

IT IS SAID THAT 'sculpture under the Gaṅgas was but poorly developed, their surviving buildings being small and plain.'¹ But this statement has to be taken with some reserve. Although the number of surviving monuments of the period is not much there are inscriptional references to several monuments that already existed or came to be constructed in the period. Further, a fairly large number of monuments in the Gaṅgavāḍi area can definitely be assigned to them. Stray pieces of sculptures, pillars etc, of this period indicate that many more monuments which were existing during the Gaṅga period have later gone into ruins. Several of their monuments were later rebuilt or altered as evidenced by inscriptions.

The accretional structures added on to the original temples have made it difficult to assess the merit of the original structures. It should be admitted that the Gaṅgas like the Pallavas or the early Chālukyas did not try to develop new styles in architecture in any wide range. But they have drawn inspiration from them and have produced some wonderful monuments which are unique in their own way. In the field of sculpture, however, their contribution is great and stands comparison with the Pallava or the Chālukya sculptures quite well.

Early Gaṅga structures appear to have been erected from perishable materials like wood, brick and mortar. A few of them at least had sculptures in stucco. These have not withstood the ravages of nature and negligence of man. Daḍiga and Mādhava are supposed to have built a *chaityālaya* at Maṇḍali in Shimoga District.² The record states that it was rebuilt at a later date in wood by their successors and was called Paṭṭada-basadi and again was built in stone in the 11th century. But nothing of that *basadi* now exists. At Noṇamaṅgala in Kolar District the ryots while ploughing came upon traces of a wall and the spot being excavated, there was laid bare the base of a Jaina temple. Two sets of copper-plates³ were also found within that ruined structure along with some utensils and bronze images of *īrthanīkaras*. One of the records refers to a grant made for the Arhad temple of Perbbolal in Mudukottūr-vishaya by the Gaṅga king Mādhavavarmma (Mādhava III). The other records a grant by his son Koṅgaṇivarmma (Avinīta) in his 1st regnal year to two Arhad temples one at Uranūr established by Chandranandi and the other of Evāni-aḍigaḷ at Pērūr. The ruined *basadi* in which these plates were found might be one of the temples mentioned herein. It was a brick structure whose walls were composed of very large sized bricks which were only about 1½ inch in thickness.⁴ But no traces of this structure are found. Two records of the 11th century⁵ refer to an old *basadi* at Hanasōge which was rebuilt by the Gaṅga king Mārasimha who renewed the grants. The present structure, however, was built by Rājēndra-chōḷa Nanni-chāṅgāḷva. It is possible that originally it was a brick structure. Many such instances may be cited.



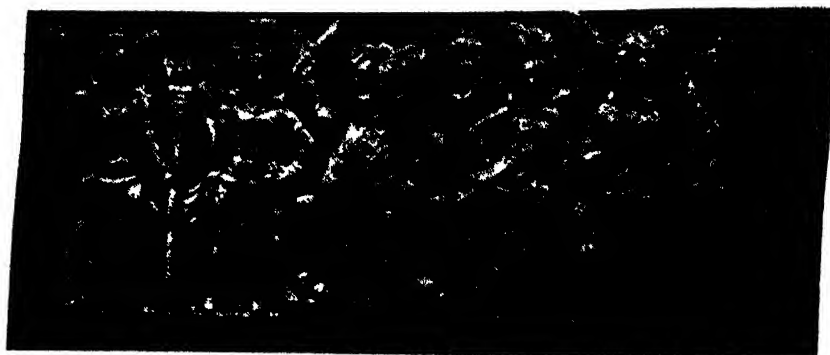
A. Linga-pitha, Paraśurāmeśvara Temple, Guḍimallam



B. Sculptured Pillar



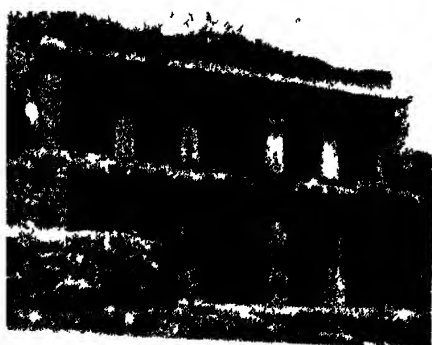
C. Aṣṭabhujasvāmi Temple site, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa



A Plaque depicting Narasimha and others, Kon-lamōṭu



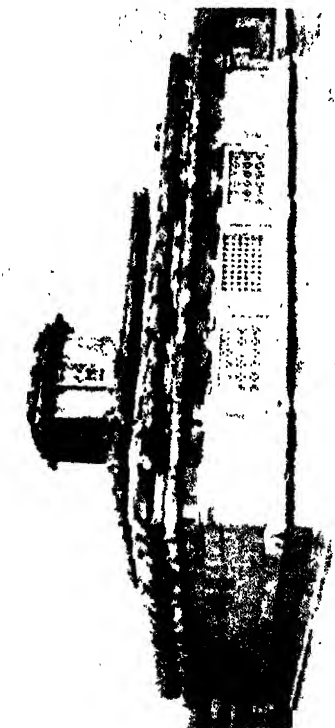
B Chikkigudi, Aihole



C Single-storeyed Chaitiyalaya, Aihole



D Seated Buddha, Aihole



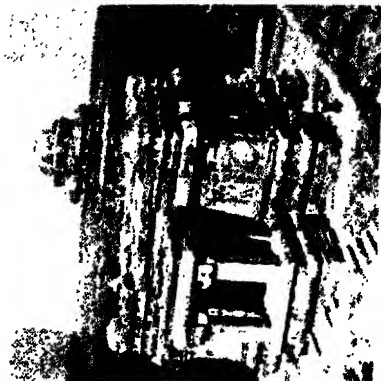
A. Lakkhan Temple, Ahole



B. Juvindralaya, Ahole



C. Upper Shivalaya, Badami



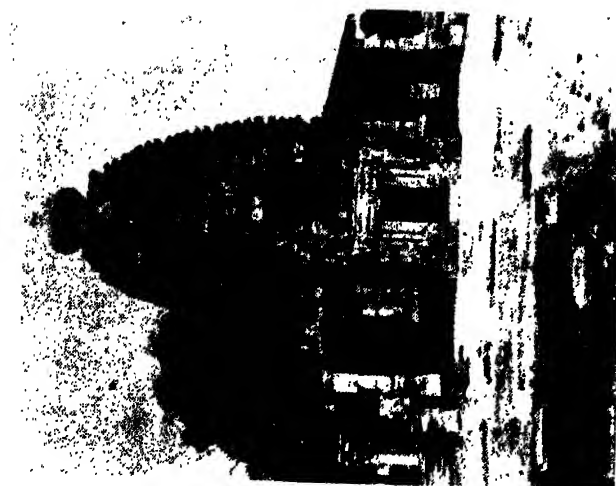
D. Malegitti Shivalaya, Badami



C. Bhikṣaṭanamūrti, Aihole



B. Gaṇeśa, Paṭṭadakallu



A. Gaṇaṇātha Temple, Paṭṭadakallu





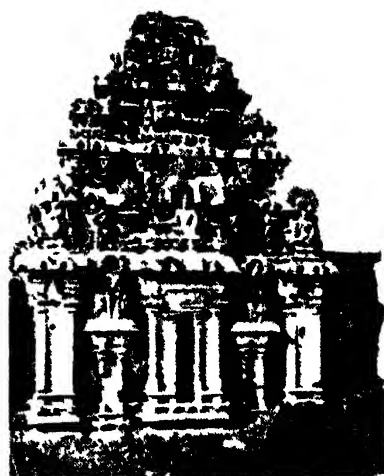
A Krishna lifting the Mount



B Nataraja in the Ceiling Kallivara Temple Aralaguppe



Panels on the Wall, Arkavara Temple Halebidu



D Ramaswara Temple, Narasimangala



A Nandi, Narasimangala



C Lady with Flower, Chandika Basadi,
Sravanabelgola



B Hero-Stones, Hirigundalgal



D. Group of Shrines, Kambadahalli



A Gommitu VIII Sriva Belgota



B Tandava Srva, Scilpatti



B General View of the Cave Temple, Irumilancode



C Anamalai, General View of the Cave Temples, Lādankōvil



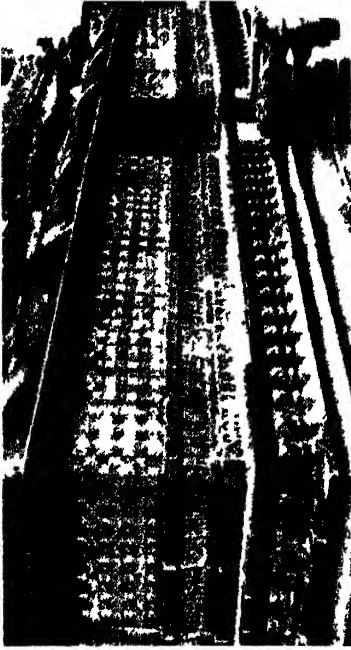
A Vishnu, Kunnakkudi



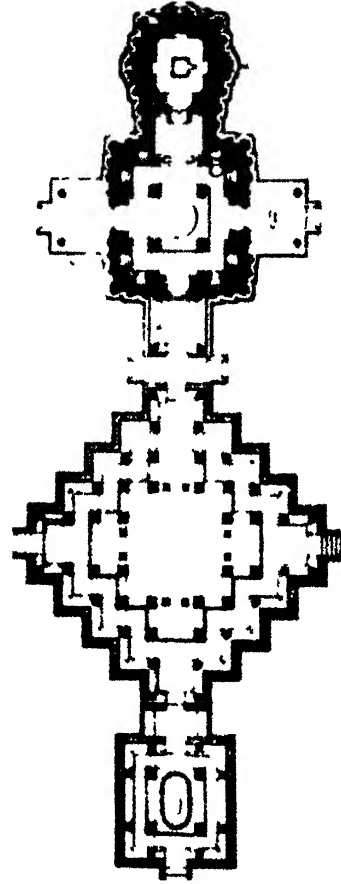
A Tārābhagavati, Balligavi



B Lajjagaurī, Bidmī



C Sūkha Baid, Lakshmi-svami



D Temple Plan, Tārakāvara Temple, Hānagal



Dakshinamurti in the Niche Cave Temple, Irunilamcode



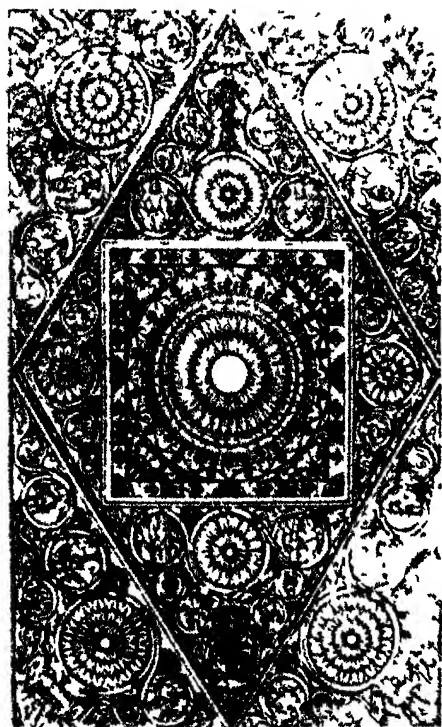
B Dvayapala and Hanuman Cave Temple, Kunnamuttu



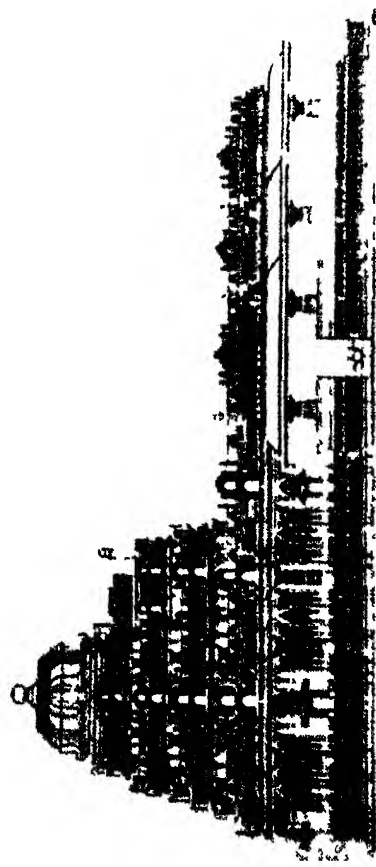
Decorative Sikhara, Mallikarjuna Temple, Kuruvattu



D Belle, Mahadeva Temple, Narayanapura



A Celing, Vinugpala Temple, Magala



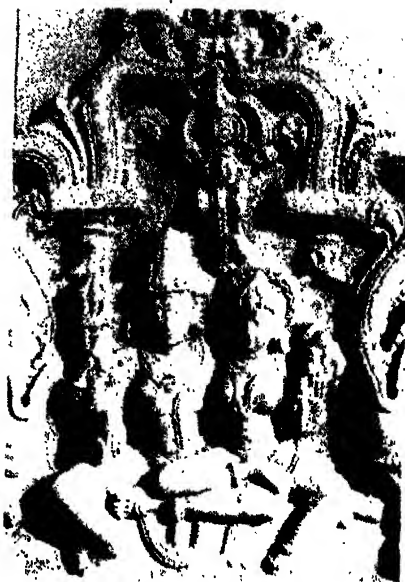
B Elevation, Siddhivara Temple, Havri



C Pillar Narayati Temple, Gadag



A. Door-Frame, Chandramaulēśvara Temple,
Uṇakal



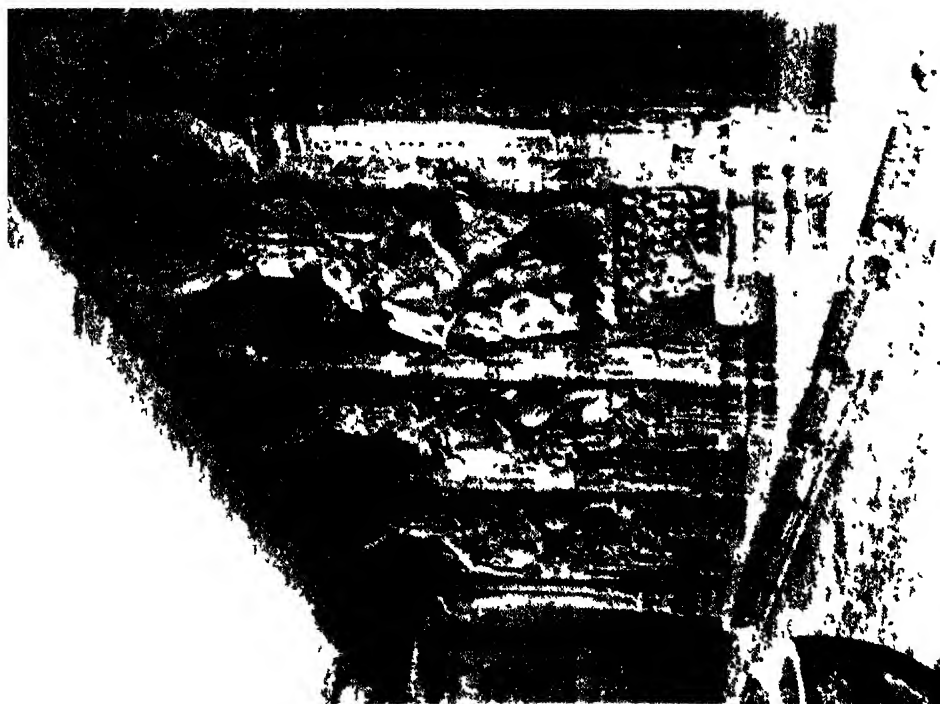
B. Umā mahēśvara, Jalasangvi



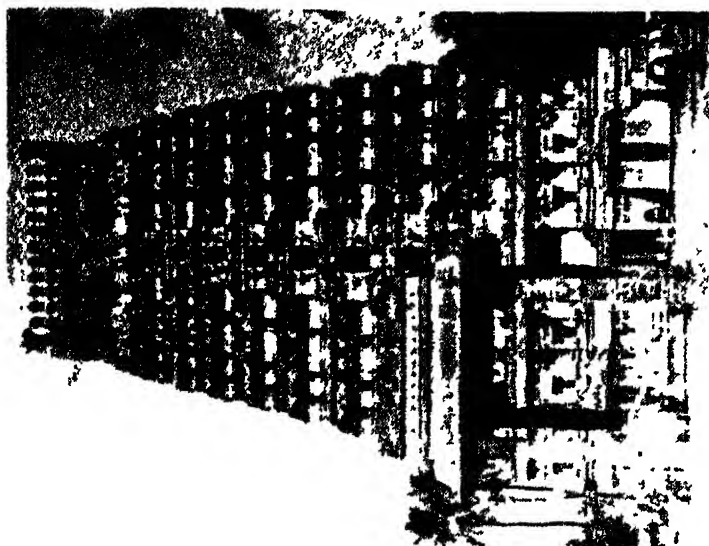
C. Nāga-Nāgiṇī, Basavakalyāṇa



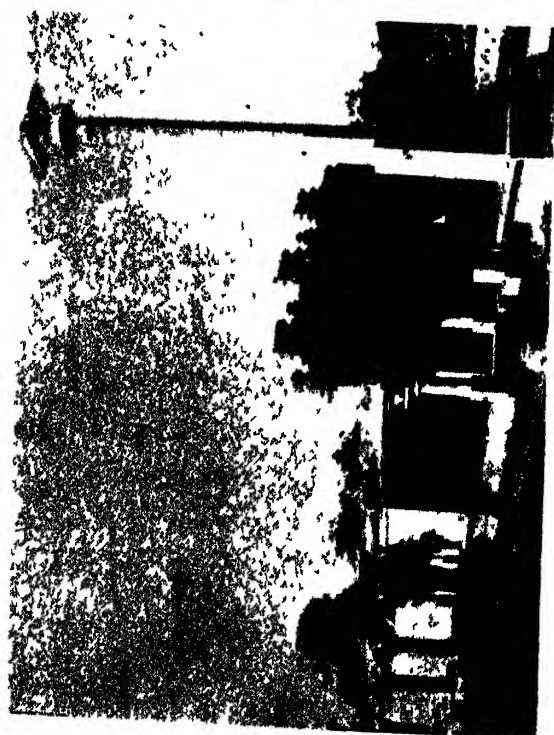
D. Śeṣhaśāyī, Basavakalyāṇa



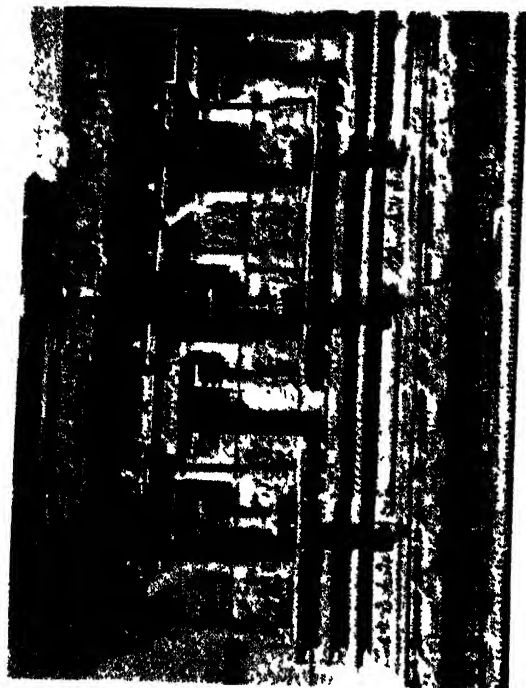
A. Kalyāna Mandapa, Jalakāṭhēśvara Temple, Vellore



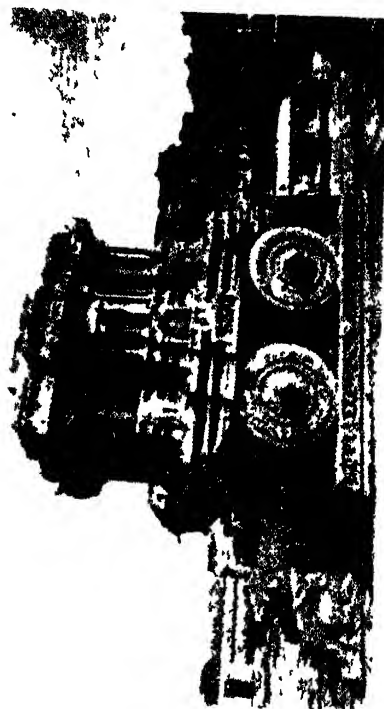
B. Gōpura, Ekamrēśvara Temple, Nāñchi



A Gopinatha Temple, Hampi



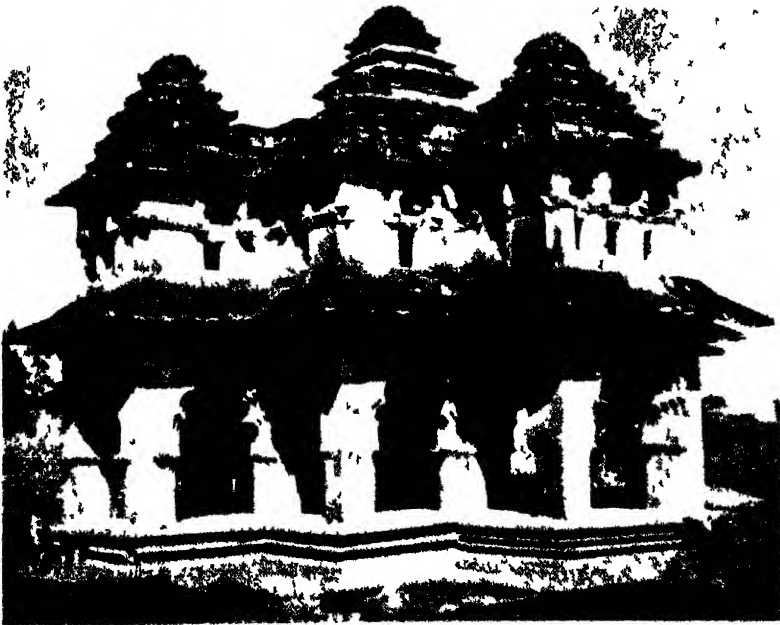
B Amman Shrine, Hazara Rama Temple, Hampi



C Srinivasa Temple, Hampi



A Thronc Platform Hampi



B Lotus Mahal, Hampi



A Natarāja, Government Museum, Madras



B Tripurantaka, Varam, Puduchch'ri



C. Kāji, Government Museum, Madras

During the Chōla occupation of Gaṅgavāḍi most of the Jaina monuments were neglected, consequent on which many of them fell into ruins. Gaṅgarāja, the Hoysala general, is said to have rebuilt all the *basadis* that had existed in Gaṅgavāḍi which evidently were in ruins.⁶ Similarly Huḷḷa, another Hoysala general, is said to have rebuilt a *basadi* at Kellaṅgere originally built by the Gaṅgas.⁷ During the Chōla hegemony in the region, many Śiva and Viṣṇu temples were reconstructed in stone. Piḍāriyār or Kōlāramma temple at Kōlār formerly built of brick is said to have been rebuilt in stone by Uttama-śōla Brahma-mārāya at the command of Rājendra-chōla, in 1033 A.D.⁸ The Vijayanārāyaṇa temple at Bētamaṅgala, the Bijayitamāṅgala of inscriptions, is an accretional structure overshadowing the original Gaṅga monument. This place seems to be connected with Bijayita, a Gaṅga chief who set up an image of Bhagavati at Marase in Mysore Taluk.⁹ The original structure which appears to have consisted of a *garbhagṛiha* and a porch was built of brick on the stone base-ment. A portion of the brick structure still remains intact with its slender pilasters, shallow niches and a two handed tall and slim stucco figure. The present temple complex consists of a *garbhagṛiha* vestibule, *navaraṅga*, *ardha-maṅṭapa*, *mukha-maṅṭapa*, *pātālāṅkana* etc., built at different periods. Unless one observes it carefully the original structure cannot be identified.

Some of the monuments that are mentioned in inscriptions may be noted here. Durvīṇta is said to have built a *basadi* at Kōgaḷi. Mushkara constructed the Mekkara-basadi. Kandāchchi, wife of Pṛithvīnirggundarāja, constructed a *basadi* named Lōkatilaka for the repairs etc. of which king Śrīpurusha made a grant of Ponnaḷḷi in Nirggunda-vishaya. Śivamāra I gave grants to a Jaina-basadi in Kellipusugūr. Śivamāra (II) is said to have erected a *basadi* on the smaller hill at Śravaṇa-beḷagoḷa. At Hebbalaguppa a certain Narasiṅgere-appōr made a grant of lands to Duggamāra Kōyilvasadi built by Nārāyaṇa-peruntachcha. Duggamāra mentioned here might be the same as Duggamāra son of Śrīpurusha. At Maṇṇe during the reign of Mārasimha I one Śrīvijaya built a *jinālaya* which was lofty and beautiful. Raṇa-vikrama's son Rājamalla (Rāchamalla I) got a *basadi* made at Vallimalai. An inscription at Heggoṭāra states that Chāvunḍabbe, daughter of Jōgabbe harlot of Nīṭimārga, got a temple built in 882 A.D. During the reign of Satyavākya, in his 6th regnal year, one Eṇeyamma built the temple of Eṇeyanḡēśvara at Basavanahaḷḷi. Mārasimha II is said to have erected several *basadis* at several places. At Maddūr in Yelandur Taluk one Pollayya constructed a temple in 982 A.D. In 909 A.D. Maṇalēra built a *basadi* on the Kanakagiri hill. An inscription at Tāyalūr dated in 895 A.D. mentions the erection of a stone *basadi* by one Nāgammayya. In another inscription at Kyātanahaḷḷi Gaṅga king Eṇeyappa is said to have made grants to a stone *basadi* built by Chāgi-permāḍi. At Homma, Poḷma of the Gaṅga record, Śrīpurusha is said to have made gifts to god Vinīṭēśvara.

However, since the places mentioned in copper-plate records cannot be easily identified, and many of those monuments referred to in stone inscriptions are not extant, it is difficult to locate most of these monuments. Even when an inscribed stone is found near a temple, the temple itself will have been rebuilt at a much later

period. Some of the existing monuments can definitely be ascribed to the Gaṅga period only on typological grounds for want of other evidences. Some more, being disturbed, contain records of the Chōla and later dynasties on the basement or walls, thereby creating confusion regarding their origin. All these make it all the more difficult to study the development of the architectural style of the Gaṅgas.

Gaṅgas do not seem to have attempted at scooping out cave temples or erecting monolithic structures. However, a cave at Mēlukōṭe half worked in hard granite with its front *maṇṭapa*, an inner apartment and square pillars may go back to their period. But one cannot be certain about it in the absence of sculptures and other motifs. That Mēlukōṭe is a place of great antiquity is evident by the existence of certain pillars of the Gaṅga type lying about. On the Gōpīnātha-guḍḍa, a small hill by the side of Nandi-dutga, is a sort of cave temple now dedicated to Gōpīnātha. An inscription¹⁰ of the 8th century on its boulder states that it was a *chaitya-bhavana* of the adorable Arhat, established by Rāma, son of Daśaratha and rebuilt at a later period by Kuntīdēvi, mother of the Pāṇḍavas. Evidently, the natural cave had been converted into a Jaina *basadi* dedicated to Vṛishabhanātha. Nandi, we know, was a stronghold of the Gaṅgas who had the title *Nandagirinātha*. On a hillock at Vaḷḷimalai in Chittur District is a natural cave converted into a Jaina *basadi* by Rāchamalla son of Raṇavikrama. Several figures have been carved on the inner wall of the cave. The unique monolithic carving of some architectural merit of this period, however, is the entrance doorway (*akhaṇḍa dvāra*) on the larger hill at Śravaṇabēgoḷa with its lintel beautifully decorated with the figure of seated Lakshmi bathed by elephants standing on either side under an arch formed by trunked *jāḷis* and well worked scroll designs. The whole composition in fairly good relief is a fine piece of art. It is traditionally ascribed to Chāmuṇḍarāya, the Gaṅga minister.

Gaṅgavāḍi being situated between the two great kingdoms of the Pallavas and the Chālukyas both of whom originated their own style of architecture, the Gaṅga artists had the advantage of drawing inspiration from both these styles. However, the Pallava impact on the Gaṅga style is more pronounced. The Gaṅgas encouraged both the Hindu and Jaina creeds. We find Śaiva, Vaishṇava and Jaina temples spread over their region. No distinction can be made in so far as the structural details, motifs, ornamentation, use of materials etc. of these temples. The only difference is seen in the figures of Śaiva or Vaishṇava deities with their respective motifs as depicted in the Hindu temples and the Tīrthaṅkaras, Yaksha and Yakshi figures and other gods of Jaina creed in the *basadis*. Even here it is difficult to differentiate, the facial features, disposal of limbs, ornamentation, finish etc.

Some of the early Gaṅga temples in local style are too plain and devoid of any architectural merit. Arjunarāya temple at Tōṭagere in Nelamangala Taluk is only 5' square and 5' in height consisting of only a *garbhagṛiha*. Its walls and roof are made up of thin granite slabs which are not even dressed. The temple appears to go back anterior to Śrīpurusha whose inscription is found near it. The builders of such type of temples might have copied the megalithic cists which are commonly found in Bangalore and Kolar Districts. The Śiva temple at Sampigepura is bigger in size

with a *garbhagriha*, a *sukhanāsi* and a *navaraṅga* built of the same material. The *navaraṅga*, however, is now lost. The images of Sūrya, Mahishāsūramardini, Kumāra, Saptamātrikas etc., are small figures in relief and rude in workmanship. But they are full of life and vigour.

The structural monuments of architectural merit are in Dravidian style and generally compare with the Pallava structures. Mostly they are small and built either of brick and mortar or of stone. The stone used in the construction of these monuments is hard granite. In the case of brick structures the basement, the doorways, pillars and ceilings are of granite.

The general plan of these monuments is a square *garbhagriha*, an open vestibule, and a small *navaraṅga*. In the case of a Śiva temple there may be a separate *nandi-maṇṭapa* in front. The earlier monuments appear to have had only a *garbhagriha* and a porch only as in the Vijayanārāyaṇa temple at Bētamaṅgala or in the Chandragupta and Śāntinātha or Supārśvanātha basadis on the smaller hill at Śravaṇabelagoḷa. They may also be of a *trikūṭāchala* type with a common *navaraṅga* having three *garbhagrihas* with their open vestibules on the three sides as at Kambadahalli.

The basement consists of three or four cornices and the middle one is generally round or octagonal in section. The *vimāna* over the sanctum, where it exists, rises either in a single step or in three tiers surmounted by a *śikhara*. In the case of stone structures the eaves are short and sharp curved with horseshoe arches at intervals. The outer walls are relieved at intervals with right-angled pilasters and at the centre there may be a shallow niche. Under the eaves there may run a row of either swans or dwarfs in different attitudes, while above it a row of lions or sea horses, generally in pairs facing each other, occurs. The parapets have the ornamentation of square *śikhara*-type *pañjaras*, *gajapriśṭha* motif with large horseshoe arch in front and apsidal back and oblong *śikhara* type motif at the centre of each side. There may be ornamental perforated windows on the walls. The doorways are ornamented with creeper and scrolls inset with figure sculptures, running around the jambs and lintels. The pillars in the *navaraṅga* are mostly slim and low with square bases. The shafts are mostly cylindrical but they may be eight sided or rarely sixteen fluted. The top of the shaft would be moulded like a vase. Sometimes there may be double vases, the lower one being inverted which in later days developed into a bell shape. Above the vase the abacus is shaped like a loaf while the brackets have ribs. The shafts may be plain or ornamented with *kīrtimukhas*, garlands of beads, figure sculptures etc.

Only the central ceiling which is broader will have sculptural decorations. There may be Umāmahēśvara group or Natarāja with accompaniment in the case of a Śiva temple, or Jina or Yaksha figures in the case of a *busudi* at the centre with *ashṭadik-pālakas* around with their respective vehicles. Some times there may be a full blown lotus in high relief. In one instance, however, we find a *nāga* couple with hooded canopy within the circle of a creeper, in Sūleyara-guḍi at Maṇṇa, a motif common in the early Chālukyan temples. The vestibule and the *navaraṅga* ceilings will have full blown *padma* medallions in high relief. In the *navaraṅga* ceiling the slabs around

the central panel are convergingly shaped and placed so as to appear like rays emanating from the centre as in the Ādinātha-basadi at Kambadahalli. While these are general features in common, the individual monuments may exhibit special features peculiar to them. Some of them are highly ornamental while others are plain.

Of the brick temples of the Gaṅga period a few have survived and are in various stages of preservation. At Maṇṇe, the Mānyapura of old inscriptions, one of the capitals of the Gaṅgas, there are several ruined temples. Three of them deserve notice. All these three are brick temples. The Kapilēśvara temple has in its *navaraṅga* elegant pillars and perforated windows on either side with fine creeper designs in the convolutions of which are dwarfs in various attitudes. The Sōmēśvara temple is also similar. But another temple now known as Sūleyara-guḍi has a *Nandi-maṇṭapa* in front with its peculiarly adjusted lintels. This and the *navaraṅga* have in their ceilings a creeper device with a Nāga and Nāgiṇi in the middle canopied by snake hoods.¹¹

We have referred to some temples originally built during this period, but rebuilt in later centuries, some of which may be briefly considered. The Rāmēśvara temple at Kittūr, rebuilt in the 19th century, is now a jumble of old and new materials, but the pillars in it are noteworthy. A few of them have lion bases like those of the Pallava type and while others have elephant bases—a unique feature. The *dvārapāla* figures are peculiar with their fanged mouths and crossed legs with backs bent in a vigorous attitude. "Their broad feet, their hands, their muscular thighs and calves, their broad chests etc., are clearly carved adding a touch of realism to their otherwise grotesque shapes."¹² The eastern doorway has sculptures of Yakshas, dancers and scroll work in low relief as in the Arkēśvara temple at Hale Ālūr.

The old slender pillars in the small Īśvara temple at Homma, Poḷma of the Gaṅga records, are of plain type with octagonal shaft. The small natural looking Nandi without trappings is of an early date. This might be identical with the Vinītēśvara mentioned in the inscription of Śrīpurusha in front of the temple.¹³

The ruined Dēśēśvara temple with its usual small *garbhagṛiha*, a small open *sukanāsi* and a small 12' × 12' sized *navaraṅga* with round pillars, a small bull *maṇṭapa* in front of it which has a 16 fluted pillar and another with bell and vase moulding at Ālūr or Hale Ālūr may be assigned to the Gaṅga period. The large seated Durgā image in relief, in granite, in a vigorous and terrible attitude with eight hands, open mouth and flames darting from her hair may be noted for its primitive yet forceful workmanship. The Arkēśvara temple at a little distance was supposed to have been built during the time of Rājendra-chōḷa I on the basis of the Tamil inscriptions on its basement cornices.¹⁴ The Tamil inscriptions on the north basement of the temple belong to the 13th century. But the newly discovered very much peeled off Kannada inscription on the south basement of about the 10th century¹⁵ records grants made to the temple which must be of a much earlier date. This temple also has a small *Nandi-maṇṭapa* in front. The *navaraṅga* doorway has on the jambs and lintel a scroll band with dancing figures in the convolution as at Narasamaṅgala. On each side of the doorway is a dark stone slab with four vertical panels containing group of musicians playing, on drums, cymbals, flutes, *rudravijā* and violin-like instrument

(Pl. V, C). The figures are lively. The ceiling of the *navaraṅga* has Tāṇḍavēśvara in the centre surrounded by the *dikpālas*. The dance pose of the eight handed Śiva is very much like that of Araḷaguppe but not so ornate as that. The pillars in the *navaraṅga* and the *maṇṭapa* are of the usual cylindrical type with square base and a vase above with leaf moulded abacus. The entire surface of these pillars are covered over with friezes of fine sculptures in low relief similar to the pillars in the Bhōga-nandīśvara temple at Nandi. C. Hayavadana Rao supposes these sculptures to represent the victorious exploits of Rājendra-chōḷa. But this cannot be accepted as the temple itself is of a much earlier date.

The vestibules in the Nṛṇabēśvara and Gaṅgēśvara temples at Nṛṇavinakere have two front pillars which are similar to those of the Pātālēśvara temple at Talakād or Rāmēśvara temple at Narasamaṅgala. Interesting sculptures at this place are the Saptamātrika figures now deposited in the Government Museum Bangalore. These are relievo figures on slabs of greenish trapstone in vigorous attitude and represent the sculptures of the local style of the Gaṅga period. The temple of Kallēśvara at Garji preserves its early architectural features inside. The *navaraṅga* pillars which have square base with cylindrical shafts having sixteen flutings over them have also bell and other mouldings. The ceiling is plain. But the faces of the base of each pillar have beautiful and vigorous sculptures carved in thin relief. These may be considered as some of the finest figure sculptures in the local Gaṅga style. The sculptures may be compared with the *Rāmāyaṇa* friezes on the walls of Būtēśvara temple at Varuṇa. Some of them like the Naṭarāja vigorously dancing on Andhāsura amidst a host of attendant figures of drummers, cymbalists and flutists, god Bhairava marching to left holding in his two hands a severed head and *Khaṭvāṅga* and Liṅgōdbhavamūrti may be noted. Though in thin carving with flat faces the figures have life and movement.

The Kallēśvara temple at Araḷaguppe is one of the superb temples from the point of view of sculptures. Though now outwardly modern, one feels astounded by the wealth of sculptures it stores inside. The doorway of the *navaraṅga* is an elegant one with its pilaster, creeper scroll with Yaksha or Yakshi in each convolution, rope ornamentation and Gajalakshmi lintel. Low ceiling of the *navaraṅga* borne on slender pillars with round shafts having double vase ornamentation, has the sculptures of Naṭarāja in the centre (Pl. V, B) and *aṣṭadikpālas* around—all of magnificent workmanship. The wonderful and unique dance pose of Śiva is vigorous and so enchanting that one can perceive the movement of the limbs to the tune of the flute, *trighaṭa* and cymbals played intently by those around him. The figure with slim tall limbs is almost in round. The serene face is full of expression. The moderate ornamentation of the god has enhanced the beauty. *Aṣṭadikpālas* in the eight panels around, with their consorts, are riding their respective vehicles and are represented as moving fast around the god. The vigour, swiftness in movement, the details of carving, the facial expression of the figures, proportionate and lively limbs are all superb. Another graceful figure is the Umāmahēśvara group. The god sits in *sukhāsana* with his consort to his left. The graceful contour of the bodies, the ease of their poise and the beauty of their proportions are wonderful. The Īśvara temple at

Hirēmagajūr has lotus medallions in its *navaraṅga* ceiling. A peculiar grotesque standing figure with four hands, eight legs, dishevelled hair, loin cloth around the waist and with an eye on the forehead locally known as Jaḍemuni is worth noticing. An old image of Janārdana carved in round out of hard stone is now in one of the cells behind the Kōdaṇḍarāma temple, which may be assigned to the Gaṅga period. The image has moderate ornamentations and a plain *koḷaga* type *kirīṭa*. The loin cloth is tied into knots on either side and the ends of the cloth hang down up to the feet

The most ancient and finest of the brick temples of this period, however, is the Rāmēśvara temple at Narasamaṅgala (Pl. V, D). The date of its construction is not known; but on typological grounds it can fairly be assigned to about the 8-9th century. It originally consisted of a *garbhagṛha*, an open *sukanāsi*, a *navaraṅga* and probably a *Nandi-maṅṭapa* in front, which latter however is not existing now. Only the image of Nandi (Pl. VI, A) is now lying in front of the temple. The outer walls of the *navaraṅga* are reconstructed at a later date with plain brick walls. This is an ornate brick structure with its original brick and mortar tower rising in three tiers. Each side of the wall has three projections, two on either end and one, which is broader, at the centre having a tall vacant shallow niche. These projections are bordered by pilasters. In between these projections are double pilasters, rising to about half of the height of the wall, with a canopy of double horseshoe arches. Over these canopies stand tall and slim figures of gods like Śiva and Pārvatī group. Śiva with two hands, Andhakāsuramardana and Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa—all these under *kīrtimukha* arches with creeper designs. Above the wall run the sharp curved eaves which have ornamented horseshoe arches. Under the eaves runs a row of male and female dwarfs while above is a row of turrets, three on each side, the corner ones being of the *pañjara* type i.e., square with converging rounded dome, while the central one being rectangular with boat-shaped top. A row of figure sculptures of gods and goddesses in various vigorous poses adorn these turrets. Among them may be noticed Tāṇḍavēśvara, Gajāsura-mardana turning in a peculiar pose so as to exhibit the face and chest as also the back of the hips like that of the *dvārapāla* figures at Kittūr or the Mahishāsura-mardini at Varuṇa, Ugranarasimha tearing the entrails of Hiraṇyakaśipu, Durgā in a vigorous pose with the demon lying dead below, dancing Bhairava, Sūrya, Brahma, Viṣṇu etc. The next tier has similar turrets but of smaller dimensions. The third tier has on its corners *nandis*. On the top is the square *śikhara* which is supported on each side by the images of which Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Brahma remain. All the images on the tower are of stucco which are remarkable for their elegance. Their large chests and well developed breasts, their thin waists, conventionalised but unobtrusive drapery and dignified faces and wonderful poses are astonishingly well executed.

The *navaraṅga* doorway jambs and lintel piece have three scroll bands running all round in the convolutions of which are Yakshas, lions, *yālis*, monkeys etc. The *navaraṅga* pillars are rather thick with bell and vase ornamentation having three deep cut bands in the middle. The beams all round the *navaraṅga* and *sukanāsi* have

lively images of dwarfs in various attitudes as also some scenes from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Pañchatantra*. The central ceiling has sculptures of dancing Śiva with *aṣṭadīpālās* all around. Though the *garbhagṛiha* is fairly large the inner area is only about seven feet square and seven feet in height, the walls being very stout. The large *liṅga* with its huge square *pāṇipīṭha* occupies almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the area. Both the *sukanāsi* and the *garbhagṛiha* have each a large and beautiful rosette in relief.

Of the several stone temples of the period which have accretional structures added on at a later date, the Sōmēśvara temple at Gaṅgāvāra or Gaṅgāpura appears to be the most ancient. Its *garbhagṛiha*, square in plan with low roof, has a low *śikhara* of only one step. It is also square in plan with sloping roof with no *grīva*. The *sukanāsi* has on its doorframes two elephants in relief facing each other. Some of the sculptures of this temple like that of Veṅkaṭeśa, now in Dēvanūr, are of relieve type with flatish faces, sparse ornamentation and rude finish. In addition there are two lion pillars of the Pallava type in the verandah with early features. The straight outer walls have plain pilasters at long intervals. All these features take the monument sufficiently back even in the Gaṅga period.

Next may be noticed the Chandragupta-basadi on the smaller hill at Śravaṇa-beḷagoḷa. It appears to be the earliest structure at the place. Traditionally ascribed to Chandragupta, it may be assigned to 7-8th century from the style of workmanship and other features. A few letters written in red ochre on its northern wall in c. 9th century characters support this view. It consists of three small cells in a row with a narrow verandah in front. Only the cells on either sides are surmounted by a single stepped tower having only *grīva* and square *śikhara* with ornamented horseshoe arches and other decorations. The outer walls are relieved by pilasters which have double vase moulding at the top. Below the sharp curved eaves is a row of swans facing front with their stretched wings while on the top are the maned lions in pairs facing each other. The standing Yaksha figure in the verandah is one of the finest sculptures on the hill.

The Hanumantēśvara temple at Bannūr is a plain stone temple with all the characteristics of a Gaṅga monument. But it has neither sculptural motifs under or above the eaves nor is there the original tower existing. However, the Mahāliṅgēśvara temple, known from inscription as the Būtēśvara temple, at Varuṇa is an interesting monument of the Gaṅga period. The name suggests that the temple was constructed in the name of Būtuga. It is also a plain temple with all the Gaṅga characteristics but with a later tower. Its straight outer walls have pilasters at intervals with niche-like ornamentation at the centre of each side. The doorway has creeper scroll ornamentation on the jambs. The short thin pillars of the *navaraṅga* with their vase shape on the top are typically G. ṅga in character. The flat ceilings of the *navaraṅga* and the *sukanāsi* have full blown lotuses carved in high relief. The *garbhagṛiha* doorway also has its jambs ornamented with creeper scrolls. The most interesting feature of this temple is the existence of a frieze of beautifully sculptured panels just underneath the eaves. This frieze runs all round the original temple commencing from the doorway of the *navaraṅga* and illustrates scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* mostly

after the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. The sculptures are very thin in relief almost like line carving but are depicted forcefully. The way of execution, the crudeness in workmanship, yet the vigour found in it denote that it is a unique group of sculptures peculiar to the Gaṅga architecture. Among the sculptures in the temple the peculiar pose of Mahishāsūramardini treading on the buffalo with her left foot, her waist being twisted, is noteworthy. The eight handed goddess, standing under horseshoe arch-like *prabhāvali* which has *ashtadikpālas* around the slim band, has round and chubby face with serene outlook. The *saptamātṛikas* can well compare with those at Haje Ālūr or Narasamaṅgala but of smaller size.

Of the stone monuments standing intact with their original *vimānas*, a group of seven shrines at Kambadahalli forms another stage (Pl. VI, D). These are some of the oldest Jaina *basadis* in Gaṅgavāḍi, built of granite with similar main features though there are some differences in details. They appear to have been constructed in three stages. The earliest group consists of three shrines with their open *sukanāsis* on the three sides of a common *navaraṅga*. Thus it is a *trikūṭāchala*. The structure has octagonal cornice on the basement; right-angled pilasters with beaded hangings on the straight walls, a slightly deeper and developed niche at the centre of each side of the walls; row of swans under sharply curved eaves which are ornamented with horseshoe shaped arches with floral *śikharas*. Above the eaves is a frieze of sea-horses. The *vimāna* has only two tiers. The first tier is ornamented with square turrets at corners and oblong turret at the centre of each side. The second tier is again made up of a frieze of swans, sharp curved eaves with horseshoe arches and a row of sea-horses above. Regardant maned lions with their raised paw are placed at the corners. The top *śikharas* raised on *grīvas* are variously shaped—the east one being round, the south one square and the west octagonal. These *vimānas* show a development in the midway between the single tiered *vimānas* of Gaṅgāvāra or Chandragupta basadi and fully developed Bhōganandi shrine at Nandi or the Chāmundaṛāya-basadi at Śravaṇabelgoḷa. The pillars in the *navaraṅga* are octagonal with the vase at the top. The slabs of the roof around are convergingly shaped and placed so as to appear like rays emanating from the centre. The large flat central ceiling is divided into nine panels with Dharaṇendra-yaksha in the centre and slim bodied *ashtadikpālas* riding on their respective *vāhanas* in the other panels. The images of Yaksha and Yakshi in the vestibules are exceedingly fine figures. One of the Yakshis may particularly be noticed for her fine anatomy, her drapery, ornaments, round and chubby face, curly hair etc.

The Bhōganandīśvara temple at the foot of the Nandi hills is of the Gaṅga period. At present it is a large temple with various structures built during different periods. The original temple consisting of a *garbhagṛiha* with its stone tower, a *sukanāsi* and a *navaraṅga*—all of small dimensions appears to have been built in c. 800 A.D. during the reign period of the Gaṅga chief Jayatēja.¹⁶

This is a beautiful temple, well developed with clear cut motifs, built completely in hard granite in the Dravidian style of architecture. It is square in plan with four basement cornices one of which has *makara* heads, elephants, lions, dwarfs etc. The

north and south walls have stone lattice windows with well carved images of dwarfs dancing, creeper scroll, Mahishāsūramardini etc. There is a row of lively dwarfs in various dancing or singing attitudes under the sharp curved eaves which itself is ornamented with *kīrtimukha* arches. These *kīrtimukhas* are well developed with grotesque lion faces from the fangs of which dart out *yālīs* from whose mouths spring out again the scrolls, the whole piece forming a horse shoe arch. The straight walls have slight projections at intervals with right-angled pilasters bordering them. The parapet is decorated with square, arch-like and oblong turrets. The second tier of the tower has all the above noted motifs repeated while the third one has couchant bulls at corners instead of the turrets. Under the *kīrtimukha* arches of the turrets are found varied forms of Śiva and other gods—Tripuradahana, Indra, Tāṇḍavēśvara, Mahishāsūramardini, Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, Kumārasvāmi etc. Well designed square *śikhara* on the top has large *kīrtimukha* arches on the four sides which shelter fine sculptures of standing Śiva in round with well-shaped body and beautiful countenance. The *navaraṅga* pillars, squarish with rounded top, are ornamented with figures of dwarfs, musicians and gods like Indra, Bali and Vāmana etc. in low relief. The ceiling of the *navaraṅga* has in its centre nine panels with Umāmahēśvara seated in the centre and the *dikpālas* on their vehicles around. The ceiling of the *garbhagṛiha* has a ten-petalled lotus in low relief. The *līṅga* is five feet high with a large and square pedestal. This is one of the most developed and highly ornate temples with all its fine motifs in the Gaṅga architecture.

The Gaṅga architecture reached its zenith with the erection of Gommatēśvara and the construction of a *basadi* by Chāvūṇḍarāya at Śravaṇabelgoḷa. The Chāvūṇḍarāya-basadi is the largest structure with elaborate carvings perhaps the only monument of the period which bears doubtless testimony of its builder. It is a homogenous structure with all its components standing intact. Built of hard granite it is rectangular in plan with slightly projected bays at intervals on the outer walls of the *garbhagṛiha*, which though 36' square from outside, has an inner space measuring only 8' square. Thus the walls are very thick and form a solid mass. Above the walls the *basadi* has all the usual motifs—eaves, turrets, row of swans, lions etc. Under the *kīrtimukha* arches, however, are seated Jina and other figures. Above the *navaraṅga* doorway two lady figures holding flowers in their hands, with their bashful smile and with their elegant pose they look as if the modesty is personified (Pl. VI, C) The special feature of this *basadi* is its upper storey which forms the first tier of the elegant *vimāna*. The entire *vimāna* is elaborately and beautifully sculptured which has an octagonal *śikhara* surmounted by a stone *kaśāśa*.

Some of the fine sculptures in the local variety are found on the hero-stones of this period found scattered all over the region. They are generally large heavy granite slabs of irregular shape, even the face on which the sculptures are carved being undressed. Mostly they have single panels covering almost the whole surface of the slab and are carved in low relief. The sculptures thereupon generally represent a dual or a fight between two groups, the warriors being represented as riding on horse back or elephant, and the hero is shown prominently. The Hirēguṇḍagal (Tumkur

District) group of hero-stones belonging to c. 8th century A.D. are typical in this respect (Pl. VI, B). The tall and well built warriors are shown holding shields and swords with their hair done up above the head in a knot. They wear *viṭṭagachche* with a dagger tucked up at the waist. Sometimes they hold bow and arrow. Though simple in carving, thin in relief and unrefined in finish, the pose, the limbs, the expression on their faces depict their firm mind and resolute action. The hero-stone from Bēgūr, now exhibited in the Government Museum, Bangalore, is unique for its wonderful sculptures. It is a large stone tablet measuring more than six feet both in length and breadth. Except the top portion of about 1½ foot high containing the inscription, the rest of the area is occupied by sculptures representing the battle scene. The hero Nāgattara, on horse back followed by troopers is attacking the enemy Vīramahēndra seated on his elephant while all around a tumultuous fight is going on between the soliders of both the sides. They hold sword, hucklei, spear, etc. Many have fallen down dead or wounded. In the right lower corner an wounded solider is being carried away while in the top corner a goblin is taking away a corpse. A man at the centre is blowing a long horn. The panoramic idea of the battle scene is well brought out in this wide panel. Just above it the deceased hero Nāgattara seated on a stool in heaven flanked by the chowri-bearing *apsaras*, with a bird in his hand is merrily witnessing the dance performance. The individual figures, human or animal, lack proportion. The whole panel is in thin relief and the figures are rather crude. But the whole group taken together is a wonderful piece of art. There is movement, vigour and life in it. It has vividly brought out the effects of war.

Similar, but a simple and effective sculpture is found on the Dodḍahundi inscribed stone also in the same museum. It depicts the dead king, Nīṭumārgga lying on the couch, while Agarayya his servant who died with him is having the king's stretched legs on his lap while the prince Satyavākya is standing to proper right. The pathetic scene is brought out exceedingly well. The firmness of the servant in fulfilling his vow and the agony on the face of the prince at the loss of his father are well expressed. The graveness of the situation is increased by the flames darting out around. It is a lyric in stone brought out in a simple but effective manner.

It is possible that in some of the early Gaṅga temples stucco images were being worshipped and their structures were of wood, mud and brick. There is evidence for the existence of such temples with colossal stucco images in the Malnad and coastal areas from the early centuries of the Christian era. The colossal stucco figures of *saptamātṛikas* in the Kōlāramma temple at Kōlār are of such type. But as already noticed, the original temple has been replaced by stone structure during the Chōḷa period.

The colossal Gommatēśvara standing 58' high on the summit of the larger hill at Śravaṇabelgoḷa is a masterpiece in Gaṅga sculpture—one of the largest images in the world. Standing nude in the open it has majesty and impressive grandeur (Pl. VII, A). Though executed in a conventionalised form and imperfect from the point of view of art, the shoulders being too broad and the legs somewhat dwarfish, yet as Fergusson remarks, "nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt,

and even there no known statue surpasses it in height.”¹⁷ The poet Boppaṇa says that: When an image is very lofty it may not have beauty; when possessed of loftiness and real beauty it may not have supernatural power. But loftiness, real beauty and mighty supernatural power have all united in this glorious form. An inscription at the foot of Gommaṭa on the anthill states that Chāvūṇḍarāya caused this image to be carved. Its date might be about 983 A.D. The remark that such a carving out and dedication of colossal at that place was a protesting gesture at the progress of Brahmanical or at any rate theistic cults at the expense of Jainism,¹⁸ to say the least, is unfair.

From the foregoing account it is clear that the Gaṅgas did encourage art and architecture. In the structural monuments they followed the Dravidian style which had been well established. In the field of sculpture we find different types from the crude local varieties to the finest. More than the outward embellishments the Gaṅga sculptures have caught the finer feelings in their sculptures which reached the zenith in the image of Gommaṭeśvara.

Notes and References

1. Derrett: *The Hoysalas*, p. 219.
2. *EC.*, Vol. VII, Sh. 4.
3. *ibid* , Vol. X, Mr. 72 and 73.
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5. B. R. Gopal (Ed) *EC.*, Vol. V (Rev. 1976), Kn. 24 and 25.
6. *ibid* , Vol. II (Rev. 1973), No. 342.
7. *ibid.*, No. 476.
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11. *MAR.*, 1915, p. 15.
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14. *MAR.*, 1937, p. 45.
15. B. R. Gopal (ed.) *EC.*, Vol. IV (Rev. 1975), Ch. 192.
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18. Derrett: *The Hoysalas*, p. 219.

CHOLA ARCHITECTURE

V. R. MANI

THE ASCENDANCY OF THE Chōlas of the Vijayālaya line in the middle of the ninth century was not only a turning point in the political history of South India but also marked a significant stage in the art history of the region. Hundreds of monuments still extant in what was once the Chōla kingdom, sharing among themselves certain general elements of construction, plan and detail and compelling us to give them the common label 'Chōla' attest to the vigorous activity in the sphere of temple building from about the middle of the ninth century. While the temples that are attributed to the reigns of the early rulers like Āditya I (871-907 A.D.), Parāntaka I (907-955 A.D.) etc. are modest in size and simple in plan, the tendency to elaborate the temple complex and construct larger shrines is seen from the reign of Rājarāja I (985-1014 A.D.), even though such larger complexes were relatively few in number. These monuments reveal the sudden flowering of architecture in the early years of Chōla rule and its progressive development during the years upto the end of the tenth century. The spirit displayed by these Chōla monuments is, however, absent in the larger temples of the later periods, which though noted for their scale and majesty do not show much innovation in architectural detail.

It is rather difficult to speak of a clear and well defined Chōla style or easily distinguishable stages in that style in view of the vast number of extant monuments and the lack of reasonably complete descriptions of them. An objective analysis of Chōla style is possible only when a thorough documentation of Chōla monuments is completed. The safest method is to list the monuments that can be dated on the indisputable evidence of epigraphy and make a stylistic evaluation of Chōla architecture on the basis of details discernible in these dated monuments. Since this is a stupendous task what is attempted below is a tentative and brief review of the progress of architecture under the successive Chōla kings.

Any account of Chōla architecture should necessarily begin with the monuments of the reign of Vijayālaya, the founder of the revived line of the Chōlas of Tañjāvūr, but is there any monument which can be assigned to his period on unimpeachable grounds is a question for which no clear answer is possible. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājendra I state that Vijayālaya founded at Tañjāvūr a temple to goddess Nishumbhasūdanī; but this temple is not in existence now, though the image of Nishumbhasūdanī discovered at Tañjāvūr and with stylistic features characteristic of mid-ninth century sculptures from the heart of the Chōla country is presumably the cult icon consecrated by Vijayālaya. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's pioneering studies led him to believe that 'the small Śiva temples of Visalur, Tiruppur and Kalyapattī are all apparently of the time of Vijayālaya' and S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, assigns to Vijayālaya's reign as many as eighteen shrines spread over the region extending from the Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh in the

north to the Pudukkottai District in the south. Douglas Barrett who attempts to date early Chōla temples on the basis of the style of the sculptures found in them (besides taking into consideration details furnished by epigraphy) tends to ignore the temples mentioned by Nilakanta Sastri "as they have little or no sculpture to help..... though in other monuments he seems to perceive a very clear idea of the most beautiful archaic Vijayālaya sculptural style." Barrett, however has not mentioned the monuments he seems to have in mind but Dhaky hazards a suggestion when he says that "the only building that could be of the late years of Vijayālaya Chōla is the Vēdapurīśvara temple at Tiruvēdikkaḍi, if we accept the testimony—not of inscriptions which on this problem are dumb—but of the architectural features and the style of its surviving sculptures....."

If we examine the historical context in which Vijayālaya found himself it becomes clear that not all the eighteen temples listed by S. R. Balasubrahmanyam could have been constructed in his time and area. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri places the reign of Vijayālaya roughly from circa 850 to 871 A.D. and draws the northern frontier of his kingdom along the Veļļār river. It is however unlikely that he started ruling independently as early as 850 A.D. because there are inscriptions of the contemporary Pallava king - Nandivarman III of Teļļāru fame—in the Tañjāvūr area attesting to the Pallava hold in Chōļamaṇḍalam. T. V. Mahalingam has shown that Nandivarman III must have ascended the throne at 846 A.D. and if this was so his dated inscriptions at Sendalai (858 A.D.), Tiruchchinnampūṇḍi (864 A.D.), Sennivāykkāl (867 A.D.) and Tiruppalatturai (868 A.D.) would show that Vijayālaya could not have started his rule in the Tañjāvūr area till 868 A.D. As it is well established that Vijayālaya's son and successor, Āditya I, started his reign from 871 A.D. Vijayālaya's reign probably extended for three or four years only. There is no inscriptional evidence to prove that he ruled for more than four years. This presumably explains why the monuments of Vijayālaya's reign are so few. The small all-stone temples in the Pudukkottai District mentioned above, all with square *ēkatala-vimūnas*, simple mouldings in the basement, and square *grīva* and *śikhara* were erected either under the Pāṇḍyas or Muttaraiyars who held sway over the region in the years immediately before the rise of Vijayālaya. There is however one monument which baffles attempts at solution: the Vijayālaya Chōļīśvaram at Nārttāmalai the original structure of which was restored later. Barrett does not take it into consideration as "it represents perhaps a more southern tradition and it is not clear what was involved in the 13th century A.D. restoration". S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, following K. R. Venkataraman, puts the restoration in the ninth century and feels that this temple is an early and grand structure of the time of Vijayālaya. K. R. Srinivasan, K. V. Soundararajan and M. A. Dhaky assign it to the Muttaraiyars, the masters of the Nārttāmalai region in the years preceding the ascendancy of Vijayālaya, because its plan and elevation and the treatment of the different architectural *arigas* have no relationship with the early Chōla architecture as known to us from other monuments. Admittedly no art historian can mistake the Vijayālaya Chōļīśvaram for an early Chōla temple. But what is intriguing is the name of the temple. Even if it is granted that the name Vijayālaya Chōļīśvaram was

given years after the death of Vijayālaya, we are at present not in a position to say why the temple was named after him. Drawing from the details furnished by three late inscriptions (two Vijayanagara and one Gaṇḍagōpāla) S.R. Balasubrahmanyam has postulated the construction of a temple by Vijayālaya at Viṅkanampūṇḍi near Tirupaṇi on the northern limits of Tamilnadu. The inscriptions refer to the shrine of Vijayaśivaram. Though the occurrence of the name Vijayaśivaram is interesting, it is impossible to say anything about the involvement of Vijayālaya Chōḷa with its construction in the absence of any structural remain attributable to his age. Further, if the northern limits of Tamilnadu were already under Vijayālaya as supposed by Balasubrahmanyam, how can one account for the rule of the later Pallavas in that area as warranted by their inscriptions of this period, and the well-known conquest of Āditya I and Parāntaka in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam?

A distinctly recognizable phase in the history of Chōḷa architecture is seen with the accession of Āditya I in 871 A.D. The Anbil plates of Sundara-chōḷa mention that this ruler covered the banks of the Kaveri along its course from the Sahyādrī to the sea with temples for Śiva, but it appears that many of them were replacements of old brick temples. A large number of temples have been attributed to Āditya I by S. R. Balasubrahmanyam mostly on the basis of his identification of Rājakeśari of inscriptions found in those monuments. Barrett rightly questions many of these attributions and traces the development of architecture in the early Chōḷa period mostly with the aid of his perception of style, often judiciously making use of the evidence furnished by epigraphy. Recent studies seem to establish, almost with the stamp of finality, that, the temples at Kīlaiyūr (both the Agastyīśvara and Chōḷīśvara shrines), Tiruchchendurai, Lālguḍi, Tirumalavāḍi, Tiruppalamam, Tiruvēdikkūḍi, Tillaisthānam, Kāṇḍiyūr, Tiruppunturutti, Tiruchchattural, Tirukkaṭṭāḷai, Tirukkaṭṭuppaḷḷi, Kumbhakōṇam (Nāgēśvara shrine), Pullamaṅgai, Tiruchchennampūṇḍi, Allūr (Pañcapanādiśvara), Śrīnivāsanallūr, Erumbūr etc. were built (or rebuilt in some cases) in the reigns of Āditya I and Parāntaka I i.e. during the period between 871 and 940 A.D.

In details regarding the style of various architectural components these early Chōḷa temples differ from the structural temples of the Pallavas. The lowermost tier of the *vimāna* which is extended to the *ardha-maṇḍapa* in front of the shrine in Pallava temples is restricted to the shrine alone in Chōḷa temples. The *kumuda* moulding in the base (*adhishthāna*) which is chamfered in Pallava temples continues to be so in some early Chōḷa temples as those at Tirukkaṭṭāḷai, Allūr, Erumbūr, Tiruvēdikkūḍi, Tiruppalamam, Kumbhakōṇam etc., but is seen in a rounded shape in a host of other monuments. The rounded *kumuda* with two horizontal rows of lotus petals and *vyāḷa-nāḷa* on the base is one of the interesting changes effected during the period. In some instances as at Takkōlam the *kumuda* is vertically fluted.

Unlike the Pallava shrines, those of the Chōḷa period are devoid of extravagant sculptural decoration on the exterior of the walls above the base, clearly indicating the appreciation of plain space. The cornices above the wall which in many Pallava temples is only a projecting tier gets a flexed appearance in these Chōḷa temples.

The pillars and pilasters that articulate the wall space are comparatively much expanded with changes in the shape of the *idal* below. The corbels get an angular profile and are develled resulting in a triangular tenon-like projection. In some cases the lower part of the corbel is plain; in others its faces are curved with a roll moulding sometimes with a decorated median band. The space in niches in the walls of early Chōḷa temples is narrower unlike in the Pallava monuments. In the place of the shovel-headed finials of the *kūḍus* of Pallava times, one now finds lion-headed *kūḍus*.

Generally the early Chōḷa *vimāna* is of one or two *talas*. The *śikhara* at the top of it is domical, four-sided or octagonal crowned by a finial. Below the *śikhara* is the *grīva* (clerestory) with *dēvakōśhṭhas*, one each at the four cardinal points. At the four corners of the platform immediately below the *grīva* are figures of seated Nandi (if the shrine is dedicated to Śiva).

The *ardha-maṇḍapa* that preceds the main shrine is rectangular and its *adhi-shṭhāna* mouldings correspond to those of the shrine. There were few axial structures preceding the *ardha-maṇḍapa* during the early Chōḷa period but one finds a complete and surviving example of a *maṇḍapa* in front of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* in the shrines of Agastyaśvara at Kīḷaiyūr. In plan this is square and wider than the temple. This was probably intended for the ritual bathing of the deity. An inscription of Parāntaka I from Tillaisthānam refers to a *namana-maṇḍapa* in the temple.

The accession of Rājaraāja I in 985 A.D. heralded a new saga in the sphere of temple architecture even though the distinctive features of this new phase are seen clearly reflected only in post-Rājaraāja monuments. Apart from the two Brīhadīśvara temples at Tañjāvūr and Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram the larger temples of this period are the Airāvataśvara at Dārāsuram and Kampaharēśvara at Tribhuvanam. Other constructions of this period, more numerous than early Chōḷa temples, are smaller structures which have not yet been adequately documented.

A feature common to most temples of this phase is the elaboration of the temple complex besides interesting developments in architectural style. The introduction of a *kapōta* in the base which is apparently a Chālukyan feature is a noteworthy characteristic of the temples of this period. (This feature is not found in any early temple except that of Brahmapurīśvara at Pullamaṅgai). In larger temples the other mouldings in the base are elaborated to conform to the size of the *prāsāda*. The *kumuda* moulding is rounded and has a smooth surface; in some cases it is decorated with vertical groove or ribs. In the larger temples the vertical walls rising over the basement are divided into two by a cornice, massive and curved, with several *kūḍu* ornamentations. The *makara-tōraṇas* over the niches in the walls and in the base are semicircular, and in some temple tall and narrow with reverse curves on each side. A survival of the early feature may be seen in the tetragonal shape of the *pada* and the *phalaka*. The *phalaka* in these temples is thinner than that in earlier temples. Another change may be seen in the *padma* below the *phalaka*; this which was inverted and smooth in temples of the early Chōḷa period now develops in shape with expanding petals. In the temples at Tañjāvūr and Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram the

corbels are of the simple level and tenon type, the chamfering being on the extreme thirds of the width of the corbel leaving the middle third in the form of an angular and pendantive tenon in between. But in the still later Chōla temples, the central tenon of the corbel develops into a *madalai*, and still later, into the *pushpapōdigai*. The *mandapas* in some of the temples have *āniyoṭṭikkal* i.e. attached pilasters on their sides with *yālis* and elephants as their bases.

The walls of later Chōla temples have a greater number of niches. These are decorated with a new feature known as *tiruvāchi*. This is a semicircular arch the centre of which resembles the *kūḍu* and seen beneath the architrave and over the niche. Another feature introduced during this period was the *kumbhapañjara* in between the niches. It is so called because it is in the form of a pillar or tree issuing from *kumbha*. In temples constructed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries—in the Bṛihadiśvara temple at Tañjāvūr for instance—there is no *pañjara* over the *kumbha*, but a decorative device similar to *tiruvāchi* and resembling a flower bearing flames or arabesques only is seen. But in temples built after the fourteenth century the *kumbhapañjara* has the *pañjara* as a top member.

The elaboration of the *gōpuras* was another major development in the later Chōla phase. The first experiment in this direction is already noticed in the Bṛihadiśvara temple at Tañjāvūr where there are two *gōpuras*, one the inner and the other outer. While the inner tower has three storeys the outer has five. Two-storey vestibules are seen in both and the lower storey of these in each is at the ground level. Both the *gōpuras* include not only usual architectural designs like *kūṭas*, *śālas*, *alpanāsikas* etc. but also sculptural decorations. It seems that the Bṛihadiśvara temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram also had a tower; this is indicated by the ruined lower portions at the entrance. The still surviving parts of the structure reveal that the tower was most probably modelled on the *gōpura* at Tañjāvūr.

Among the better known examples of later Chōla *gōpuras* mention may be made of those at Uyyakoṇḍān Tirumalai, Tiruppiraiturai, Tiruchcheṅgaṭṭaṅguḍi, the eastern tower in the Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbhakōṇam etc. In these a significant change in the gradation of magnitude of the *gōpura* is seen. It now dominates the landscape by virtue of its height which is greater than that of the *vimāna*. The inner most eastern tower at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (*kīḷi gōpura*) and the one at the entrance in the temple at Tiruvēṅkāḍu also belong to this class. Most of the *gōpuras* of this period are five-storeyed and have a large basement and tall entry way. Dressed and carved stones are used for building them up to the *kapōta* and above it the construction is done with brick, mortar and plaster. An important feature of these *gōpuras* is that the rectangular space between the outer and inner entry way is longer than wider; in this feature they are different from their earlier and smaller counterparts of the early Chōla period. Further, in each of the *dvāras* in successive *taḷas*, *śālas* with *simhalalāṭas* are seen. The rising tiers are decorated with *śālas*, *kūṭas* and sculptures. The sculptural embellishment and decoration with pilasters and *kumbhapañjaras* are noticed in the *adhishṭhāna*.

The next phase in the development of the *gōpuras* is represented by those at

Chidambaram, Jambukēśvaram etc. J. C. Harle has shown that the *gōpura* of the Airāvatēśvara temple at Dārāśuram built by Rājarāja II (1146–1163 A.D.), which is now ruined and only the basement of which is seen now, was similar to the Chidambaram *gōpuras* in many details. In all these there are seven *taḷas*. It is from this phase that the *gōpuras* in the Tamil country became huge and massive. The existence of later Chōḷa towers with five-storeys show that during this period the Agamic injunction that the number of *taḷas* in the *gōpura* should be in accordance with the number of storeys in the *vimāna* was strictly followed

EARLY PANDYA ART

K. V. SOUNDARARAJAN

Introduction

THE EARLY PĀṇDYAS OF MADURAI, like the Pallavas, had an important role in initiating a rock-cut and a subsequent stone structural phase, in the areas south of Kaveri, broadly speaking; and virtually these two schools, together inspired the Atiyamāns, the Muttarayars and the Chēras variously into a like cultural activity in their respective tracts. We have nearly 60 cave temples patronised by the Pāṇdyas and the others. These, and the pioneering early structural temples in granite stone that, again, the Pāṇdyas began, call for a separate and detailed treatment, in the assessment of early South Indian temple art. Aside of the Pallavas, the Pāṇdyas alone had been responsible in Tamilnadu for a monolithic effort also, as spectacularly if unfortunately incompletely, displayed at the Veṭṭuvankōyil of Kaḷugumalai, in Kovilpatti Taluk of Tirunelveli District. The Pāṇḍya monuments themselves spill outside the traditional Pāṇḍya territory, bespeaking the extensive cultural influence of the first Pāṇḍya monarchy which was again to rise as a great medieval power in the south and flood the entire Tamilnadu with its religious and cultural bequeathals. The early Pāṇḍya structural phase also coincided with the formative stage of granite architecture in Tamilnadu and it is seen that the guilds of Pāṇḍya artisans who were habituated to cutting in granite continued to initiate structural temples also, unlike the Pallavas who, even after the cave-art phase in granite, fell back upon sandstone for structural temples, for a pretty long time, even in the later Pallava stage.

On the present evidence, the Pāṇḍya cave temples do not appear to have been much older than the second half of the 7th century A.D. But since Kaḍuṅgōn's rule should clearly have been inaugurated at least by the middle of the 6th century A.D. we are left to surmise that the cave enterprise of the earliest stage was not of any appreciable order, probably due, on the one hand, to the federal character of the early Pāṇḍya kingdom itself, by which the country north of Vaigai, south of Vaigai and of the western hilly uplands were not seemingly under unified control; and on the other hand, the early period upto the end of the 6th century practically saw the occupation of the interior hilly tracts and rocky areas by the monks of Jainism who selected natural caverns for their abodes, and thus cave temples for Hinduism had largely become feasible only in the succeeding eras, for obvious reasons. Perhaps, it was under Sēndan and Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Māravarman and Kōchchadayan that the welding of the country into one unified entity took place, which the distribution of the cave temples appears to support also. This distribution also has a relationship with the Jaina vestiges that had filled Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam in the early times.

A striking feature of the distribution map of the rock-cut cave temples in Tamilnadu is that, upto the time of the early Pallavas, extending upto the end of the 7th century and early 8th, the provenance of their cave temples is not seen to have spilled out further south than Aragaṇḍanallūr (near Tirukkōyilūr) in South Arcot

District. The exception, however, is Mahēndra's Tiruchirāpaḷḷi rock-cut cave. Excepting for Tiruveḷḷarai cave temples and a structural temple of probably late phase of Nandivarman II's time, however, occurring at Tiruppattūr and a few remains of Dantivarman at Tiruveḷḷarai, we do not have any rock-cut or other monuments in this area of any dynasty, much less the Pallavas. During the first half of the 7th century A.D. Kaveri was a very dependable boundary between Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Pāṇḍyanāḍu. Almost upto the end of the 7th century A.D., we do not find any mutual inroads of southern and northern Tamil kingdoms, north and south of Kaveri. In the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I (672-700), Chālukya Vikramāditya I (655-81) who invaded Pallava country, conquered Kāñchi, and extirpated Māmalla's family, is said to have camped near Uracapura (modern Pāmbūr near Kumbhakōḷam) on the Kaveri in 674 A.D. Later, almost in the same year, he appears to have been defeated by Paramēśvara himself in the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr, as mentioned in the Kūram plates of this king. This Peruvaḷanallūr is in Lalgudi Taluk, north of Kaveri, about six miles north-east of Lālgudi town. Thus, even Pallava encounters with Chālukyas had been restricted to the traditional boundary of the former, and never crossed Kaveri.

In fact, only after the Pallava interregnum, when Nandivarman II (732-96) sat on the Kāñchi throne that we see a deliberate encroachment north of Kaveri by the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Rājasimha (730-65) who was notable for many conquests over Pallavas, Gaṅgas etc. Nandivarman had been defeated in many battles in his own territory by Māravarman Rājasimha, apart from a few places like Koḍumbālūr in the Muttariyar-Irukkuvēl tract. As this period coincided with the invasion of the country, twice by Chālukya Vikramāditya II, in the fourth decade of the 8th century and, in the next decade by Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga, this was perhaps the most suitable opportunity for the Pāṇḍyas to make inroads into the Pallava zone (during Narasimhavarman II's period and perhaps more truly during the reign of Nandivarman II and his son Danti) and by this time, the Muttaraiyar chieftains like Kāḍuveṭṭi, and Chōḷa chieftains like Ulagaperumānār had already become substantial political entities in their respective areas and were owing allegiance to the Pallava throne. But it is equally obvious that the area south of Kaveri was getting, culturally speaking, well within the sphere of influence of the Pāṇḍyas. The Kailāsanātha temple at Tiruppattūr, mentioned earlier, was the handiwork of Nandivarman II and is very similar in form to Mukteśvara of Kāñchi in its provision of *upapīṭha*. It is likely that it was constructed soon after the completion of Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, since the octagonal, *śikhara* form is still maintained, whereas Mukteśvara has a circular *śikhara*. During the time of Nandivarman, the Vaishṇava saint Tirumaṅgai is taken to have lived and we have his reference to Tiruveḷḷarai cave (*Vēḷḷaraiyil kallaraimēl*) in addition to a *svastika* tank (*nātu-mūlai-kēṇi*) at this place (with an inscription of Danti's regnal year). Danti's regnal year is also quoted by Muttaraiyar chiefs at Malayāḍipattī.

These tend to suggest that already in early middle 8th century A.D., the Muttaraiyar rock excavations had been accomplished facts, and should indeed have been

started much earlier. The outermost time limit for the end of Kaveri as a nominal border—more honoured in its breach—was around the time of Nṛipatuṅga whose contemporaries were Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II (862-85), Gaṅga Pṛithivīpati and Chōḷa Āditya I. From the simple fact that Varaguṇa has left his inscriptions, in his own 17th regnal year at Arasūr, on the banks of Pennar (when camping as an ally of Nṛipatuṅga—as seen in his Ambasamudram inscription); at Tiruveḷḷarai in 13th year; at Lālguḍi also in the 13th year; in addition to the fact that he quotes in his Tiruvadigai (South Arcot) inscription, Nṛipatuṅga's 18th regnal year, (camping as he was then, in the Pallava kingdom); would all show that he had convenient operative control then (jointly perhaps with the Pallava king) of the area immediately north of Kaveri, and correspondingly the early Chōḷa involvement in this area, at this time, was but peripheral and weak politically, and certainly non-existent for purposes of any architectural enterprises that would chiefly interest us here. Only after the Tiruppurambiam battle and defeat of Varaguṇa, the early Chōḷas rose on their own. Even then, they had not yet subdued the Muttaraiyars fully. We find Vijayālaya's reign mentioned only in the area north of Kaveri, as at Kīlputtūr (North Arcot) mentioning his 4th year, and we do not have any unimpeachable volume of records of the early Chōḷas before the 15th year of Āditya. Tirukkattalai (in Pudukkottai District) cannot, as some believe, have the record of the 3rd year of Āditya I, since, Varaguṇa's record in Saptarishīśvara temple at Lālguḍi is in the same year, namely, 874 A.D. We are not also to forget that Pāṇḍya kings earlier than Varaguṇa had already been connected with temples deep in the Chōḷa country, as the Nāgēśvara-svāmi temple at Kumbhakōṇam, Tirukkocikāval, Śendalai etc. although the extant temples in these places today, do not bear, in some of these, direct evidence of Pāṇḍya architectural craftsmanship.

Evolutionary Stages

The general principles of fixation of deity in the sanctum, as followed in Pāṇḍya, Muttarayar and Chēra caves, are drawn more from Chālukya-Rāshtrakūṭa usages and to a lesser extent from the early Pallava traditions of the 8th century A.D. It is recalled here that the first impact of Chālukya Pulakēśi II on Tamilnadu took place during the closing part of Mahēndra's reign, and it is the discomfiture caused to Mahēndra, at the hands of the tempestuous invader, that roused the filial ire of Mahēndra's valiant son Māmalla or Narasimha Pallava I, and made him ultimately beared the lion in its own den at Vātāpi (Bādāmi), resulting in disastrous consequences for Pulakēśi in particular, and the early western Chālukyas in general. The next repercussion to this political vendetta of Narasimha occurred in the 16th year of Vikramāditya (731 A.D.) when his crown prince Vikramāditya II is said to have attacked Kāñchi and levied tributes from Paramēśvaravarman II—the first of three victorious expeditions to Kāñchi led by Vikramāditya II as prince and king later. It may at once be noted that the first Chālukya-Pallava conflict during the time of Mahēndravarman was more a reconnaissance of the terrain and the calibre of the enemy. It was mainly in the time of Māmalla—when he joined issues with Pulakēśi II to settle the old score, and in the two subsequent occasions when invasion was brought

to the doors of Kāñchi and even further south upto Urugapura (Pāmbūr near Kumbhakōṇam) of the Chōḷaśēśa, as claimed by the Gadvāl plates issued in 674 A.D. by Vikramāditya from the above camp—that any incidental mutual osmosis of socio-cultural values might have more fruitfully ensued.

Thus, if we were to detect art elements patently of Chālukyan affiliation, these should most reasonably be ascribable mainly to the time of Vikramāditya-I—Trairāja (namely Māmalla, Mahēndravarman II and Paramēśvaravarman I) phase which is nearly seven decades later than the former, or in the still later third expedition of Vikramāditya II, during the reign of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, the narration of which, together with the previous campaign of his, was got engraved by Vikramāditya II on the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchi. The third expedition to Kāñchi was by *yuvārāja* Kīrtivarman II and took place again in the respective reigns of Vikramāditya II (his father) and Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. Thus, any Pāṇḍyan architectural activity with Chālukyan indebtedness, aside of Pallava influence in the homeland itself, would essentially be of post-Māmalla phase. However, the successors of Māmalla, namely Mahēndravarman II who had a very short and uneventful reign, and Paramēśvaravarman I, did not have any art-creations of theirs reflecting Chālukyan elements.

As we know that Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha who succeeded Paramēśvaravarman I was a prolific builder and initiator of structural stone architecture both at Māmallapuram, Kāñchi, Panamalai and elsewhere in Tōṇḍaināḍ, we are probably nearer the truth, if we were to hold that, Pāṇḍya architectural activity, mainly of the rock-cut style, would have been inaugurated in the troublous times for the Pallavas either during the post-Māmalla-pre-Rājasimha period and/or in the post-Rājasimha or Nandivarman II period. In this connection, an incidental piece of semi-historical information gleaned from Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār, the Vaishṇava saint would lead us to believe that his warriors helped in the Pallava defence against the combined enemy strength of Pāṇḍyas and 'northerners', thus witnessing Pāṇḍyans making common cause with Chālukyas, against Pallavas, in the time perhaps of Paramēśvaravarman (referring to his Peruvalanallūr victory mentioned in his Kūram grant¹ or in the time of Nandivarman II who was indeed the contemporary of this Āḷvār as known by independent evidence). If this has any face-value, we may consider the Pāṇḍyan rock-cut phase as dividing itself into two phases, the beginning of the earlier one ascribable to the third quarter of the 7th century A.D. and the succeeding stage as centrally falling in the mid-eighth century A.D. onwards.

Do we have any significant internal evidence in the Pāṇḍya monuments themselves of such a probability? The answer would seem to be in a qualified affirmative, since we find that at least in so far as ritual elements are concerned, some of the Pāṇḍya rock-cut enterprises of a variant mode, are identifiable, against the general diagnostic feature of most of the Pallava cave monuments. In the unfinished Tiruveḷḷarai cave in the rear of the outer *prākāra* premises of the main temple at this place we see a hall with two shrines at either end projecting out of the wall space to a greater or lesser degree, with the main back wall space itself divided into a series of

sections, each showing (or intended to show where unfinished) a standing deity which forms part of the main nucleus of the Brahmanical pantheon, such as Brahma, Skanda, Sūrya, Gaṇēśa and Durgā, the two end-wall shrines having been apparently intended for Viṣṇu and Śiva. The shrine does not contain any provision for the placement of a *liṅga* which, in the rock-cut form itself, complete with its *pīṭha* becomes such an ubiquitous feature of the main run of Pāṇḍya cave monuments elsewhere. Alike from this non-existence of any *liṅga* as well as in the prominence given to Viṣṇu and Śiva as the two leading elements of Brahmanical pantheon, the remaining auxiliary god-heads being the five narrated above, it is a transitional stage, taxonomic with the Māmalla-to-the-Rājasimha phase of cultural heritage, in the field of cave art.

The important foundation inscription belonging to a Pāṇḍya rock-cut cave is at Malaiyaḍikkurichchi, probably of the time of Māraṇ Sēndan (c. 640-690-91 A.D.) in his 17th year, i.e. c. 657 A.D., the palaeography of the inscription justifying a 7th century date for it. But it has been contended sometimes that Pāṇḍya cave monuments cannot be of a date earlier than early mid-eighth century A.D., owing to the clear presence of the rock-cut *liṅga* with *pīṭha* in the Śaivite sancta among them. It should, however, be mentioned here that, on the one hand, we have a few instances of caves without any *liṅga* or even a provision for inserting it, as at the lower rock-cut cave at Tiruveḷḷarai. At Malaiyaḍikkurichchi actually, there is only a small, loose *liṅga* and *pīṭha* and not of the rock-cut form. This *liṅga* should have been fixed at a later time, and the original shrine would have been without any *liṅga*. We have at Pechchiparai near Chokkampatti, a Jaina cave similar to the one mentioned above, in layout. All these would tend to show that there do seem to exist two phases in the Pāṇḍya rock architecture, alike on religious basis as on the presence or otherwise of the *liṅga* in the cella (rock-cut or structural). At the same time, we have at least quite a few instances of caves which are nearer to the general architectural layout of Ānamalai Narasimha cave, for which we have the date of 770 A.D. of the time of Jaṭila Parāntaka or Māraṇjaḍaiyan. It is thus essentially a question of deducing the number of evolutionary stages in the architectural formulae themselves that could be noticed as between the earlier stage and the Ānamalai proto-type, and even later to it. It is to a consideration of such architectural differentiae of the Pāṇḍya cave art that we would now revert.

For a study of the Pāṇḍya cave-art it would seem that Kuḍumiyāmalai, Tirumayam, Malayakkōyil and Tirugōkarṇam have a vital bearing, *prima facie*, because of the close link they have with one another by the 'musical' inscriptions that were engraved on or near the cave temple excavated in these places. Doubtless, we assume that they are all the work of the same local patron. The main centre in this group would seem to be the first mentioned place where the large and valuable 'musical notations', engraved on an almost vertical scarp of rock occur. Since this epigraph is just closely adjoining the cave temple here, one might not be far wrong in presuming that the cave temple preceded the record here. The record here has, or should have had, almost its exact copy at Tirumayam (now badly chiselled off), except perhaps for the colophon of this inscription found at Kuḍumiyāmalai, which reads: *Śrī*

Rudrāchārya śishyēṇa, parama-māhēśvarēṇa rājñā śishyahitārtham kṛitah svarāgamah. We have to note that these and the remaining two places already mentioned contain a kind of code-word *parivādiniye* inscribed inside a rectangle and in almost similar script-characters. These are found in the interior (*ardha-maṇḍapa*) walls, at three of the places, while in the fourth place, Malayakkōyil, it is located on the exterior wall of this simple cella-type cave shrine (smaller of the two cave temples found here). It was, till lately, taken that these musical notations and the allied records were all of the time of Mahēndra Pallava—an entirely speculative evidence without any direct bearing geographically or otherwise, and in recent years, there is a clear awareness that these caves as well as the inscriptions could not but have been of Pāṇḍya origin.

At this stage, we have to assimilate the historical context of the erection of the cave temple at these places. We have already stated that at Kuḍumiyāmalai, the cave temple should have preceded the musical inscription. At the same place, very close to the cave temple we have a structural temple which is mentioned in its inscription as the *tirumūlattānattu Mahādēva*, while the shrine of the rock-cut cave on its rear, is referred to as *tirumēṇṇāli Mahādēva*, in later inscriptions. The earliest record referring to the structural temple at this place is itself a Pāṇḍya record of the gifts of a Sadayan Māran taken as Kōchchaḍayan Raṇḍhīra Pāṇḍya (c. 710-40 A.D.) although it could have been a subsequent Sadayan Māran as well, of the 9th century A.D. In any case, it is significant that both the temples have very early pre-Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya inscriptions. At Tirumayam, on the other hand, we find that there are also two early shrines, (in fact, three), but all the three of cave temple type. They are: the Vishṇu-Anantaśāyi cave, the Śiva cave, and a small Śaiva cave shrine at the rear, half way up the boulder hill. It is to be noted that the last also has the *parivādini* record.

We have inscribed evidence to show that the Vaishṇava cave had been renovated by one Perundēvi, queen of Viḍēlviḍugu Viḷupperadiarayar, during the time of her son's rule. Thus, it would be appropriate to take the foundation of the cave shrine itself as antedating this record, by at least a generation. Since this Viḍēlviḍugu Muttarayan was the contemporary of Nandivarman II (in the later period of his reign) and of Māravarman Rājasimha I Pāṇḍya (c. 740-65), and since Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār also sings about this cave shrine, we are well fixed in the second half of the 8th century A.D., at the latest, as regards this renovation of the cave shrine. The Śaiva cave shrine is a little farther away to the east, (its structural temple being situated in the crescentic declivity of this hill). It is the Śaiva cave that contained its exterior flank, the long musical inscription which was unfortunately very badly and almost completely got erased, by the orders of Appaṇṇa-daṇḍanāyaka, in the mediæval times, while inscribing his own record, adjudicating in a dispute between the Śaiva and Vaishṇava shrines here. This musical inscription is on the southern wall-face, just outside the cave sanctum, to the proper right. In addition to this, the *parivādini* label is found on the *ardha-maṇḍapa* back wall (facing south) in the interior of this cave. At Malayakkōyil, the cave temple concerned is itself called 'ārī

Varamuḍayār' which together with the name of the place itself as Malayakkōyil, is strongly reminiscent of the Pāṇḍya foundation of the cave and place. This place has a larger cave temple as well which in many respects, is almost similar to the Tirumayam Śiva cave temple. At Tirugōkarṇam, we have a cave shrine where the mural label inscription (mentioned already) is engraved on the interior, and the shrine contains record of the Pāṇḍya king Māraṇjaḍayan or Varaguṇa I, in his 17th (c. 782 A.D.) year.

By one way or another, we are led to the conclusion that Kuḍumiyāmalai cave temple might have come into existence in the first half of the 8th century A.D., or earlier, but it is only in the second half of the same century that the musical record was written and was already contemporary with those in the cave temple of Tirumayam, Tirugōkarṇam and Malayakkōyil. It is pertinent to see here that these three cave temples show monolithic *liṅga pīṭhas*, respectively of circular, square and octagonal shapes, of which, decidedly the circular should be the latest, and the octagonal and the square, the earliest. Thus even at Malayakkōyil, we may take that the smaller shrine is earlier than the larger one which, as already noted, is very similar to Tirumayam Śaiva cave temple. Since the Vaishṇava cave temple of Tirumayam is a Muttarayar foundation of the second quarter of the 8th century A.D. or earlier, it is obvious that the Śaiva cave (larger) is later to it and a Pāṇḍya foundation, and was coeval and perhaps relatively of the same age as the small Śaiva cave on the upper boulder.

Thus, we have, in the same region of the Muttarayars, Tirugōkarṇam in the east, Malayakkōyil in the west, Kuḍumiyāmalai in the north and Tirumayam in the south, all yielding Pāṇḍya cave temples and almost identical inscriptions, in the 8th century A.D. and in such a way as to suggest that the Muttarayars, despite their nominal and titular fealty to the Pallavas of far-off Kāñchi, had kinship of a lasting cultural character with Pāṇḍyas. It is also in this context that we should study the other Muttarayar caves of Kunnāṇḍārkōyil, Malayad ppaṭṭi, Puvaḷakkudī etc.

In the south Pāṇḍya country itself, one of the most significant centres of dispersal of Pāṇḍya rock-cut art had been at Tirupparankuṇṇam. Here again, we get a convincing interplay of inscriptional evidence and architectural mannerisms, linking them with other creations of Pāṇḍya cave art further south. Tirupparankuṇṇam has been referred to in its early inscriptions as Param kuṇṇu, or Paramaśkharī in Sanskrit. It has two main groups of caves, one on its southern face. The former is, of course, the main and the largest, since it comprises a main unit of multiple subshrines for Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Gaṇēśa and Kārtikēya (Subrahmaṇya)—the last of which has become the chief attraction at the place now, since the Śaṅgam and post-Śaṅgam works like *Paripāḍal* and *Tirumurugaṇuppāḍal* respectively sung about Muruga and his six hill abodes variously. It has further subsidiary shrines for Gaḷalakṣmī, Bhuvanēśvari and Jyēsthā. The two shrines for Bhuvanēśvari and Gaḷalakṣmī are located at two adjacent lower levels than the afore mentioned main multiple unit, to its east and west respectively, while the shrine for Jyēsthā is located further to the west and at a still lower level. It is thus obvious that these various shrines,

originally, would have been directly accessible in each case from the base of the rocky scarp. Equally apparent is the fact that these have all been part of a comprehensive or common plan, notwithstanding the feasibility of their having been spread out in time, for their execution. In fact, the inscriptional evidence which speaks of the shrine for Durgā and Jyēshthā in the reign of Mārañjadayan by one sattan Gaṇapati and his wife Nakkan Korri, would lend a direct plausibility to this view, and we may take it that the main unit itself, despite its front-facing aspect, had the Śiva-Vishṇu shrines, with their lateral axis, coming earlier, and the others, particularly Durgā, coming at a slightly later time. Since there is no mention in the record about the Gaṇēśa and Subrahmaṇya shrines, these should perhaps, have formed part of this first stage; and similarly would have been the Gajalakshmi and Bhuvanēśvarī shrines, while Durgā and Jyēshthā shrines came together at one time. Thus, the date for the last mentioned having been fixed by inscriptions as 773 A.D. we are led to infer that the main shrine would have come up reasonably prior to this date.

We should be in a position to consider the main temple unit of multiple shrines, together with the subshrines of Bhuvanēśvarī, Gajalakshmi, and Jyēshthā, as one comprehensive unified scheme, notwithstanding the breaks in time among the units, and it would be equally certain that the main unit, in so far as it contains Śiva and Vishṇu (in axial disposition) with Durgā, Gaṇēśa and Subrahmaṇya alone as subsidiary deities on the back wall would be clearly a stage subsequent to the formula seen at the lower rock-cut cave at Tiruchirāppalli. The existence of the square *liṅga-pīṭha* in the Śiva shrine in addition to the Sōmaskanda panel would itself support this view point, apart from indicating that the importation of the Sōmaskanda idea into the Pāṇḍya country, as a device for the cella back wall, should have been a transaction contemporary with the post-Rājasimha period, when not only the Sōmaskanda panel was getting abridged, and *liṅga* also had additionally made its appearance. The fact that Pallava impact is present in this Pāṇḍya temple group is further attested to by the interior of Bhuvanēśvarī cave wherein carving of devotees and divinities on the side walls of the shrine strongly recall the practice noted in Rājasimha's (followed also in Nandivarman II's) structural temples at Kāñchīpuram, making Bhuvanēśvarī cave shrine thus, coeval with the period from the end of the 7th century to the middle of the 8th century A.D.

The other cave, namely the Umaiyaṇḍār temple on the southern face of the cliff here is, again, interesting in its own count, and is a considerable admixture of early and later carvings, indicated by medieval interplay as well. The temple is a side-facing shrine, within the pillared facade, and its cella had probably a Vṛishabhāntika-ardhanārī carving on its back wall originally, and no *liṅga* on the floor.² The various carvings on the *ardha-maṇḍapa* would be dealt with in the appropriate sections later. But it would suffice to note that the facade pillars are massive and retain the early characteristics, despite their unconventionalised forms. The absence of the *liṅga* proper would make this cave also pertain to the early series in this region. Since it is a single shrine complex, though turned sideways internally, in order to maintain an eastern orientation, it would stylistically belong to the Sevilipatti-Tirumalāpuram

type in Pāṇḍya country and Tirunandikkara in Pāṇḍya-Chēra contact zone, but iconographically would be close to the Tirupparankunṇam main cave of Śiva or to the Piranmamai-Tirumalai type if showing iconic Śiva in sanctum, instead of an iconic *liṅga* is considered.

Stylistic Considerations

In so far as the community of stylistic impacts of art in the lower Tamiḻnadu in the 8th century A.D. are concerned, we find that the following factors are worthy of being taken into account

(1) Notwithstanding the fact that post-Mahēndra period already shows the preparation of the facade (as in the ground *tala* elevation of a structural temple), by showing the cornice moulding and the entablatures above it, almost all the more southern non-Pallava cave temples, dispense with this and show only the natural rock scarp practically untouched. This character, however fits well with the Chālukyan practice and indicates how the rock art of the Pāṇḍyas is not a lineal continuance of the Pallava efforts, but runs on its own stimulus

(2) The pillars, though undoubtedly showing a basic link with the earlier simple model of the Mahēndra Pallava period, are quite free and finite in their experimentation of new forms, as in Lower cave, Tiruchirāppaḷḷi, Kuḍumiyāmalai, Tirumalai etc. Here again Chālukyan analogues are more implicit

(3) The interiors of the cave temple, are much more influenced by the vogues of the typical free-standing structural temples than by the conventional Maṇḍapa type so persistently adhered to in the Pallava period, (the exceptions of which, however, are Daḷavanūr and Tiruchirāppaḷḷi Upper cave). Of these two exceptions perhaps the latter is in the late Mahēndra stage and the former is to be placed in the late Māmallā period, in the second half of the 7th century A.D. and was also perhaps a source of inspiration for the Tiruchirāppaḷḷi Lower cave of the Pāṇḍyas, which should have come within a few decades after it. This also shows how the late Mahēndra and Māmallā times had themselves come under the cultural impact of the political clash with the Chālukyas.

(4) The provision of panels in the *mahā-maṇḍapa* side walls is not known in the early Pallava specimens. In fact, this practice of carving panels all over the side walls right upto the facade is essentially a Chālukya feature and occur in the Pallava cases only in the Māmallā and post-Māmallā times.

(5) The nature of the sanctum, markedly differs in the Pallava and the non-Pallava southern cave temples. The first feature is the absence of Sōṃaskanda or other wall reliefs in the cella. The second is the monolithic presence of the *liṅga-pīṭha* in different forms, square, octagonal and circular, and the presence of a monolithic or detachable *liṅga* which again is more akin to Chālukya usage. The third is the almost invariable projection of the plinth and front wall corners of the sanctum and is an obsession, imitating the contemporaneous structural models providing for paramambulation.

(6) The excavation of large, medium and small cave temples, in the same period, follow the Pallava pattern while the Chālukya pattern generally sticks to a moderate size limit and larger ones, but not smaller ones. Rāshṭrakūṭa usage is, on the other hand, inclined towards producing cave temples of all dimensions without any fixity.

(7) Carvings or subsidiary cave shrines, on the outer rock wall flanks of the main cave temples, are not particularly noticed in the Pallava examples, except when they represent, sometimes, the *dvārapālas*. The Pāṇḍyan examples, however, show Gaṇeśa, Jyēsthā, Viṣṇu, Saptamātṛikas etc., often, outside the cave temple proper, on the outer rock walls. The practice, seen in the Vallam cave temple near Chingleput in the Pallava heartland, with Gaṇeśa and Jyēsthā should, be thus considerable as later and aberrant creation, with reference to the main inscribed cave shrine of Vasan-tēśvaram here.

(8) An almost persistent practice of the projection of the underside of the cornice emphatically beyond the pillar projection in the non-Pallava instances, and the depiction of interior feature of the cornice, like the *koḍuṅgai*, the *valabhi* figures etc. are seen. These are not Pallava characteristics.

(9) The provision of screen walls in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* separation of the inner hall, as well as in the very sanctum unit itself, or alternatively the use of a simple *maṇḍapa* for the sanctum just behind the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, is seen in the non-Pallava examples, including the Pāṇḍya, e.g. Ānamalai Narasimha temple, Malayadipatti Viṣṇu temple, Nāmakal Narasimha temple, following the imperative from Chālukyan traditions.

(10) The comparatively high ceiling of the cave temples in majority of cases in the non-Pallava ones, is suggestive alike of a more assured excavation in granite rock medium, as of a relative nearness in time to structural models.

(11) The location of the cave temple is at all levels of a hill, unlike the general tendency in the Pallava period to keep it close to the foot of the hill. The exceptions to the latter are, however, the Tiruchirāppaḷli Upper cave and the Tirukkalukunṅam cave. In both these cases, the object apparently was the interception of the path leading to the Jain caverns. The non-Pallava caves also are often close to the foot of the hill, but their situation in many cases is unconventional, and is accessible to a degree.

(12) The use of monolithic *nandi*, as a landmark, in alignment with the main sanctum, and placed in the outer hall, is practically unheard of in Pallava cave temples, but quite a common feature in the developed non-Pallava caves. It is to be noted, however, that *nandi* bull, as such, is quite commonly known as independent sculpture as well as in Somaskanda panels, in the Pallava caves. Their application in the non-Pallava category has, thus, merely the additional flavour of an agamic injunction and reflects co-evality with structural examples.

Taking the excavation of rock-cut temples, as a whole, in the entire Tamilnadu (including for our study, as we should, Kerala area, also anciently), we may perhaps be on firm grounds if we place the period of inception of such a mode of temple

creation as around 600 A.D. or soon after. The Pallavas who obviously were the earliest pioneers in this, had been found to have more or less given up this vogue by early 8th century A.D. Since it would be totally inexplicable if cave efforts in south Tamilnadu were started well after the end of such an enterprise by the Pallavas, we should presume a degree of overlapping of these parallel efforts by Pallavas in the north and other dynasties (mainly the Pāṇḍyas) in the south. The dated Pāṇḍya caves as at Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam, Ānamalai etc, would suggest that, in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D., the Pāṇḍyas had not yet totally been weaned away from the rock-cut temple style. The character of the earliest small temples of the structural order attributable to the Pāṇḍyan, on various grounds, found at Ēnādi, Panaṅguḍi, Kāliyapaṭṭi, Vāsālūr etc., would clearly be datable around the middle of the 9th century A.D., even on collateral evidence. In between these two, we have to consider also the Kaḷugumalai monolith which should, rather, be taken as a logical and natural sequel to the proficiency already attained in the rock-cut medium, than as an aberrant and anachronistic enterprise following the inauguration of the structural mode. Much less acceptable would be the place of stone-structural temples well before those on the rock-cut medium. Thus, we would be justified in placing Kaḷugumalai monolith in the period between the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. and the middle of the 9th century A.D., nearer to the former than the latter. The political and cultural impact of Pallava hegemony itself on the southern dynasties would imply that in the third quarter of the 9th century A.D. Pāṇḍyas have already been closely associated with construction of structural temples, in the Chōḷa and even the traditional south Pallava country. Thus, we must give them reasonable time for the various stages of proficiency they would have gained in this direction from the time of their exhibiting a well-modelled form of the double-storeyed Drāviḍa-*vimāna* cut out of live rock at Kaḷugumalai. The fact that the earliest structural temples of the Pāṇḍyas are of octagonal and square *śikhara*, in that order, would suggest that Kaḷugumalai which is of an octagonal *śikhara* would have been part of a viable earlier phase of temple design when the octagonal *śikhara* held the field. All this would seem to help in the circumscription of the incidence of the rock-cut temple mode of the southern dynasties—notably the Pāṇḍyas—almost securely between the c. 675-c. 800 A.D.

A similar yardstick would also be feasible for classifying the cave temples themselves into different stages, and recognising the earliest stage. As elsewhere in the Pallava country, in the Pāṇḍya also, we have to envisage an early and almost coeval stage when either aniconic or rock-cut *liṅga* on square *pīṭha* or statue figure in the sanctum was the vogue. There are, too, a few ancillary features of corroborative character.

(1) If Pāṇḍya caves with aniconic features are not really early, then it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to show why they were so wholly impervious to the later development already noted in the iconography in the north Tamilnadu.

(2) The places where aniconic features exist, the pillar types and iconography are alike more of the earlier formative stage—and notionally nearer to Pallava features as well.

(3) Some of the earliest rock-cut *liṅga* forms in these caves have archaic features, derivable from Western Chālukyan or West coast regions, suggesting a typologically early stage.

(4) From the themes of the iconography again, we seem to note that the *Saptamātrikā* and *Jyēsthā*, with *Gaṇapati*, become a reasonably common feature of most of the Pāṇḍya cave temples. These are not to be noted in the northern Tamiḷnadu under the Pallavas, before the first quarter of the 8th century A.D.

(5) The concept of a common group of a pantheistic nexus (the *śanmatas*) among the Trinity, *Durgā*, *Gaṇēśa* and *Kārtikēya*, noted in many places like *Tiruchirāppaḷḷi*, *Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam* etc. is by and large, a development that should have succeeded the incidence of this practice noticed in the farther northern zones, viz. Pallava as in the *Trimūrti* cave, *Mahābalipuram* and in the *Durgā* cave, *Mogalrājapuram*, (near *Vijayavāḍa*), but by the presence of *Gaṇēśa* in the latter, and absence in the former this is placeable in the post-700 A.D. context.

(6) The magnificent *Anantaśāyī* elaboration, as found at *Tirumayam*, *Malaiyaḍipatti*, *Nāmakkal* etc., are clearly early mid-eighth century phenomena. There are some long distance borrowals visible in architecture which could not but signify contemporaneity of context. These include the knob-like faceting of the triangular corner of the lower and upper *śadurams* found at *Ānamalai* (*Narasimha* cave temple), *Tiruttaṅgal* (*Anantaśāyī* cave temple) etc. which are noted elsewhere only in some of the Eastern Chālukyan caves at *Vijayavāḍa*, *Mogalrājapuram*, *Uṇḍavaḷḷi* and which are datable around the second half of the 8th century A.D. as the outer limit.

(7) There is, further, a consistency about the square *liṅga-pīṭha* in many of the southern Tamiḷnadu cave temples which would suggest a transitional or pre-Rāshṭrakūṭa context in the Deccan and which are succeeded by the circular monolithic *pīṭhas*, as noted in a few more. In fact, the third and the rather rare variety of octagonal *liṅga-pīṭhas* are also extant—perhaps the only ones known in the rock-cut phase of Deccan and south—at *Malayakkōyil* (small western shrine), and at *Melacheri* (*Śikhari-Pallavēśvaram*)³. These on an analogy with octagonal temple *śikharas*, should be placed before the circular *pīṭha* types. But the caves contain inscriptions—the former of the *Kuḍumiyāmalai* type, and thus datable to the first quarter of the 8th century A.D.; while the latter are somewhat earlier and to be placed in the second half of the 7th century A.D.

(8) Again, the presence or absence of *nandi* in monolithic rock in front of the shrine cell or aligned with it, is a diagnostic factor, since the very early cave temple types—whether the Chālukya or the Pallava or even the Pāṇḍya—are usually devoid of any such mount. They would range from 600-750 A.D. all over this vast area, and thus would be essentially an 8th century practice in the cave temples of Tamiḷnadu and even there well after the first quarter of that century.

Added to these, are the independent temples for subsidiary gods like *Subrahmaṇya*, as at *Lāḍankōyil*, *Ānamalai*, and *Kaḷugachalēśvara*, *Kaḷugumalai*, since only when such gods become *svayampradhāna* deities, they are provided with independent temples, and since such a concept does not find currency before the end

of the 8th century A.D., we have seemingly a terminal group of cave temples involving this characteristic.

By these absolute and relative criteria, we are able to separate at least the following caves (in the order stated) as most plausibly forming the earliest among the southern cave temples of Tamilnadu, by a lack of late features, and presence of early ones: Malaiyadiikkuruchchi, Vadikkōṭṭai, Pachchīparai or Chokkampattai (unfinished), Tiruchirāppalli Lower cave; Tiruveḷḷarai (unfinished), Tirupparankunṇam, Kuḍumiyāmalai, Malayakkōyil (small), Tirugōkarnam, Kunnattūr; Kunnakkuḍi (2 caves). These should be placed between the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. to the second quarter of the succeeding century A.D. The characteristic features of these should be analysed now with care.

Of the earliest group, we have to note that two of these, at Malaiyadiikkuruchchi and Vadikkōṭṭai are almost a similar type, while another at Pachchīparai (Chokkampattai) is different and, on existing analogy, more likely to be clubbed with the lower-rock-cut cave, Tiruchirāppalli and Tiruveḷḷarai cave temple, and Tirupparankunṇam main cave. There are, however, certain features which distinguish the Pachchīparai cave from the Tiruchirāppalli Lower cave and Tiruveḷḷarai cave, both of the latter being almost of the same format. The difference consists in the way in which the twin shrines—facing each other—are excavated in the very first bay of the cave facade, whereas at Tiruchirāppalli and Tiruveḷḷarai they are well centred on the side walls, although there are no inner row of pillars in these two caves. This last mentioned character (lack of inner row of pillars) may serve even to accentuate the difference that Pachchīparai presents over the other two, and how in this respect, it is even showing a nearness to Mahēndra's Upper cave at Tiruchirāppalli. Thus, one would not be far wrong if this Pachchīparai cave is taken as an effort that would have preceded the other two early Pāṇḍyā cave temples at Malaiyadiikkuruchchi and Vadikkōṭṭai. The fact that the Pachchīparai cave has a patently Jaina purpose in its shrine carvings is also to be noted. They should have belonged to the early part of the reign of Arikeśari and the renovation of the former two should have been relatable to the latter part of his reign when he had espoused Hinduism back. There are no formidable obstacles to our placing the script of Malaiyadiikkuruchchi record at 650 A.D. or even slightly earlier, in the reign of Arikeśari Māravarman. The double corbel arm upon the side face of which this inscription is engraved, itself shows a considerable nearness to the Chālukyan voluted overlapping corbel type, and, further, none can fail to be impressed by the very controlled and chiselled finish of the corbel, pillars, cornice and cave interior itself. The cave is, further, rather of less-than-medium size.

This cave, besides, being originally for Jaina use, had its sculptural features completely chiselled out when the temple was seemingly converted into Brahmanical usage, which could have happened during the reign of (Kunḍa Pāṇḍya or) Arikeśari Māravarman, in the latter part of his reign, as already stated, thus making the Jaina usage of the temple having continued for nearly three quarters of a century prior to that, in the reign of two successive kings of the Kaṇṇōn line.

Thus, we have an early phase of Pāṇḍya cave art which admits of a time scale of the mid-late-seventh century A.D. (for its Jaina to Hindu metamorphosis). The aniconic character of the sanctum (in its original setting, although at present a portable *liṅga* obtains there) would also be consistent with such an assessment.

In effect, there are three different facets of preservation of cultural tracts, namely, Pachchiparai (Chokkampaṭṭi) where a clearly Jaina rock-cut cave had been fashioned out but left incomplete; Malaiyaḍikkuruchchi where an earlier Jaina use had been altered; and Vadikkōṭṭai where the earliest Brahmanical use is attested to and continued without let or hindrance subsequently. Even today, Vadikkōṭṭai cave shrine has a modest daily worship maintained by the local folk.

The main contribution of Pāṇḍya cave art is two-fold; firstly, the prolific use of the monolithic *liṅga* on *pīṭha* form, in its variations with the square, octagonal and circular *pīṭha*³ and secondly, the iconographic diversification showing Tāṇḍava Śiva (almost invariably *maru kal* and in *chatura* type) (Pl. VII, B), standing Viṣṇu, as Garuḍāntika (Pl. VIII, A) (for which we have early Pallava analogue), Liṅgodbhava Umāsaḥita, not to mention Anantaśāyī and Narasimha. The Varāha and Trivikrama are practically unseen in the Pāṇḍyan examples, except at Malaiyaḍi:paṭṭi (a Muttarayar cave), nor are the other patent Śiva forms like Andhakāri, Kālāri, Tripurāri, Mahēśa or Lakulīśa; Dakṣiṇāmūrti is seen in the monolith at Kaḷugumalai alone. The absence of most of these items would not only tend to show the high regional individuality of the Pāṇḍyan artists and cults, but would also make the caves, have a reasonably early group.

The outstanding *magnum opus* of the early Pallava monolithic carving, in the form of the *rathas*, had also spurred the Pāṇḍya craftsman to an equal mettle, as at Veṭṭuvankōyil, Kaḷugumalai. The fact that Veṭṭuvankōyil follows more the Pallava and early Chālukyan monolithic and structural art respectively, with its lack of *sukanāsa*, rather than the typical Rāṣṭrakūṭa monolithic art of Kailāsa cave would show that its model was perhaps the indigenous Pallava structural shrine, and thus its age itself could not be very much later than the late 8th century A.D., beyond which structural proto-types themselves had undergone a sea-change in Tamil country. It is patent, however, that the sculptural idioms are an entirely different aesthetic plane and pattern of modelling, from those of the Pallavas. This would show how by that time, architectural modelling had become a common pool and sculptural art, individualised regional efforts.

Of the shrines without *liṅga*, the cave temples at Tirumalai and Piranmalai, have some special significance. The former has not only the absence of the *liṅga* but what is perhaps even more notable, namely the presence of Umāsaḥita Śiva in relief on the back wall of the shrine, in place of the *liṅga*. The pedestal for this cella images is of the most non-descript kind consisting of merely a two-stepped platform, the upper one seating the god and his consort, and the lower serving as the foot-rest for both. What is unique about the sculpture itself is that Śiva is holding the right hand of Pārvatī (seated to his left) by his left hand, in the *pāṇigrahaṇa mudrā*, and at the same time, both are shown as seated. It is thus not a Kalyāṇasundaramūrti,

nor even the *āliṅgana* Chandrasēkharamūrti, on purely textual basis. It is, nonetheless, an Umāśahita *sukhāśīnamūrti*. It is locally known as the Mīnākshisundarēśvara. The only other divinity shown in the cave is the relief panel found on the central part of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* south wall of Subrahmaṇya accompanied by two *gaṇa* attendants, one of them holding the parasol over his head, reared on a pedestal or plinth of its own complete upto the *kapōṭa* on top. The nature of the cock banner and peacock and ram shown at the base of the plinth recall the Lādankōyil cave at Ānamalai (Pl. VIII, C) where the shrine cell is showing Subrahmaṇya seated with Valli, almost in the same pose, but not clasping each other's hands. The layout of the Tirumalai cave, on the other hand, is akin to Malaiyaḍipatti and Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi, and an interesting concordance between Tirumalai and Malaiyaḍipatti is the panel carving found in *ardha-maṇḍapa* wall opposite to the shrine in the latter, of Śiva with Pārvati (and Skanda), though not again clasping one another's hand. The idea of showing Kalyāṇasundara in the shrine cell and Subrahmaṇya, their son, already in the *ardha-maṇḍapa* at Tirumalai, might be rather queer, if one is to be construed as the originator of the other. It is perhaps better to call the image Umāmahēśvara, and the raised hands probably recall the Akshakṛīḍamūrti panels at Ellōra. The highly unconventional type of pillars in the Tirumalai cave, not having any analogues anywhere would also seem to make it somewhat a typical and if Lādankōyil could be dated to the period just subsequent to the Narasimha cave at Ānamalai, we may place Tirumalai also on its layout and iconic details, in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D.

The two caves at Malaiyaḍipatti and Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi would also not be far removed in time, although they would be earlier to Tirumalai. Of the two again, it would seem that Malaiyaḍipatti cave would be relatively earlier to that of Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi. Malaiyaḍipatti has, despite its circular sectioned *liṅga-pīṭha*, similar to that of the latter (Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi), a well defined high plinth similar to that of Tirumalai, and a regular longitudinal axis along the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and has the facade entrance not disturbing its internal layout. The Liṅgōdbhava (incomplete) roughed out at Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi⁴ (on the north wall exterior of the *liṅga* sanctum) would have followed the Liṅgōdbhava at Kunnakkuḍi⁵ eastern cave, and would be slightly earlier to the more conventional and perhaps relatively more evolved cave of Tirumayam, with *nandi*, thus forging another link in the chain of such caves with monolithic *nandi*, longitudinal layout, and circular *liṅga-pīṭha*, whereas the square type of *liṅga-pīṭha*, as at Tirumalāpuram, would be relatively earlier.

Thus, if Tirumalai and Piranmalai, Lādankōyil may be placed in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D., Kunnakkuḍi, Malaiyaḍipatti, Tirumalāpuram, Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi, Malayakkōyil, Tirumayam, Piranmalai, and Tirumalai and Lādankōyil will be a series of earlier caves, approximately in the above order, and perhaps having an interval of say 5 to 10 years between each two, thus making the first mentioned datable probably in the first decade of the 8th century A.D. This would tend to take the caves like Tiruveḷḷarai and Tiruchirāpaḷi Lower cave, in the last two decades of the 7th century A.D. perhaps thus placing Malaiyaḍikkuruchchi cave in 670 A.D. which are indeed the terminal decades of Māraṇ Sēndan, the Pāṇḍya king

mentioned in the foundation inscription there. Even on the basis of the temporal evolution and diffusion, the rock-cut cave series of the Pāṇḍya country would certainly have entailed the effort of a century of labour under ideal and leisurely circumstances; and if Ānamalai and Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam records of 770 A.D. and 773 A.D. are a firm posterior limit before Kaḷugumalai monolithic and the advent of the early structural temples in the Pāṇḍya empire, this would have meant that the inception of the rock-art in this region could not but be coeval with the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. at the latest.

Piranmalai Śiva cave temple, again, along with the Tirumalai cave, would stand unique, in another sense, for showing in the cella Śiva-Pārvati relief figures on back wall, instead of *liṅga*. But Piranmalai is of a simpler kind with a less evolved frontal unit, and with a rectangular shrine chamber, female door keepers, and with Śiva-Pārvati in a more natural and intimate *sukhāśīna* posture and of larger sculptural dimensions than at Tirumalai. The *ardha-maṇḍapa* at Piranmalai is hardly more than a narrow transversely rectangular corridor, of the same width as that of the cella, and of depth even less than its cella counterpart. The corresponding niche at Tirumalai is occupied by two small *bhūtagaṇas* and while the floor of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* in the latter place is much lower than that of the cella, in the former place, the cella and the *ardha-maṇḍapa* have both more or less the same level, and the facade is occupied by a simple framework of lintel, sill and *vajana*, all around the rectangular face of the excavated rock, not very much unlike that of Pushpavanēśvara cave at Pūvalakkuḍi. Thus, it is indeed much less sophisticated and conventionalised than Tirumalai although being a smaller cave, it is liable to be deemed as a degenerate example or rock-art. The cella relief figures, however, convey a contrary trend, namely that of an archaic mode of representation of the main object of worship. We have the synchronism of Sambandha the Śaivaite saint who has sung about this place (Piranmalai). In view of the admittedly Śaivaite character of the cave shrine, it is very reasonable to take it as of the succeeding stage after those caves which have double shrine and Trinity affiliation. Since, however, Tirumalai temple shows many developed features in its type, apart from the nexus it seems to have with Lāṇḍankōyil cave, by its Subrahmaṇya sculpture, we would be tempted to assign it to the third quarter of the 8th century A.D. and if so, we may perhaps consider Piranmalai itself as liable to be placed in the second quarter of the 8th century A.D. The dimension of the Piranmalai cave, however, is of the medium size order, and would be midway between larger caves and the smallest single called caves like Dēvarmalai, Pūvalakkuḍi etc. At the same time, its not showing the ritual features like *praṇāḷa* etc. would seem to make it rather early, since *liṅga*, once established, is such a fixed and unshakable feature in a Śiva shrine. The *dvārapālakas* recall corresponding ones in Māmaliapuram and Mogalrājapuram.

Tirukkālakkuḍi temple is again one of those shrines which has the monolithic *nandi*, *Saptamātṛikas* and *Gaṇēśa* in proper association, and withal, has a front-facing temple orientation. The pillar style is rather archaic, with *taraṅga* type for the facade, and plain type for the inner row of pillars. It has besides the *makara pañjara*

over the door frame, and has no *dvārapālas*. It has the projecting rectangular shrine front, borne on four pilasters, all of the same plain type, with out differentiated corbels even. This cave has a special type of deep front court from which it would have been originally approached with flight of steps towards the shrine as also across the court in front of it to a level rock surface. All these, notwithstanding the peculiar arrangement of the *kapōta* of the facade which has a simple solid curved form above the pillar but after a *kaṇṭha* again curves forward and disappears under the structural accretions which have come in front of it, seem to show that the cave has not yet got conventionalised in its layout, and indeed the placement of *nandi* in the *maha-maṇḍapa* facing the shrine which is also in line with cave front, is itself a conservative trend. It has also an inter-linked character with the sculptured figures⁶ shown on its side walls, with those of *Vīraśikhāmaṇi* in the Pāṇḍya country and elsewhere at Kunnandar-kōyil in the Muttarayar tract, and Kaviyūr cave in Kerala. If Tirumayam Śiva cave was later to the Viṣṇu cave, as it seems to be, and if the latter is of Tirumaṅgai period and earlier, as is well known by his hymns (*Tirumeyyattadavarayul*, *Tirumeyya Malayāḷa* etc.), and if the monolithic *nandi*, side-facing shrine and Liṅgodbhava sculpture are all features which cannot be earlier than the very beginning of the 8th century A.D., coterminous with Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha's time in Toṇḍaināḍ, we may perhaps place Tirukkālakkuḍi which is earlier, in architectural layout trends, to Tirumayam, in the first quarter of the 8th century A.D.

An interesting feature of the general run of Pāṇḍyan and other caves is the preponderance of Śaivaite shrines and of relatively fewer Viṣṇu shrines. We have of the latter only at Tiruttaṅgal, and at Ānamalai. Of the rest Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi Viṣṇu cave is apparently a Muttarayar excavation, Nāmakkal Vaishṇava caves are Atiyamān enterprises. Even more significant is the fact that often Viṣṇu cave temples and Śaivaite excavations exist side by side, and apparently erected in conscious co-existence. There are three such places, Ānamalai, Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi and Tirumayam. The Śaivaite excavations, in most of the cases where they occur close by Viṣṇu caves, are the earlier of the two, and latter had been the result of patronage to Vaishṇavaite gods, at state level, as in the case of the Narasimha temple at Ānamalai erected by Marankari, the Uttaramantrin of Pāṇḍya Jaṭila Parāntaka Neduñjaḍaiyan or Mārañjaḍaiyan, and a native of Karavandhapura (the modern Ukkirāṅkōṭṭai in Tirunelveli District). This was perhaps considerably activated by the rise of canonical Vaishṇavism itself, as indicated by the birth of Nammāḷvār of Māran Śaṭhaḡōpa (also called Kari Māran), the saint from Kurukūr (in Tirunelveli District), around this period. Of the contiguous area, it can be said that the Atiyamān kings like Guṇaśīla, with capital perhaps at Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri), had been devotees of Viṣṇu as evidenced by his Atiyamān Viṣṇugriham at Nāmakkal, and the earlier Pāṇḍya predilection for cave excavations would have inspired considerably the Atiyamān achievements, facilitated by mutual impacts in peace and war, as for instance in the time of Māravarmān Rājasimha (740-65) who, in the battle of Veṅbai, is said to have rolled out at one stroke the might of the Chālukyas, Gaṅgas on the western and northern flanks nearer home, Pallavas and Chōḷas, in many battles and earned also the title *Pallavabhāṇa*. His son Mārañjaḍaiyan Varaguṇa (765-815) actually put

the Atiyamān of Tagaḍūr to flight, when the latter joined issues with the Pāṇḍya king, in league with Nandivarman Pallavamalla, perhaps as a recrudescence of the supremacy of the Pāṇḍyas, even in the earlier reign of Māravarman Rājasimha, over the Chēra, Atiyamān and Koṅgu areas. In the matter of religious impacts and art-expansion, this period of Pāṇḍya Rājasimha I Varaguṇa served to draw out and synthesise the trends prevailing in the Pallava, Atiyamān and Muttarayar tracts further north, and was perhaps the most eventful period of Pāṇḍya cave architecture after its polyglot earlier stages showing much of cult heterogeneity.

Another way by which we may arrive at the relative sequence of some of the Vaishṇava caves of the Pāṇḍya country would be by comparison with their compeers elsewhere. Outside the Pāṇḍya Muttarayar group, we have three instances of Vaishṇavaite Anantaśāyi cave sculpture. They are at Nāmakkal, Siṅgāvaram and Māmalla-puram (Mahishamardini-maṇḍapa). It would immediately be conceded that the last mentioned is the earliest, and datable to the fifties and sixties of the 7th century A.D. The Siṅgāvaram specimen with its evolved group has to be further compared to be Melacheri Śiva shrine for architectural particulars and would suggest perhaps a relatively later date, say, of the close of the seventh century A.D. Nāmakkal cave on the other hand, would clearly be even later and should, on other historical grounds and epigraphical evidence, be placed in the second quarter of the 8th century A.D. As between Nāmakkal, Tirumayam and Malaiyaḍipatti, there is considerable similarity, in the depiction of Daksha and in the complete character of the group composition. Thus, Tirumayam was apparently fashioned after Nāmakkal followed by Malaiyaḍipatti. The Raṅganātha specimen, however, of Malaiyaḍipatti is more conventionalised and less elemental than that of Tirumayam, or Nāmakkal, while the example at Tiruttaṅgal is certainly a stylised and perhaps an aberrant Abhichara variety of the type and should be placed last of the series. It would be useful to compare here the main Anantaśāyi at Śrīvilliputtūr in the Vāṭapatraśāyi temple also, which, though of *sudhā* and often with painted figures around and in the raised upper *bhūmi* of the *tala*, should be one of the earliest among the evolved Anantaśāyi, conforming to the Āgama prescription. It is feasible to place it in the first half of the 9th century A.D.

The Chera Idiom

It has to be noted that the urge to excavate temples in rock that followed the pioneering early efforts of the Pallavas in the deep south, was expressed almost contemporaneously in the Chēra, Pāṇḍya (its most influential neighbour), Muttarayar and Atiyamān zones and thus there is no lineal sequence in these efforts but rather a coeval character. It was, however, not co-terminous, because the political and the geographical factors of each of these regions was somewhat dissimilar. In this, the Chēra tract was particularly typical, owing to the semi-isolated location of the tract. All the same, the passes in the western ghats, to some extent, neutralised this isolation. The characteristics of the Chēra cave art (by which term we take all the cave temples to be found in the traditional Chēra and Vēṇāḍ country now being called Kerala, excluding Kanyakumari District) reacted to the art exercises going on

in the main-land and even in the Chālukya and Rāshtrakūṭa-controlled Deccan, of the 8th, 10th century A.D., to varying degrees and, on the whole, one fact is the absence of any cohesive pattern nor display of unified technical or aesthetic norm or standard. We do note certain local mannerisms, but these have not become crystallised into any typically local milieu, with the result that we are left to compare them directly with the art-processes then simultaneously afoot in the adjacent zones, across and over the western ghats, for useful correlative assessment. As in the Tamil country, the Chēra craftsmen also became familiar with the cutting of granitic rock, although they have chosen in some instances, poorer grades of gneissic granite formations. Whenever the last mentioned had been chosen, as at Irunilamchode (Trichur District) or Trikkūr (Ernakulam District) or Viliñjam (Trivandrum District), it is obvious that it was not due to any preference for the raw material, but rather due to the inherent geographical or historical importance of the locality in the region.

In the Chēra country, we may perhaps have to take the northernmost group, of cave temples as having received the direct links with the Deccani craft-traditions. To some extent, this is well sustained by the most important monument in this group, namely, the cave temple at Trikkūr (Ernakulam District). Here, aside of other details which would be touched up on later, the most significant feature the presence of a detachable *liṅga* on a monolithic square *liṅga-pīṭha*. As we know this had been a feature essentially seen in the early Western Chālukyan stage, and followed also in the Rāshtrakūṭa times, though by that time, the *liṅga-pīṭha* had become irrevocably circular-sectioned. In the Tamil country, the Pallavas were never in favour of a *liṅga* and a *pīṭha* till the time of Rājasimha and after that period, it became a portable unit, alike in the *liṅga* as in the *pīṭha*. The Pāṇḍya-Muttarayar cave temples almost invariably preferred a monolithic *liṅga* cum *pīṭha* notwithstanding the range of shape of their *pīṭhas*. Thus, we are left with almost a solitary instance of a monolithic *pīṭha* with detachable *liṅga* at Trikkūr, which would, thus, typologically be unique and directly derivable from the early Chālukyan usage, making Trikkūr cave perhaps the earliest of the Chēra series and ascribable to the early 8th century A.D., at the latest but probably earlier. Its other features are as individualistic as its *liṅga*. For example, it has *dvārapālas* in almost more than three-quarter relief on the side walls of the cella proper and not on the outer wall of the cella flanking the doorway. The spacious square cella itself which is as wide as the outer corridor is entered not through a regular doorway but by a pillared facade with three bays, with the pillars having a *taraṅga* corbel of the voluted Chālukya-type. Further, a Gaṇeśa sculpture is found on the north-west part of the west wall of the cella. These make this cave rather unique, and of the *maṇḍapa* type, with the *liṅga*, in the dead-centre of the shrine. Another uniqueness is that, since the cave is facing north, its *liṅga-pīṭha* is so arranged with reference to its water chute projection as to make the *liṅga* face east—the conventional direction.

Another example in this northern group at Irunilamchode (Talappalli Taluk, Trichur District), is distinguished by features which make it related to the later stage of structural architecture in the main land of Tamilnadu (Pl. VIII, B). The arrangement

of the shrine cells, however, is somewhat recalling a variant Pāṇḍya usage but not as elaborate as that. There are only three deities in this, namely, *liṅga* (standing for Śiva), Viṣṇu and Dakṣiṇāmūrti. The former two are facing each other and at right angles to the orientation of the cave temple, with the third divinity in the panel carving on the back (north) wall. There is no doubt that this arrangement simply indicates that the traditional placement of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti on the southern wall of a structural Śiva temple and the Viṣṇu figure on the western wall niche. The Dakṣiṇāmūrti figure itself is most unconventional (Pl. X, A), and very favourably recalls the free and unfettered sculptural idiom of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti and other carvings noted in the 'Veṭṭuvankōyil' monolithic at Kaḷugumalai which should be placed around the very end of the 8th century A.D. The *liṅga* in the shrine further has not been shown on any clear *pīṭha*, perhaps deliberately. This example would thus be quite unlike Trikkūr in age and quality.

The third unfinished cave at Branthanpara or Branthankal near Tiruvegappura (in Palghat District) is notable on two counts, firstly for showing the technique of scooping out rocks for cave, following the Pallava method and secondly for its providing for the square and rectangular outer sub-shrines niches seemingly for Gaṇeśa and Saptamātṛikas—a link being forged here with Pāṇḍya cave groups at Tirukkālakkuḍi etc.

The central Kerala group which should comprise Kaviyūr (Tiruvallam Taluk), Koṭṭukkal near Ittiva village and Ailūrpara, (or Airūrpara or Madavūrpara) all north of Trivandrum are again mutually dissimilar and disparate, but individually implying strong Pāṇḍya influence except in one or two factors. These are (i) the continuance of the variant *ārśa* type of *liṅga*, with broad base and tapering body, found in the early periods, but here in the monolithic *liṅga-cum-pīṭha* form (ii) Presence of pure dry masonry multiple-part *liṅga-pīṭha* and apparently a detachable *liṅga* in the cella. This would not be a Pāṇḍya influence where it is unheard of. On the other hand, it was common both in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Eastern Chālukyan country, in the second half of the 8th century A.D. It would have been, in any case, later to the monolithic *liṅga-cum-pīṭha*, typologically, and would be nearer the Āgama period when truly detachable *liṅgas* and *pīṭhas* were mandatory for purposes of effective consecration. When the monolithic *liṅga-cum-pīṭha* is itself found of a size larger than the cella door, its initiation in portable parts should necessarily have been of a composite character in order to permit the parts to be taken, without being titled, into the shrine chamber. This composite type continues to be found further also, as at Tirunandikkara, and is thus an evolved type. At Kaviyūr, it is clear from the sculptures on the side walls of the *ardha-mandapa* that the shrine is a conventionalised successor to the Pāṇḍya norm of this type, even in the portrait-like carving of an ascetic recalling such usages clearly seen in the Pāṇḍya country at Viraśikhāmaṇi, Tirukkālakkuḍi, Tirumayam (Śiva shrine), Kunnandarkōyil *dvārapāla* etc. Thus, notwithstanding the individualistic mode of the composite *liṅga* and *pīṭha* in the Chēra zone, its basic affiliation appear to be traceable to the Pāṇḍya zone. The provision of a separate pedestal for the niche sculptures, apart from the plinth already

supplied on the wall, would also perhaps show an evolved stage, relatively to their originals elsewhere. This is equally well borne out also by the elaborate rafter, arrangement noted on the facade as at Ailūrpara.

The Koṭṭukal type is outstanding for forging a very persuasive link with the Pāṇḍya counterpart as at the Kunnattūr group⁷ of caves near Madurai, by the presence of a Hanumān (to be equated with Nandi) *dvārapāla* (Pl. X, B), on the outer flanks of the door-frame, notwithstanding the square *liṅga-pīṭha* in the cella there, unlike the circular *liṅga-cum-pīṭha* of monolithic character here at Koṭṭukal. Together with the corbel type which is of a simple bevel shape this would perhaps make the temple belong to the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. Its monolithic *nandi* also adds to its nexus with the Pāṇḍyan norm.

Another feature that links the Chēra with the prevailing Pāṇḍya usages in sculpture, is the disposition of the *dvārapālas*, particularly in the middle and southern groups, and the inclusion of Viṣṇu with Gaṇēśa in the niche carvings of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* or on their outer walls. The two instances where *dvārapālas* are in evidence, namely Kaviyūr and Ailūrpara, show them in dissimilar stances, a feature more characteristic of the Pāṇḍya than of the Pallava specimens, which latter almost invariably tend to be essentially symmetrical in their stances. Of course, at Trikkūr in the northern group, the *dvārapālas* are more or less symmetric, but as we have explained, this cave is different from all other Chēra examples, and is not only non-Pāṇḍya in influence, but closer to Chālukya usages.

The presence of Viṣṇu opposite to Gaṇēśa is noticed at Ailūrpara. This recalls the Pāṇḍya examples at Sevilippaṭṭi, Tirumalāpuram, Vīraśikhāmaṇi (where it is on separate outer niches) etc.

The southern-most group is almost unashamedly and indisputably Pāṇḍya in character and justifiably so. The square monolithic *liṅga-cum-pīṭha* to be seen at Bhūtapaṇḍi (now in Tamilnadu), the *taraṅgapōtikai* with volute at the angle and with median band also here (without any pilaster below it as is also found in early Pāṇḍya structural phase) the sideward turned shrine asymmetrically placed, as at Tirunandikara (now part of Tamilnadu), strongly recalling corresponding examples in the Pāṇḍya country; the almost featureless niche-cave at Viḷiñjam, notable only for its carvings of Pāśupata-dānamūrti on the exterior face, displaying affinity in its vigour and verve with Kaḷugumalai monolithic on the one hand, would all be integral with the Pāṇḍya cave enterprises and would, on the other, not call for an explanation at all, if we consider its integral character with the tip of the Pāṇḍya country.

Having said all this, we should not fail to note that the key-note of the entire Chēra cave temple group is its variability, a heterogeneity, and originality which had perhaps been shaped much by their conditioned isolation from the main land.

Notes and References

1. The Kāram ruined apsidal temple itself has perhaps been erected essentially in this period, but even then is not a finite accomplishment in structural architectural evolution; but more an aberrant creation in box-type of wall constituents with brick core and brick and tile roof.

2. Its internal evidence is sometimes taken to indicate that originally there was a Jaina figure in the sanctum and not a Śiva figure, as above, and if so, it would most likely be ascribable to the Malaiyaḍikkurichchi type and others, datable at least to the close of the 7th century A.D. or early 8th century A.D., where similar chiselling off, has been noticed, on the original wall carvings.
3. Structural analogues to this in Tamilnadu are found only in the second half of the 9th century A.D. as at Viṭṭalēvara temple at Velakanampuḍi near Tiruttani—a later Pallava, Bāṇa temple.
4. Piḷḷayārpatti cave temple has a brief Vaṭṭeḷuttu record '*Erukatturukon-Perumparanan*' which should be dated only around 700 A.D.
5. One of the pillars of Kunnakuḍi middle cave temple has a label record '*Masilicheram*' datable to c. 700 A.D.
6. These sculptures are considered by some as portraits. Cf. T. G. Aravamudhan: *Portrait sculptures of South India*.
7. It recalls the famous verse in *Sundarakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyaṇa* where Rāvana suspects if Hanumān was, after all, a re-appearance of Nandi—slighted by him once.

ARCHITECTURE AND ART UNDER THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANA*

ESWAR N. KATKAR

THE EPOCH OF THE CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYĀNA covers two and a quarter centuries from 973 to 1198 A.D. In the cultural history of India this period witnessed unprecedented activity in temple building. The inscriptions of the later Chālukyas which are the highest in number for any ruling dynasty in the whole of India, mention thousands of temples. Though many of them are badly damaged by the ravages of time and the vandalism of man, there are upwards of 200 temples, big and small, spread over an extensive area of 800 km. north-south and 550 km east-west from Araḷaguppe in Tumkur District (latitude 13° 5'N) to Kōḍi in Aurangabad District (latitude 20° 30'N), from Kolhapur (longitude 74° 10'E) to Panagal in Nalgonda District (longitude 79° 15'E) in the present states of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa inherited great traditions and faced greater challenges in the field of art. They had the Bādāmi caves and the temples of Aihole, Paṭṭadakal and Alampur as the life-giving roots, the Kailāsa of Ellōra, the ultimate in living rock architecture as their inspiration and none other than the Chōḷas who 'conceived like giants and finished like jewellers' as their rivals.

The religious conditions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries reveal a strange mixture of apparent religious catholicity on the one hand and subtle rivalries on the other. Buddhism did not achieve the same prominence as Jainism. There are very few Buddhist art vestiges of this period. But the Tārā Bhagavatī (Pl. IX, A) from Baḷḷigāve is sufficient to speak of their excellence. Jainism spearheaded by the Yāpanīyas secured the patronage of the Chālukya kings who had leanings towards agamic Hindu religion. The uncompromising canons of Jaina iconography allowing no special attributes or the multiplication of arms to the images of the *īrthanīkaras*, brought the Yakshi cult to the forefront. But for the 'puppet-like rigidity, primitive bareness, perfectly cold, aloof and immobile' *īrthanīkaras*, like the Ādinātha from the Anantanātha-basadi, Lakshmēśvar, several finer examples of Yakshis seem to have been lost.

This period recorded the ascent of Śaivism with the Pāśupatas and the Kālā-mukhas taking the lead. Highlighting the ideal of '*śiṣṭa parigraha* and *dushṭa nigrāha*'—protection of the good and suppression of the evil, twelve *samhāra* (destroying) and six *anugraha* (boon-bestowing) forms of Śiva with twenty four miscellaneous forms were enunciated by the different Āgamas. Vaiṣṇavism, not to be left behind formulated the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu and by an interchange of the four main attributes, the conch, the disc, the mace and the lotus of Viṣṇu obtained for their followers the *chaturvīṃśati-mūrtis*, the twenty four forms of Kēśava. The icon of

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Vishṇu could be *sthānaka* (standing), *āsana* (seated) or *śayana* (recumbent). Twenty one minor forms of Vishṇu were also evolved.

Primitive magic, highly evolved spiritual ideals and also tribal magico-religious beliefs and rites in the *Tantras*, brought Śaktism of the Śaiva Kāpālikas to the forefront. The adoration of the sex organs and the cult of *Kumāri-pūja* of this period are attested to, by several icons of *nagna-kabandha* or *lajjā-gauris* (Pl. IX, B) such as we have in the museum at Alampur and the Archaeological office at Bādāmi.

Most of the temples of the period were of the *pañchāyatana* class. Provision was made for the worship of Śiva, Vishṇu, Gaṇeśa, Durga and Sūrya in one and the same place. The Saptamātṛikas, Sarasvati and Kārtikēya also found their prominence in these temples. They have depicted several minor divinities and the many facets of the life of the people to absorb the abundant resources of the kings, nobles and merchants who bore the cost of these temples, to cater to the keen religious zeal of the people and to match the almost insatiable energies of the builders and carvers.

Historically, architecture has been the most vivid record of human achievement throughout the ages. Since the 'square is the perfect shape', the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa made the right lines and the right angles their natural choice. Owing to some prejudices of early European writers, their temples as also of the Hoysālas have been classified as belonging to Vēśara style of architecture. But as many as seven Āgamas, three *Saṁhitas* and five *Śilpaśāstras* are unanimous when they say '*bhaumādi stūpi-paryantam yugāśram Nāgaram bhavēti*'¹ i.e. the building which is square from base to the *stūpi* is Nāgara. Rightly speaking, these temples belong to the Nāgara style of architecture having their genesis in the now extinct wooden architecture of the Kadambas of Banavāsī area. They could be called *Chālukya Nāgara*, just like the *Rēkhā Nāgara* of the north and the *Kaṭiṅga Nāgara* of the east. Better still, they may be classified as the Kalyāṇa Chālukya Style of architecture.

The builders favoured a change in the building material from the red sandstone to a greenish or bluish-black chloritic schist which is more tractable under the chisel, eminently suited for fine carving, the main characteristic of this school of art. The smallness of the blocks which could be quarried in one piece and the invariable practice of having one monolithic shaft for the pillars from the base to the neck as also the lessened crushing capacity of this kind of stone when compared with the more robust sandstone resulted in the diminution of the total height of the temples. While the tallest of the early Chālukya temples, the Virupāksha temple, Paṭṭadakal, built of sandstone stands to a height of 58', the tallest of the Kalyāṇa Chālukya temples, the Brahma-jinālaya of Lakkundi, in spite of the two-storey superstructure measures only 42' in height. This loss in the loftiness of the building has been more than made up by the pliability of the material resulting in unprecedented intricacy and artistic finish reaching out for the minutest of details, till architecture became 'not an art of building but of carving'—not of stone but ivory carving and the technique 'reminding one more of lace making than of building' as in the facade of the Śaṅkha-basadi, Lakshmeśvar (Pl. IX, C) which was added in the later Chālukya times.

A very special feature of this school of architecture is the adoption of miniature temple models for the decorative treatment of the wall surfaces. There are hundreds of examples to show how the simple beginnings at the Jaina temple, Paṭṭadakal and the Kallēśvara temple of Kuknūr, were developed into varitable museums of traditional temple styles making the walls 'more articulate, expressive and interesting'. In these fine models, they have appreciated art forms from Khajuraho (Chandēla), Bhuvanēśvar (Eastern Gaṅga) and Śrīnivāsanallūr (Early Chōḷa). They have provided inspiration for Jagōda, Gīrnār, Vijayanagara and even for such late shrines as the Subrahmanya temple in Tanjore. These decorative *śikhara*s speak of not only their versatility as builders but of their broadmindedness in appreciating art forms irrespective of the regions of origin. By way of example, one of the decorative niches which shows the ultimate development of the circular shape in the Mallikārjuna temple, Kuruvatti (Pl. X, C) could be noticed.

The temples of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa have achieved a dual play of light and shadow across, up and down the building, as against the vertical light-ribbons of the northern temples and the horizontal lightening of the Drāviḍa temples. This play of light was achieved by a clever innovation of adopting pilasters resulting in recesses which provided additional space for decorative sculpture and at the same time protected them from the effects of the scorching summer sun and the lashing monsoon rain. Thus in these indentations are several sculptures like the belle from the Mahādēva temple, Nārāyaṇapura (Pl. X, D) in the same fresh condition as she was on the day she left the hands of her sculptor, a thousand years ago. There are several such feminine beauties testifying to the fact that the Chālukyas unlike their contemporaries the Chōḷas, freely utilised feminine form for the decoration of their temples.

Starting with the simple plan of a single-celled and single-doored shrine, the Chālukya temple passed through a process of evolution in becoming multiple-shrined and the addition of halls till it reached the full maturity of the *garbhagriha* (sanctum), *ardha-maṇṭapa* (connecting hall), *mahā-maṇṭapa* (great pillared hall) and the *Nandi-maṇṭapa* (the pavilion for the divine bull) as in the Tārakēśvara temple, Hānagal (Pl. IX, D). As in plan, so in the side elevation, the builders sought greater aesthetic satisfaction and reached the full elegance as seen in the Siddēśvara temple, Hāvēri (Pl. IX, B).

The spacious halls were meant for the assembly of the devotees for religious discourses and for witnessing dance and drama performed in honour of the deity. By way of seating arrangement, all along the border lines of the halls, raised bench-like stone seating with back-rests had been provided. The space was broad enough for the Indian style of squatting crosslegged. The central part of the floor was slightly raised with a circular dais meant for music and dance performances. The general view of these halls with rows of neatly polished mirror-like pillars is very pleasing to the eye. These pillars were another aspect of architecture that the Chālukyas gave a good deal of attention to. The early pillars have more of the square and the Rāshtrakūṭa *kumbha-stambha*, the pillars with the motifs of pitchers, were continued for some time,

mostly for those pillars outside the *maṇḍapas*. There are examples at Nāgai to show how the sculptor, toying with the idea of the vase-based wooden pillar models of the earlier periods, hit upon the idea of the pillar consisting of four inverted pots piled one upon the other; then, reducing the posts to just one, created the famous bell-shaped turned pillar. Further, the pillars were left with dull finish having a beauty of their own and some times polished to a very high degree till they glitter. In the Kallēśvara temple, Bāgaḷi, there are 52 pillars in the *mahā-maṇḍapa* all in different shapes—no two of them exactly alike. If the main shafts of the pillars in the Sarasvati temple, Gadag, (Pl. XI, C) have miniature shrines, tiny pilasters, panels containing Lilliputian gods, goodesses and attendants, rampant lions and a host of other detail, the bottom of several other pillars in other temples and the capitals above them, hold out many pleasant surprises for one who has the leisure and the curiosity to examine them closely.

The ceilings of the *maṇḍapas* with the main dome in the centre and several small domes around provided a challenge to the Chālukya builders who have met it by displaying their skill in civil engineering. In keeping with the principle of leaving no stone uncarved, they created several ceilings which would call the finesse of filigree work into question. The detail of carving as in the Vēṇugōpāla temple, Māgaḷa (Pl. XI, A) stuns the observer. Of the circular and cusped ceilings, they had mastered ever bigger diameters from the 6' of Māgaḷa, to the 9' in the Kaṭabhēśvara temple, Kupaṭūr, the 18' of the Kamala-basadi of Belgaum and to the ultimate limits of 21' in the Tārakēśvara temple, Hānagal, where of all other places, one would recall the friendly advice of Karant² that one should lie down on one's back and get a leisurely and full view of these ceilings.

The development of the plan noted above, brought forth the need for several door-frames in each temple. These door-frames had to be in keeping with the standards of the other parts of the temple. There are very fine examples of the highly moulded door-frames profusely carved. It is not uncommon to find perforated stone grills on either side of these door-frames, as in the Chandramauḷīśvara temple, Uṇakal (Pl. XII, A).

There are examples to show that temples developed into complexes in keeping with the anthropomorphic worship of gods. The Trikūṭēśvara temple, Gadag, Kallēśvara temple, Bāgaḷi and the Sōmēśvara temple, Lakshmēśvar heralded the elaborate temple complexes of the Vijayanagara period.

Like all Indian sculpture, those of this school also fall into three categories of *chitra* (high relief), *ardha-chitra* (middle relief) and *chitrābhāsa* (low or bas-relief). They come between the Mannerist and the Baroque art movements in the Indian context. Simplicity and vigour yielded place to ornamentation and rigidity in these sculptures. The strict regulations of the Āgamas forced the sculptors to create, not so much the works of art but religious icons. They had to be within the strict framework of *tālamāna*, the sixfold measurements of measurement, *pramāṇa*, *parimāṇa*, *lambamāna*, *unmāna* and *upamāna* which ensured symmetry but took away the spark of life and vitality. Yet these sculptures are not so overloaded with ornaments that

Karant rightly remarks⁴ of the later sculpture, 'the different parts of the human body become mere pegs to hang ornaments from'. And Fabri laments⁵ about a *dvārapālaki* in the Haḷēbīḍ temple: 'The belt completely hides her waist and thighs, necklaces cover her breasts and the crown that this attendant girl, this maid-in-waiting carried on her head would be too large even for an emperor of half the inhabited earth'. In the Chālukya sculptures, the loveliness of the human body, the serenity of the face, the sensuous curves of the female form are clearly visible as testified by the few examples noticed below.

Among the Hindu sculptures, those depicting Śiva are the most numerous. While the *mukhalliṅga* lying abandoned in the fields of Baḷḷigāve records the facial serenity, the recently excavated fragmentary *tōraṇa* with Umāmahēśvara in Jalasaṅgi (Pl. XII, B) stands for dignity. Of the several icons of Viṣṇu, the first of the *chaturvīṃśati-mūrtis*, Kēśava, has been depicted more often. Of the several *Śeṣhaśāyis*, the one in the fort at Basavakalyāṇa (Pl. XII, D) has the speciality of the *daśāvātāras* carved in a line above. There are several fine icons of Saptamātrikas, individual as well as in panels, Mahishamardiani, Sarasvati, Sūrya, Gaṇēśa, Kārtikēya, *dikpālas*, *dvārapālas* and that even such minor divinities as Garuḍa and Nāga-nāgiṇis were as painstakingly sculptured as the major icons, is attested to in the Garuḍa and the Nāga-nāgiṇi (Pl. XII, C) again from the fort at Basavakalyāṇa. The sculptural belles were most lovingly produced by the sculptors who were men of the world naturally attracted to the well developed and charming plumpness of the female body with its swelling surface soft to the touch. There are several fine examples to show that the sculptors used the rules of measurement most intelligently to enhance the beauty of these fine women of their choice.

No discussion of the art of this period is complete without a reference to the art-content of the memorial stones which too are a special trait of Karnataka. There are several hero-stones and sati-stones commemorating the valour of the men and the devotion of their wives who though nothing of their own lives—the former in the pursuit of service to the king for whose safety they would behead themselves, or to the community to save whose cattle they would fight to death or while slaying a maneater become its victims, and the latter rightfully accompanying such valiant men to their heavenly abode by self-immolation on the funeral pyres. Each of these has a special feature of art. Suffice it to give only two examples of a *śiḍitale* from the museum at Shimoga and the boar-hunt from Baḷḷigāve. While the first vividly picturises as to how the head-offering was done, the second shows the fury of the wild boar which has overthrown a hunting dog and as the other two get at the rogue, the hero has plunged his spear deep into its heart. The ordinary men have turned their faces away unable to bear the sight.

It is in or about the period under reference that the simple *mithuna* or couples became *maithuna* or couples in erotic postures in the temple sculptures all over India. But the ordinary depiction of the temples at Khajuraho or Bhuvanēśvar does not seem to have satisfied the Chālukya sculptors. The usual depictions of one man with two women or two or three men with one woman, individual fellatio or cunnilingus,

mutual oral congress or digital titillations, man with beast, beast with woman were but too simple for them. The sheer variety and imagination of these depictions give these sculptors a pre-eminent position even when compared to the bold erotica of Konārak. Besides all other explanations offered to such art and above all this, it is just art, pure and simple, earthy and earthly also to move the onlooker to laughter. There are several panels depicting bawdy tales, but never to make us turn our faces away from them in horror.

The art of painting seems to have deteriorated in this period—no real later Chālukya paintings have come to light so far. May be, the builders thoughts of painting as too fragile and taking too tiny a part of their energies to be worthy of the adoration of their gods. And though we have to seek the authority of Chālukya Sōmēśvara III⁶ in his *Mānasollāsa* to learn the process of metal casting, the Chālukyas themselves, unlike their contemporaries, the Chōḷas, can boast of no metal icons though they have left a few minor Jaina metal images.

The temples and their art confirm the utilitarian character of the religious conditions of the period of their creation. Only the most affluent could afford the sophisticated *yāgas* of yore, conducted by a number of learned brahmins. The ordinary man needed more immediate solace for his physical and mental ailments than the reservation of a place in the paradise. The silence of the later Chālukya inscriptions about the lofty *yajñas* of the earlier period, seems to point out that even the kings and vassals supported the popular religious institutions. The temples were centres for the fivefold activity of worship, feeding, medical care, shelter and education for a predominantly illiterate society. They had to be large and beautiful enough to attract a number of people and educate them with audio-visual aids. They had to foster the people's religious fervour by the ritual worship of the icons of various gods and goddesses. The temple walls, the music, the dance and dramas in honour of the deity provided the media of instruction. These temples were the resting places for the weary traveller, food for the hungry, medicine for the sick, inspiration for the pursuit of knowledge and the satisfaction of the aesthete. As such, each of them is a *kalā-araṇya*, a forest of art—varied and variegated and thus a cursory introduction.

Notes and References

1. *Kāraṇāgama*, Kriyāpāda—7/116, Mss. 5023 G.O.M. Library, Madras.
2. Sivarama Karanta: *Chālukya Vāstu mattu Śilpa* (Kannada), p. 22.
3. Will Durant: *Our Oriental Heritage*, p. 5092.
4. Karanta: op. cit., p. 78.
5. Charles, C. Fabri: *Discovering Indian Sculpture*, p. 81.
6. C. Sivaramamurti: *South Indian Bronzes*, pp. 14-15.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE UNDER THE HOYSALAS

B. K. GURURAJA RAO

IN THE FIELD OF Medieval Indian art history, Hoysaḷa art has secured for itself a permanent place by its distinctive traits, which captivate the mind of the onlooker and provide unforgettable experiences. It has not only assimilated the grandeur, inner vitality and fineness of the earlier and immediately preceding constructions, but has evolved its own charm and attraction.

Hoysaḷa temples are no doubt inspired by the constructions of the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas of the south, Gaṅga and Nolamba creations of the Mysore country and the Kalyāṇa Chālukyan monuments of the Deccan. But they are not an imitation of any one of them; they have incorporated the notable traits of those earlier styles; more than that, the Hoysaḷa builders proved themselves to be peerless innovators and thus moved towards the founding of a new style

Main features

The main features of the Hoysaḷa architecture may be enumerated as follows:

(1) They started using a fine-grained, soft slate stone (chloritic schist) for the construction of their structures giving up the use of the brittle and hard granite used by the builders of the deep south and the Mysore country or the soft red sandstone used by the Chālukyas. It became possible to engrave the minute and intricate patterns and designs and delicate and beautiful decorative sculptures and bas-reliefs in this soft stone. It is due to this factor that their creations are considered as representing more the skill of a sculptor rather than the handiwork of an architect.

(2) They gave up simple plainness of the outer walls of their temples, the imitation of the works of others; and by bringing into existence delicate decorative carvings, they transformed the attractive temples into noble treasure-houses of art.

(3) The changes they effected in the designing of their constructions are noteworthy. The more important of the changes are listed here.

(a) With a view to provide greater space for the decorative carvings and reliefs on the wall surface and to enhance the durability and strength of the structures, they built the walls with a number of recesses and projections. From the foot of the ground plan to the top of the *vimāna*, the whole structure would rise in the shape of a star, resulting in the play of light and shade on the sculptures and the carvings, thus producing greater effect on the minds of the spectators.

(b) Since the structures were built in a soft stone, they could not attain considerable height in them; hence to attain impressiveness, they devised the provision of a platform, four to five feet high from the ground level, on which the structures were placed. Though the main purpose of these platforms was to increase the height of the structure as a whole, they were more extensive than the temple structure itself, thus providing four to five feet wide space than the structure on the platform which

served a double purpose. It could be used as a circumambulatory path by the devotees but at the same time, the spectators could have a closer look at the sculptured wall surface.

(c) The lower half of the outerwalls of the temples were divided into a series of horizontal bands one above the other. These bands contained the delicately chiselled rows of elephants, horses, dancing, singing and instrument playing men and women, flowers and creepers and a variety of birds and animals. These carvings would contribute to the splendour of the temple. Some of the friezes also display the scenes from mythological literature like *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata* while some others, depict scenes from popular legends and social life of the people.

(d) On the walls of the *navaraṅga* and the *mukha-maṇṭapa* of the temples were incorporated large sculptured panels and perforated stone screens. These panels usually depicted the court scenes of the kings or the narrative scenes of the mythological events, while the stone screens were decorated with beautiful designs made up of flowers and creepers.

(e) On the outer walls of the *sukanāsi*, and *garbhagṛiha*, in the middle portion, are sculptured large-sized, i.e. two to three feet in height, sculptures of gods, goddesses and the mythological heroes. Sometimes selected incidents from mythology are also depicted in these panels like the lifting of mount Kailāsa by Rāvaṇa, Arjuna shooting the fish with Śivadhanus etc. These sculptures not only add to the beauty of the temple but also instil familiarity with and love for the religion in the minds of the spectators. On the top portion of these walls are rows of turrets and smaller divine and mythological sculptures in horizontal bands extending upto the cornices.

(f) The roof is designed in the star shape at the hind portion and in a rectangular shape at the front on the model of the walls. The roof projects upto two feet beyond the walls, thus providing protection to the carvings on the walls from the rain. The projecting cornice will be generally slanting at an angle for the easy flow of the rain water from the roof.

(g) Over the moderately high sanctum of the temple, a pyramidal *śikhara* or spire in the shape of a star is constructed so that it is visible from a considerable distance. On the various tiers of the pyramidal spire are found a number of projecting friezes on which miniature designs of shrines, niches within which deities are carved etc. These spires have disappeared in most of the temples but survive at the Lakshminarasimha temple at Bhadrāvati, Kēśava temple at Sōmanāthapura and a few others. The facing part of the *śikhara* projects on to the roof of the *sukanāsi* in the form of a wagon-shaped dome on which is depicted the Hoysala crest of a man slaying a tiger.

(h) Inside the temples are found pillars of different designs, decorated with vivid and beautiful carvings. These pillars turned on lathes and finely polished are generally rectangular at the base, in the form of an inverted bell at the middle and round at the top. The pillars support either a square or circular capital on which rest the cross beams of the roof. The pillars and the capitals are covered with delicate and minute carvings.

(i) Between the capital and the ceiling are found beautiful female figures placed in a slanting angle of about 135°. These bracket figures, usually known as *madanikai*, are a distinctive feature of the Hoysaḷa art. These marvellous creations, exhibiting immortal charm of feminine beauty, are depicted in various acts like, dancing, singing, playing on musical instruments, hunting, decorating their body etc. and may be considered as the finest contributions of the Hoysaḷa sculptors.

(j) Inside the temple, in the centre of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* the four pillars support an inverted dome or *bhuvanēśvari*. The flat beams on the pillars are so arranged as to obtain an octagonal form the ceiling of which will be in the shape of an inverted lotus. At the eight corners are placed the sculptures of the eight *dikpālas*. The sculptors have taken great pains to show their best workmanship in the *bhuvanēśvari*. All around the inverted dome are chiselled the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, hosts of divine and semidivine creatures, floral bands etc. At the centre of the dome is shown a hanging pillar representing the pollen stem of the lotus on which is depicted Narasimha or Natarāja as the occasion demands.

The foregoing characteristic represent the distinctive features of the Hoysaḷa architecture and are its glorious contributions to the architecture of Karnataka in particular and that of India in general. A careful and analytical study of these temples will provide an insight into the majesty of the style of their architects, their conscious attempt at perfection and their creative approach.

Plan

The Hoysaḷa temples have rather a unique ground plan. Though it is commonly stated that they have a star shaped ground plan, it is to be noted that this star shape is confined to the hind part of the temple consisting of the *sukanāsi* and the *garbhagṛiha*. The *navaraṅga* and the *mukha-maṇḍapa* or the front portion of the temple is rectangular in plan, the *navaraṅga* portion having wider dimensions than that of the *mukha-maṇḍapa*. This results in a cruciform ground plan the hind arm of the cross being represented by the star shaped *sukanāsi* and the sanctum.

These temples normally consist of a *garbhagṛiha* or sanctum; *sukanāsi* or *antarāḷa*, the interlinking passage chamber between the sanctum and the *navaraṅga*; the *navaraṅga* or *sabhā-maṇḍapa*; and the *mukha-maṇḍapa* or the front porch. *Navaraṅga* and the *mukha-maṇḍapa* are divided into separate aisles by rows of pillars. While the devotees assemble in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the *navaraṅga* or the middle hall to witness the rites and the worship being offered, at the centre of the *navaraṅga*, below the *bhuvanēśvari* or the inverted dome, will be a slightly elevated circular platform on which the musicians and/or dancers present their performance at the time of the worship. The pillars of these *maṇḍapas* are shaped with great care and engraved with delicate and skillful reliefs and designs. It is noteworthy that each individual pillar is designed and decorated differently which attests to the fertile imagination and taste of the sculptors. *Sukanāsi* situated between the *navaraṅga* and the *garbhagṛiha* is a narrow passage chamber normally used for keeping the movable images often taken out of the temple for various rituals and processions. Sometimes

more orthodox devotees and those charged with offering special services to the god like the chanting of the Vēdas etc. differentiated from the lay devotees are allowed into the *sukanāsi* to offer their services. Though the sanctum has a stellar plan externally, it has a square or rectangular interior at the centre of which is placed a raised platform to hold the main image. This platform is provided with a depression around the image from which a channel carries the water used to bathe the image. This channel on the left side is connected with a closes channel passing through the sanctum wall and with a pit outside. In some temples the sanctum has niches in the side and back walls where the accessories to the worship may be kept as in the Kīrti-nārāyaṇa temple at Talakāḍ. On the door jambs of *sukanāsi* are shown impressive standing sculptures of the door guardians or *dvārapālas*. The Hoysaḷa temples, as yet noticed nearly one hundred in number, may be divided into five groups on the basis of the number of shrines incorporated in each one of them. We have unshrined temples like those at Bēlūru, Arasīkere, Talakāḍ; twin-shrined ones like the one at Haḷēbīḍu, and the twin temples, though separated, as at Marale and Mosaḷe, triple-shrined ones as at Sōmanāthapura, Bhadrāvati, Aghalaya, Viḡnasanthe etc., quadruple-shrined ones as at Doḍḍagaddavaḷḷi; and quintuple-shrined examples as the Pañchalīṅgeśvara at Sōmanāthapura and the Pañchakūṭa-basadi at Kambadahāḷḷi. This arrangement, of one or more sanctums, each with its *sukanāsi* would open normally into a common *navaraṅga*. But there are some instances of individual sanctum being provided with a separate *navaraṅga*.

"Hoysaḷa temples", says Percy Brown, "were not the works of a builder, but those of art craftsmen, such as the sandal wood carver, the ivory worker, the metal caster and also the goldsmith". His comment is that "the temple-builder became a story-teller in stone so that his productions appertain more to an illuminated missal transmuted into sculpture than to a full scale architectural composition. What they produced was in reality not architecture but applied art". Each of the images on the outer walls on the stellar part of the temple has a distinct aura of its own, conveying a special purport and an environment resembling the work of an ivory carver. The hanging chains carved as decorations on the outer walls with each of their links distinctly shown, the designs of bolts and nuts on the lower parts of the projecting eaves carved to simulate the wooden ceiling made of beams and cross-beams held together with bolts and nuts recalls the work of the blacksmith. The rich and vivid ornaments on the bodies of the divine and human figures surpasses the skill of the goldsmith. On the whole these temples may be appropriately described as the aesthetic paradise created with utmost devotion by those immortal artists, the darling sons of Sarasvati, the presiding deity of arts.

So far nearly one hundred temples, major and minor together, have been reported mainly from the southern and south-western regions of Karnataka. These temples may be divided into three chronological groups: The temples built upto and under Viṣṇuvardhana, the best example of which is undoubtedly the Kēśava temple at Bēlūru; the temples built under Ballāḷa II and his immediate successors, the finest specimen being the Hoysaḷeśvara-Śāntaleśvara temple at Haḷēbīḍ; and

the last group of temples consisting of those built under Narasimha III and his successors, the Kēśava temple at Sōmanāthapura being the outstanding specimen in that group. Due to constriction of space, some of the more important of them may be briefly noticed so as to highlight as to how far the foregoing aspects are incorporated in them.

Bēlūru

The Kēśava temple at Bēlūru is one such belonging to the first phase of construction under the Hoysaḷa patronage. It is a single shrined temple, i.e. *Ēkakūṭa*. It was caused to be built under Viṣṇuvardhana one of the greatest of the rulers of the dynasty. It was built to commemorate the victory over, and driving out of the Chōḷas who had occupied the south-western part of Mysore country and were ruling from Talakāḍ. One of the inscriptions at the temple says that it was constructed in the year 1117 A.D. The front porch of the temple had only half walls over which the pillars supported the ceiling. Viṣṇuvardhana's son Narasimha raised the walls upto the ceiling by fixing up the large stone perforated screens and sculptured panels above the existing walls.

The temple stands on a star shaped *jagati* or platform about four feet above the ground level. This temple, with a dimension of 178 ft by 156 ft, consists of the *garbhagṛīha*, *sukanāsi*, *navaraṅga* and a *mukha-maṇṭapa*. The main entrance is in the centre of the east wall of the front porch on the door jambs of which are chiselled Rati and Manmatha, the god and goddess of Love. On the lintel of this door is a beautiful sculpture depicting god Narasimha killing the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu. On the two sides of the entrance in the upper half of the wall are placed the panels depicting the court scenes of the royalty, popularly identified with those of kings Viṣṇuvardhana and his son and successor Narasimha. These court scenes, with their probable identification, provide the historical background to the temple. The rest of the upper walls of the front porch are taken up with twenty sculptured panels, ten of which are perforated screens covered with fine designs of flowers and creepers; the other ten are carved with Puranic stories like those of Prahlāda, Kāṭi Yamardana and the eposide of king Bali. The workmanship of the sculptured panels is of a high order. The lower parts of the walls below the panels are, as usual, decorated with friezes depicting elephants, horse riders, creeper scrolls, some social scenes, incidents from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata* and other Purāṇas. These sculptures on the friezes are very minutely and vigorously depicted exuberating life and happiness.

The southern and northern walls of the *navaraṅga* have one door each in their middle known as Friday entrance and Heavenly entrance respectively. On the lintels of these doors are shown beautiful sculptures of god Varāha killing Hiraṇyāksha and on the other Mōhini-Bhasmāsura dance scene. The friezes depicting the elephants and horse-riders run around the temple and on the walls of the hind part of the temple in the middle part are found carved, in high relief, fine sculptures of gods, goddesses and mythological heroes. Each one of them is separated from the adjacent

sculptures by inserting pilasters and often a *tōraṇa* above, simulating miniature shrines. These reliefs show considerable life and inner strength, testifying to the high technical excellence of the stone-workers. In the top-most part are found miniature shrines, turrets and divine sculptures of small size. The whole wall surface is protectively shaded by cornices projecting at an angle. The bottom side of the cornice simulates wooden architecture depicting reapers and cross reapers fitted to each other with bolts and nuts. Presently there is only a flat rood and in all probability the original *śikhara* might have crumbled and then removed.

The pillars both in the walls and inside the two *maṇḍapas* are forty eight in number. They are lathe-turned and engarved with a variety of designs and relief sculptures of different sizes and may be specially noted for their artistic qualities. The best four pillars of the lot are placed at the centre of the *navaraṅga* to support the inverted dome, the *bhuvanēśvari*; two others that require to be noticed, in fact on account of their sculptural decoration are the Narasimha pillar and the Mōhini pillar standing on the southern part of the *navaraṅga*. These two are said to represent the very best that can be attained in sculptural art. The dome, *bhuvanēśvari*, in the ceiling of the *navaraṅga* is a masterpiece of architectural art. The dome in the shape of an inverted lotus or a semihemisphere, contains in horizontal sculptural bands, attractive creepers, figures of divine and semidivine beings, the ten incarnations of god Viṣṇu, and many other carvings. At the eight cardinal directions are placed the sculptures of the *aṣṭadīkṣālas*. On the pollen stem of the lotus, three feet long hanging pillar, at the lower end, is depicted the ferocious Narasimha pulling out the intestines of the wicked Hiranyakaśipu, attended by the stunned Prahlāda, Garuḍa and his consort Śrīdēvi, in a pacificatory pose. The bracket figures, numbering forty-four, fixed on the pillars as though supporting the roof, though essentially sculptures, form part of the architectural complex.

Within the premises of the Kēśava temple, there are a few more temples, some of them contemporary with Viṣṇuvardhana and others of later date. The Kappe Chennigarāya temple is a contemporary structure located to the right of the Kēśava temple and was constructed at the instance of the chief queen Śāntalā. The Vīra-nārāyaṇa temple, located behind that of Kēśava, was also built in the time of Viṣṇuvardhana. Both these structures are fine specimens of the Hoysala style though not as highly decorated as that of Kēśava. Sōmanāyaki temple at the south-west and that of Āṇḍāl at the north-west are slightly later structures and are less ornate. In the post-Hoysala times were built a number of shrines to the various Vaiṣṇava deities and Śrīvaiṣṇava saints mostly along the pilared verandah to the east, south-east and probably north-east. Those on the north-east have now completely disappeared while the others exist in different stages of preservation. The long pilared corridor along the northern *prākāra* is probably a later addition. There is a small Garuḍa shrine facing the main entrance of the Kēśava temple behind which stands the *dhvajastambha*. There is the main *prākāra* door in front of the Kēśava temple, another door called Elephant gate to its south and a large tank, Vāsudēva-pushkaraṇi in the north-eastern corner.

Halēbīḍu

The next important construction of the Hoysaḷa period is the Hoysaḷeśvara-Śāntaleśvara temple at Halēbīḍu. It is a twin-shrined (*dvikūṭāchala*) type constructed in the middle phase of the dynasty. An inscription at the temple says that it was caused to be constructed by Kētamalla, trusted general and chief of public works of Viṣṇuvardhana under the supervision of the architect, Kēdāiḍja. But the construction work was started after Viṣṇuvardhana, during the time of Narasimha I in 1141 and completed during the time of Ballāḷa II in 1182. This grandest construction of the illustrious dynasty has lost the whole of its super-structure and thus, to a certain extent, has lost its grandeur. Yet as Percy Brown remarks that "on account of the emphatic prodigality of its sculptural embellishment, is, without exaggeration, one of the most remarkable monuments ever produced by the hand of man". Without going into the details which it exhibits in common with the Kēśava temple at Bēlūru, only aspects that are different in this temple are touched upon here. This is a double temple in that two complete temples exist side by side but the *navaraṅga* and front porch portions are not separated by any partition walls. Each temple has its own main entrance and a *nandi-manṭapa* in front of the temple. The length of each temple is 112 ft and width about 100 ft. excluding the *nandi-manṭapas*. The total area of this complex is roughly 40,000 sq. ft. The platform on which the temples stand is about four ft. high and corresponds to the angles of the walls. Alround on the platform is the circumambulatory path. The walls contain the usual sculptured friezes on the lower half of the front half and large sized sculptures of the gods, goddesses and mythological scenes. These sculptures enhance considerably the magnificence of the structure. The minutely sculptured panels on the lintels are really masterpieces of workmanship excelling the delicate work of the gold smith's craftsmanship. While the Kēśava temple at Bēlūru is rightly famous for its high standard of its figural sculptures, more specifically for the sculptures of Mōhini and Narasimha pillars and the matchless bracket figures, the Halēbīḍu specimen is unparalleled for its fine and delicate carvings. The whole of the wall surfaces are covered up with an unending wealth of relief carving with incredible intricacy astonishingly rich in detail and narrative excellence. Percy Brown says that "the temple at Halēbīḍ is the supreme climax of Indian architecture in its most prodigal plastic manifestation. Even if its qualities of composition are not high, at least, as a monument to the phenomenal concentration, superb technical skill, ingenuity, imagination and profound religious consciousness of those concerned in its creation, it has no peer."

Sōmanāthapura

Probably the most characteristic and near perfect specimen of the Hoysaḷa style is the Kēśava temple at Sōmanāthapura. It is an example of the triple shrine (*trikūṭāchala*) and belongs to the last phase of structural activity under that illustrious dynasty. The temple was caused to be constructed by Sōma-daṇḍanāyaka, a minister of Narasimha III in 1268 A.D. It is smaller than the Kēśava temple at Bēlūru but is well-balanced and illustrates the maturity of the style. It is situated in an expansive court-

yard 217 ft. by 177 ft. On the interior of the enclosure wall are built sixty four cells provided with a pillared corridor. In the middle of the enclosure wall in the east is the main entrance capped by an imposing but squat *gōpura* or tower. Facing this entrance, in the centre of the courtyard is situated the well proportioned temple proper, a very perfect and finished product standing on a platform about four ft. high from the ground level. The platform is having a number of sharp projections resulting in equal number of angles on the front side and is stellate in plan on the back side. The walls of the structure keep in alignment with the configuration of the platform. On the exterior surface of the walls are found the same decorative features like the sculptured friezes, the panelled divine and semidivine relief sculptures etc. as in the other temples of this style. The dimension of the temple is 87 ft. X 83 ft. providing for a circumambulatory path, seven ft. wide alround. It has one large pillared *maṇḍapa*, which is bifurcated into a *mukha-maṇḍapa* and *navaraṅga* by the arrangement of pillars, four and twelve in each of the two sub-divisions respectively. At the western limits of the *navaraṅga* are placed the three shrines the central one facing the east and the other two facing north and south to the right and the left of the central one. A small *sukanāsi* connects each of the shrines to the common *navaraṅga*. The three shrines surmounted by the spires or *śikharas* which have survived in this place and are covered with excellent sculptures, some of which bear the names of the sculptors.

Thus the Hoysala style of temples represent probably the zenith of Indian, specifically South Indian, architectural history. Probably the criticism of some scholars that it represents over-exuberant decoration forsaking simplicity may be true to certain extent, but the artists, dealing with a soft and pliable medium made the maximum use of their material and turned out incomparable works of art.

Sculptural Art

The sculptural art under the Hoysalas reaches a high degree of perfection. But it may appear to be self-contradictory if it is remarked that the sculptural art in the period loses its separate identity. As has been pointed out earlier, this style altered and adapted the Dravidian style of the preceding era to suit their genius, temperament, and the changed medium of work which were more in line with those of the art craftsman than those suited to a builder. It is remarked very appropriately that these creations were "architects' architecture" or even more specially "sculptors' architecture." The craftsman-cum-architects revelled in their display of plastic exuberance. Hence much of what could have been described under this section has already been touched upon previously. But some works of sculpture are so superb that they need a special mention. The exterior of the whole of the wall surfaces are literally covered with some kind of carving that every inch of the mural surface is a product of sculptors. Delicate, realistic and enchanting plant, creeper, flower designs, themes from animal, bird, insect life and human and mythical beings, in short, all sorts of imaginable themes have been employed by the engraver to make his creations appear-eye-catching and beautiful. To add to the impressive appearance of this mural

decoration, the wall surface was provided with indentations and thus it was subjected to the play of light and shade to enhance the force of expressions and feelings of the sculptured scenes.

The elephant friezes on the lowest moulding of the basement in most of the temples are not only realistic and full of vigour, but none of them look alike though they are depicted in hundreds. The depiction of these pachyderms prove that the sculptors were quite adept in depicting the anatomical details from close observation of them. Though such realistic delineation is not seen in the chiselling of horses with riders in the friezes, the total effect is one of artistic beauty and lively vigour. The floral and creeper scrolls illustrate the finesse of the engraver's chisel. The scenes from the epics and Purāṇas engraved in narrative friezes are again masterpieces of realism providing suggestive imagery.

The sculptures in high relief of divine and semidivine beings on the upper half of the walls are, to say the least, most enthralling and the effect on the mind of the spectator is one of the wonder and awe. These relief sculptures depict not merely the static poses but movement and action full of vigour and life. The scene depicting Rāvaṇa trying to uproot mount Kailāsa, lord Viṣṇu rescuing the Elephant from the jaws of the crocodile, Śiva dancing on the trunk of the slain elephant-demon thrice with life and action. The spectator is made to feel the intensity of the different processes that are intended to be depicted. In these scenes, the sculptor has given full scope to his abilities to convey the whole theme in one picture and thus they are really the whole stories narrated by the sculptor in a single panel. The feelings that are observed, the expression of different sensations are truly superb.

But probably the most outstanding of the Hoysaḷa sculptural art are the *sālabhaṅḡikas* also known as bracket figures, *madanikais* or *śilābālikas*. They represent the highest peak of aesthetic creations from the chisel of the sculptor. They are known to have been originally incorporated into pillar-capital-roof scheme of the structures at the Tripurāntaka at Baḷḷigāve, Chennakēśava at Nāgalāpura, Chāmuṇḍēśvara at Uṇḍigēnahāḷa, Kēśava at Marale, Brahmēśvara at Kikkēri, Hoysaḷēśvara at Haḷēbidu; they have, for reasons unknown, been mostly lost irretrievably. But they are preserved on the 38 pillars on the exterior and 4 pillars in the interior of the Kēśava temple at Bēlūru. These fortytwo *sālabhaṅḡikā* figures, the finest probably in their class, represent the feminine beauty in all sorts of poses and activities depicting each of the *navarasas* of Indian aesthetics. While some are engaged in the act of dancing, singing or playing on musical instruments, others are shown busy with decorating their bodies like bathing, dressing of their hair, applying unguents or vermillion and yet others are depicted as though they are hunting. But the thread of love-lorn damsel concept or *śṛiṅgārārāsa* runs through all of them. One of the foremost of the Kannada men of letters Dr. D. V. Gundappa has extolled the heavenly grace and immortal beauty of those peerless damsels.

While dealing with these *madanikai* sculptures it is proper that the criticism by some, that the Hoysaḷa sculptures in general and the *madanikai* figures in particular are not properly balanced in their bodily delineation and the lower part of the body is

generally shortish and stumpy and all the attention is bestowed on the facial treatment. Though this may be partly true, it must be borne in mind while considering this criticism that these *madanikai* figures were meant to be kept in a slanting position at 136° from the ground at a height and the spectators standing on the ground would have seen them at the correct perspective.

Finally, a word about the *dvārapāla* sculptures kept at the entrances to the temple and the main sanctum, as the case may be, and the main images placed in the sanctum proper. The *dvārapāla* images are of live-human proportions exuberating divine grace, strength and vitality often standing in *tribhāṅga* pose. They are fully decorated with crown, jewels all over the body and provided with a mace held in one hand and leaning over it. The cult images in the sanctums proper are the finest examples of sculptures enchanting, benign and graceful and immediately captivates the spectators and devotees by their attractive divine splendour.

As some of the short label inscriptions on the pedestals of the sculptures say the Hoysala sculptor was "an artist of the gods, a delighter of the hearts of the good and as a bee at the lotus feet of Sarasvati."

ARCHITECTURE IN THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

K. V. RAMAN

Introduction

IT WAS IN A PERIOD OF TRIAL and crisis that the small kingdom of Vijayanagara was established in 1336 A D with an avowed purpose of saving the country from the iconoclastic zeal and defending the temple and the deity, the home and the hearth. The kingdom not only succeeded in stemming the tide for well over 200 years but also grew into a vast empire extending from coast to coast and comprising practically the whole of southern India. The empire rallied round all the patriotic forces and became the symbol of Hindu resurgence. The Vijayanagara rulers were conscious of this historic role and showed their great desire to revive or re-establish the ancient Hindu way of life or *dharma*. This desire served as the motive force behind great and all-round resuscitation of Hindu religion, art and literature that the period witnessed. The great urge to revive and popularise old epic and Puranic themes animated architecture, sculptures and paintings as well. The Vijayanagara artists gave bold visual representations to the Indian classical stories narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Bhāgavata* and the like, besides heroic secular themes like the depiction of mounted warriors, musketeers and battle scenes to inspire and stimulate even the common folk to acts of chivalry and valour.

Vijayanagara Architecture—A Rich Mosaic

The architectural creations of Vijayanagara are known for their virile magnificence, vast size and ornamental exuberance. Their stupendous fortifications, imaginative city planning, their impressive military establishments are remarkable for their stability and strength and immense labour. The Vijayanagara architects introduced new forms and popular themes besides continuing and embellishing the already existing ones. For the first time in the history of the South India, a single dynasty ruled over the entire South, Andhra, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and parts of Kerala, and naturally, its art-styles had acquired a composite character of its own. Several strains of art-traditions have gone into the making of the rich mosaic of Vijayanagara architecture and art.

In their northern dominions, the imperial rulers inherited the architectural tradition as carried out by the Later Chālukyas, the Kākaṭīyas and the Hoysaḷas and in their southern provinces, the traditions as developed by the Pāṇḍyas. These can more broadly be grouped as the Karnataka and the Tamil traditions.¹ These were the two regions where temple architecture and sculptural art traditions had had a continuous flow and at that time specially, were under the spell of the two great schools of architecture—the Pāṇḍyan and the Hoysaḷa. Towards the end of the 13th century, the Pāṇḍyas held sway over the entire Tamil country and even upto Nellore and the Hoysaḷas over the Karnataka. The second Pāṇḍyan empire under the great monarchs like Māravarman Sundara I and Jaṭavarman Sundara I set a new trend

in the art of temple construction with a bold emphasis on stately *gōpuras* (entrance towers) and spacious pavilions with tall columns, which were the harbingers of the Vijayanagara towers and ornamental pavilions respectively. For the first time, the outer precincts of the temple received special attention. The plethora of ornamental pavilions that cropped up during the period, such as the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*, *ūñjal-maṇḍapa*, *vasanta-maṇḍapa*, *vāhana-maṇḍapa*, *raṅga-maṇḍapa*, *kannadi-maṇḍapa* (mirror hall) with their magnificent composite columns etc. was only a logical and spectacular outgrowth of the earlier Pāṇḍyan proto-types. It is significant to note also that Vijayanagara artists adopted the granite medium for their structures throughout their empire. Hitherto, the Hoysaḷas and the Kākatīyas used only the soft stone for all their structures in the Karnataka region. But the artists of Vijayanagara took in the hard stone tradition and technique that was widespread and popular in the Tamil country.

If the southern tradition had enriched the Vijayanagara style in the medium and the outer form of the *gōpura* and the *maṇḍapa*, the northern tradition of Karnataka can be gleaned in the sculptural themes and decorative motifs.² One who has seen the three Hoysaḷa gems—the temples of Bēlūru, Haḷēbīḍu and Sōmanāthapura—goes to Hampi, Vellore or Kāñchi, will be struck by the commonness of the sculptural themes. In the selection of episodes as also their arrangement and rendering, we see a striking parallel. The Vijayanagara artists, working on hard stone, could not adopt the Hoysaḷa technique of intricate carvings and the delicate fineness. Hence, comparatively, the Vijayanagara specimens seem to lack the Hoysaḷa finish, the fineness. But they are much bolder and emphatic and display virile manliness in the place of the delicate and feminine charm of the Hoysaḷa structure.

Expansion of Temple Premises

1. **Maṇḍapas:** In this period South Indian art and architecture attained fullness and freedom of rich expression in keeping with the general consciousness of the great task of the empire. One of the distinct developments of the period was the vast elaboration of the temple precincts which perhaps was necessitated by the elaboration in temple rituals. It was during the Vijayanagara times that impressive festivals like the *navarātri*, *vasantōtsava*, *tulābhāra* etc. became more popular. This was a sequel to the great religious upsurge that took place. The *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*, or the marriage hall became an attractive part of the temple, where during *navarātri* festival, the lord and the goddess were placed to witness musical and dance performances in the company of thousands of devotees. Achyutarāya performed *muktatūlābhāra* in the Varadarāja temple, Kāñchi, for which a *tulābhāra-maṇḍapa* was erected. Similarly, at Hampi and Tirupati also the *tulābhāra* pavilions are found. The commander of Dēvarāya II (1422-46 A.D.) built the *bhōga-maṇḍapa* of the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi. Kṛṣṇadēvarāya built the beautiful *raṅga-maṇḍapa*, the painted hall, at the Virūpāksha temple.³ Irugappa, the minister of Harihara II, built the *saṅgīta-maṇḍapa* (music hall) in the Vardhamāna temple at Jina-Kāñchi.⁴ Sāluva Narasimha built some *maṇḍapas* at Tirumalai. A number of *pushkaraṇis* or temple-tanks with the

central *maṇḍapa* (*nīrāṭi-maṇḍapa*) also came up during this time since the float festival became more popular. This tank was usually added in the outer-most *prākāra*, which added to the picturesqueness of the premises.

Such an array of *maṇḍapas* in a large temple complex such as those of Śrīraṅgam, Tirupati and Kāñchi not only lent charm and sumptuous character to the structure but were also useful for affording shelter to the huge concourse of pilgrims during festival occasions. Among the Vijayanagara structures, the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* has a distinct and ornate personality of its own. Usually built on the north-east corner of the temple, it is an elegant hundred-pillared pavilion with an elevated platform in the centre, for the exhibition of the deity and his consort during the annual marriage day and other ceremonial occasions like the *navarātri* festival. The sculptor's skill is lavished on these *maṇḍapas*, which contain elaborately carved composite pillars of immense size and exquisite beauty. The pillars are of the ornate cubical variety having the *pushpapōḍigai* (flower-bud) corbels simulating the plantain trees with their projecting branch of flowers and fruits usually placed at the entrance of marriage halls—a typical South Indian practice. The *pūmunai* of pendant corbel, though already introduced by the Pāṇḍyas in an insipient way, attained its full florid form of a volute terminating into an inverted lotus-bud under the Vijayanagara period.

The composite colonnades are of *aṇiyōṭṭikal* type and consist of a main pillar-shaft of cubical type with a series of small slender columns cut round the main shaft—which, when struck, seemed to give out musical notes. In more complicated pillars, the central shaft is just a central core round which is grouped a vast statuary like the projecting *vyāḷi* or rearing horseman—all made in a monolithic mode. In these graphic horse-pillars, we see the reflection of the new spirit of the architecture. Percy Brown has truly observed that the motif of the rampant horsemen in the later Dravidian buildings reveals the spirit of the times, since the Vijayanagara era corresponds in some respects to the Age of chivalry and romance which prevailed in medieval Europe and that “something of this temper seems embodied in the art of the period and account for the columns of splendid cavaliers nonchalantly astride the gigantic rearing horses.”⁵ Such magnificent horse-pillars can be seen in the famous ‘horse-court’ at Śrīraṅgam, Kāñchi and Vellore. In the Varadarāja temple, Kāñchi, even European soldiers with carbines and muskets are shown riding on the horse. Probably, they represent the Portuguese and the Muslim warriors who served in the Vijayanagara army.

The other characteristics of the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapas* are: a high ornamental *upapīṭha* or plinth with continuous panels of sculptures, illustrative of the Puranic stories on the exterior walls lending a rich plastic effect to the composition; entrance steps having elaborate *vyāḷi* or *gaja-vyāḷi* balustrades, a large double flexed cornice (*koḍuṅgu*) extending forward, often with the ribbed underside as if in a wooden framework; the corners of the *kapōta* with large stone chains dangling down as in the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* of the Varadarāja temple at Kāñchi.

Outstanding examples of this class of *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapas* are to be found at Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi, Jalakanṭhēśvara at Vellore (Pl. XIII, A), Varadarāja and

Kāmākshi at Kāñchi, Tirumalai and Tirupati and Mārgasahāyēśvara at Viriñchi-puram—all noted, for their ornamental exuberance and sculptural wealth. The practice of constructing *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* was continued with vigour by the Nāyak kings of Śeñji and Madurai under whom the *maṇḍapa* became more spacious and vast pavilions of collonaded corridors e.g. *pudu-maṇḍapam* at Madurai and the corridor in Rāmēśvaram temple.

2. **Amman shrine:** Constructions of the shrine for the goddess usually on the south-west corner became a regular feature from the Vijayanagara times, though the practice began even in the later Chōla and Pāṇḍyan times. The shrine for the goddess in the Varadarāja temple at Kāñchi, was reconstructed on a grand scale during the Vijayanagara times with a *vimāna* called *kalyāṇa-kōṭi*. The shrine for Vēdavallināchchiyār at Triplicane, Madras, was built during Sadāśivarāya's time.⁶

3. **Shrines for saints:** In the Śrīvaiṣṇava temples, another new development was seen in the construction of separate shrines for *āḷvārs* and *āchāryas*, and especially for the latter. As many of the later Vijayanagara kings were Śrīvaiṣṇavas, they patronised the shrines of the *āchāryas* and conducted a number of festivals in their honour. This development can be seen at Kāñchi, Śrīraṅgam, Tirupati, Śrīperumbudūr etc. This again led to the amplification of the temple premises.

4. **Gōpuras:** Construction of stately towers, often popularly called *rāya-gōpuras* at the entrance gateway was another distinct development, almost hitherto unknown in the Karnataka territory. The beautiful entrance towers to be seen in almost all the temples of Hampi, especially those at Virūpāksha, Viṭṭhala, Kṛishṇa and Paṭṭābhirāma are some of the authentic specimens of this style. In some of the larger complexes, *gōpuras* were built on more than one gateway (e.g. Viṭṭhala temple).

Some of the tallest *gōpuras* of South India were built during this period. The colossal *gōpuras*, nine or even eleven-storeyed, found on the entrance gateways of the Ēkāmrānātha temple at Kāñchi, (Pl. XIII, B), the Aruñāchala at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (North Arcot District), the Naṭarāja at Chidambaram (South Arcot) and the large temple at Kāḷahasti were all built during the time of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. They display the might and the pomp of the Vijayanagara power as much as their religious devotion. Similar tall Vijayanagara *gōpuras* are to be found at various other places like the Varadarājasvāmi temple at Kāñchi (eastern *gōpura*); Gōvindarājasvāmi temple at Tirupati and the Ādikēśavaperumāḷ temple at Śrīperumbudūr. Later *gōpuras* of the Vijayanagara-Nāyak style are found at numerous places like Śeñji, Vellore, Virinchi puram etc.

The Vijayanagara *gōpuras* have immense ornamental granite base. The brick superstructure carries a number of beautiful stucco figures. The entrance door-frame of the *gōpuras* is another marvel. It is usually made up of two lofty and heavy monolithic stones standing magnificently astride. It has on either side graceful *sālabhājīlkā* (or Gaṅgā Yamunā) figures standing and leaning gracefully on the creeper which would go up in circled coils. In the dizzy heights of the top inner roof of the ceiling of the *gōpura-dvāra*, we see large and intricately worked ceiling with Puranic themes. The outer wall of *gōpura-dvāra* of Viṣṇu temples have the

emblems of *śaṅkha*, *chakra* and also the *ūrdhwapundra* carved. Almost all the Vaishṇava temples at Hampi have these emblems. Often also we find the Vijayanagara royal crest of the Varāha, sword etc. carved on the *gōpura-drāra* walls or lintel.

Structures in the Vijayanagara style are too numerous to be described here individually, but the finest and the most authentic specimens are to be found in the deserted city of Vijayanagara itself. The principal temples here are the Viṭṭhala, Paṭṭābhiraṃa and Hazāra Rāmasvāmi, Virūpāksha, Achyutarāya etc. all raised by the Vijayanagara kings. The general features of architecture outlined in the previous paragraphs can be seen in these noble monuments as well as the hundreds of monuments found from Hampi to Kanyākumārī.

Three distinct stages can be noted in the history of the Vijayanagara architecture. In the early stages, the Vijayanagara kings were more concerned about the restoration of the old and fallen temples affected by neglect or wanton destruction. Grants were made for restoration of worship, repairs and some additions to structures. Slowly, as the kingdom came to hold its own, a period of prolific building started. This began even during Dēvarāya II's time, though it became conspicuous from the days of the Tuluva rule when the style had its full blossom. We can call this period as marking the zenith, as it was a period of glorification of the existing temples by building magnificent *gōpuras* and colourful *maṇḍapas* and also full temple-complexes. In the last phase, after the battle of Rakkasa Taṅgaḍi (1565), the empire was disrupted and the cultural activity of the imperial power suffered and dwindled. The importance shifted to the provincial viceroys or Nāyaks, who gradually came to prominence and continued the Vijayanagara ideal and traditions for well over a century more. The Nāyak phase of Vijayanagara architecture also has left creditable landmarks in architecture, worthy of their inheritance.

Vijayanagara Temple Models

(A) Early Phase (c. 1336-1500 A.D.)

1. The Vidyāśaṅkara temple at Śrīṅgerī is one of the earliest temples of the Vijayanagara period almost coeval with the foundation of the empire. It was built in 1338 A.D. as a memorial to the great saint Vidyātīrtha under the aegis of royal patronage, just a couple of years after the historic foundation of the city of Vijayanagara and hence, a landmark of granite construction in the area steeped in the soft-stone tradition. The temple is essentially rooted in the Hoysāḷa style but also shows the blending of certain features of southern traditions. K. R. Srinivasan in his admirable paper on this temple has pointed out the following Hoysāḷa and southern features in the temple.⁷

The temple stands on a high platform or *upapīṭha* and in plan a double apse or a square with apsidal ends (*chāpa*). The common *adhiṣṭhāna* of the sanctum and the *maṇḍapa* are elaborately moulded with eight *aṅgas*, forming successive friezes depicting procession of lines of horses, elephants, besides narrative panels from Puranic stories. The wall portion above the *adhiṣṭhāna* is crowned with a series of large bas-

relief sculptures occupying the *dēvakōshṭhas*. Placement and character of sculptures also are after the Hoysaḷa pattern; *dikpālas* in their respective directions; *daśavatāras* with Buddha etc. The bearded form of Brahma here is unknown in the Tamilnadu temples. The door-jambs, about six in number, are all of the Chālukya-Hoysaḷa pattern, adorned with sculptures of river-goddess and the lintel having Gajalakshmi. The *vimāna* with the sanctum is with a stellar plan. From the two lower *taḷas* projects a graceful *sukanāsi* coming over the *antarāḷa* below, in front of the sanctum, with a barrel vault roof on top and a frontal *tōraṇa* frame, a feature of the north Indian and Chālukya school. The southern temples do not have the *sukanāsi* projection on the *vimāna*. The presence of a *navaraṅga* or pillared hall of nine bays. This is formed by a system of four pillars round a central bay, twelve peripheral pillars, forming in between them and the centre, eight surrounding bays—a characteristic of the Hoysaḷa temples. But the pillars are of the southern *aṇiyōṭṭikal* type large and monolithic with projecting *vyāḷis* etc. The corbels too are of southern order. The twelve outer pillars of the *navaraṅga* are marked by the twelve signs of the zodiac or *rāśis* and therefore called *rāśi* pillars. The central ceiling is in the typical Hoysaḷa fashion of an expanding inverted lotus with a prominent central bud and parrots clinging to the petals.

The southern features present in the temple are: 1. The hard granite medium. 2. The *vimāna* is of successive diminishing *taḷas* of the southern type. But the *hāra* of *kūṭas*, *kōshṭhas*, *śālās* etc. is absent. The top is crowned by a *grīva* and a domical *śikhara* with the *stūpi*. 3. The presence of four *nandis* at the four corners on the terrace of the top most *taḷa* couchant round the base of the *grīva* of the *śikhara*. 4. The pillars are of the southern type, and not the so-called lathe-turned polished pillars. 5. Certain sculpture-patterns peculiar to the south and very rare in Karnataka are also found; Dakṣiṇāmūrti group seated in *sukhāsana* cross-legged and four-handed with one leg on the back of the *apasmāra*—a popular theme in all southern temples right from the Pallava times and, rare in the Hoysaḷa scheme. Its location on the south side is also in the southern tradition. This became universal practice in the Vijayanagara temples.

In short, this temple symbolises the earliest attempt in harmonising the regional architectural styles, motifs, concepts, true to the character of the expanding role of Vijayanagara in the history of South India. At the same time, it should be noted that this temple is rooted more in the Hoysaḷa or Karnataka tradition than the southern. The southern features are not yet prominently seen. In the later stages we see the Hoysaḷa pattern receding into the background and a more and more synthesised and composite style emerging into a sharper focus. This is especially evident in the temples built in the capital city of Hampi.

2. The Gāṇigitti Jaina temple at Hampi. is one of the earliest Vijayanagara structures at Hampi (Pl. XIV, A), built in 1385 A.D. by Irugappa, the minister of Harihara II. He is the same person who built the *saṅgīta-maṇḍapa* at Jina-Kāñchi, known as Kuntha-jinālaya. It is a modest early structure, having a *garbhagriha* (facing north), an *antarāḷa*, *ardha-maṇḍapa* and *mahā-maṇḍapa*. The stone *vimāna* rises in

six diminishing *taḷas* of plain horizontal slabs, with square *grīva* and domical *śikhara*. The pillars of the *maṇḍapa* are of the early heavy cubical variety. Here, the southern norms are in clearer focus, though the *śikhara* is of the *Kadamba-nāgara* variety. Moreover, the all-stone character of the *vimāna* is exceptional since all other temples of Hampi have *vimāna* superstructures in brick and mortar.

3. Though the Vardhamāna temple at Jina-Kāñchi is an ancient one, many buildings therein belong to the Vijayanagara period. The *saṅgīta-maṇḍapa* in front of the shrine, built by Irugappa in 1387-88 A.D.⁸, has richly carved pillars with figures of dancing girls, dwarfish *gaṇas* playing on musical instruments etc. This is an earlier and smaller version of the Viṭṭhala temple. The brick super-structure over the entrance *gōpura* was also the work of Irugappa.

Other shrines of early Vijayanagara period can be mentioned briefly for further study.

4. The Prasanna-Virūpāksha temple at Muḷabāgal, built by Bukka III (1422-24 A.D.) has an enclosure wall, *gōpura*, and finial covered with gold and the tank and the *maṇḍapas*.⁹

5. The Pārśvanātha-chaityālaya at Hampi is another example of the period. The walls of the sanctum of this *chaityālaya* built by Dēvarāya II in 1426 A.D. are of long and broad rectangular slabs neatly dressed and vertically placed. The *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the *mahā-maṇḍapa* have plain heavy cubical pillars of the early type. The *vimāna* is in the *Kadamba-nāgara* style.

6. The *maṇḍapa* in front of the Yōgā Narasimha temple at Mēlukōṭe is an early Vijayanagara structure built in 1458 A.D. as attested by an inscription in the pillar,¹⁰ is notable for its interesting sculptures depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhāgavata*.

7. The Tirumāmaṇu-maṇḍapa at Tirumalai was built by Sāḷuva Parvatarāja in 1465 A.D.¹¹ This is a large *maṇḍapa* in front of the sanctum of the Tirumalai temple. Its ornamentation is simple and dignified. It does not contain elaborately sculptured pillars of later period.

8. Besides, we may note the shrine for Kulāśēkhara-ālvār, at Tirupati, built in 1469 A.D., by Kandāḍai Rāmānujayaṅgar, an influential Śrīvaiṣṇava leader and confidant of Sāḷuva Narasimha, the Narasimhasvāmi temple at Alipur, Tirupati constructed by Sāḷuva Narasimha in 1485 A.D., probably to commemorate his becoming *defacto* emperor and the Raghunātha temple at Tirupati built by one Narasimharāya-mudaliyār in 1480-81 A.D. for the spiritual benefit of Sāḷuva Narasimha.¹²

(B) Middle Phase (c. 1509-65 A.D.)

The Vijayanagara empire reached the zenith of its power and glory during the time of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and maintained its political supremacy till the fateful battle of 1565. This was also the period when the largest and the most splendid temples, *gōpuras* and *maṇḍapas* came to be built. Under the Tuluvas, the

Vijayanagara empire reached the greatest territorial extent, as a result of spectacular military victories and witnessed a period of great commercial and material prosperity. It was a propitious time for the ideals of the empire to attain their fulfilment, as it were, and this general happy and triumphant mood is truly enshrined in the lofty and ambitious architectural undertakings of the period. These monuments are marked by sumptuous character, towering personality, restrained elegance and maturity of expression. The tallest *gōpuras*, the most handsome *maṇḍapas*, indeed the best specimens of full temple complex, belong to this period—not only in the capital city but throughout the length and breadth of south India. The kings lavished patronage to the temples for colourful festivals and royal rituals and substantial religious and secular buildings. We briefly refer below to the most representative specimens of this period here.

The Virūpāksha or Pampāpati temple is considered as the most sacred temple at Hampi, it is much older than this period. The outer *gōpura*, founded by Dēvarāya II was later repaired and probably expanded by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya in 1510 A.D.¹³ It is about 50 metres high (150 feet) and rises in storeys. The three-storeyed *gōpura* forming the entrance to the inner court was built by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya in 1510 A.D. The large *mahā-maṇḍapa* referred to in the inscription, as *raṅga-maṇḍapa* is a highly ornate pavilion built by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya about the same year. It is a five aisled *maṇḍapa* with different types of composite pillars. The sixteen pillars of the central rectangle have rampart *vyālis* with chains hanging from their mouths, *makaras* below their feet and riders on their backs. The roof of the central aisle is raised up further as a clerestory. The ceiling of the *raṅga-maṇḍapa* is full of beautiful paintings of Vijayanagara times.

Many more full independent temple-complexes were built during Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's time. The Kṛṣṇa temple was built by him in 1513 A.D. to enshrine the image of Kṛṣṇa which he had brought from Udayagiri as a war trophy. The sanctum and the *antarāḷa* walls have fine bas-reliefs. The *vimāna* is in three *taḷas* with a circular *śikhara*. It should be pointed out here that the *vimāna* superstructure of almost all Vijayanagara temples are invariably in brick and mortar. Usually, we find excellent stucco figures over the *vimāna* and sometimes on the *gōpura* also. The shrine for the consort is in the due north-west and has a *śālā-śikhara*. One of the pillars in the *ardha-maṇḍapa* is specially noteworthy, as all the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, including the rare form of Kalki, are carved on it. There are three *gōpuras* in the temple on the east, south and north. The east *gōpura* has fine stucco figures of warriors, elephants, horses etc., probably representing the king's triumphant Orissan expedition.

The Hazāra Rāmasvāmi was probably an earlier temple enlarged and embellished during the time of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Both early and later features are found here. The sanctum, the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and the *mahā-maṇḍapa* seem to belong to the earlier period. The brick and mortar *vimāna* with its *taḷas* showing the *hāra* of *kūṭas* and *śālās* is of the southern type. But there is the prominent *sukanāsi* projection which is a Chālukya-Hoysala feature. The *ardha-maṇḍapa* side porches

have heavy pillars of the early cubical type. In the centre of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* are four beautiful polished black-stone pillars with relief figures of Gaṇeśa, Hanumān and Kalki. The central ceiling is large and ornate, consisting of the diagonally alternating square courses with a central lotus motif. This is clearly of the *navaraṅga* pattern. The storeyed Dēvi shrine on the north is more ornate with many *dēvakōshṭhas* and *kumbha-pañjaras* in bold relief on its body and a *śālāsikhara* at the top (Pl. XIV, B). The *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* on the north-east corner was built in 1521 A.D. The temple walls are a veritable picture gallery, having a series of relief panels, depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* including Uttarakāṇḍa. The exterior wall of the temple has graphic scenes of the *mahānavamī* festival, procession of elephants, horses, infantry, dancing girls, as if in a grand pageantry.

The Viṭṭhala temple is the most exquisite and "the most perfect specimen" of all the temples of Vijayanagara architecture. Almost three times bigger than the Hazāra Rāmasvāmī temple and enclosed by pillared cloister all around, the temple stands in a vast enclosure and is entered through three *gōpuras*, which have been pitifully damaged by the invaders.

The enclosed courtyard consists of the sanctum (for Viṣṇu as Viṭṭhala) with axial *maṇḍapas* on an ornate plinth, the Dēvi shrine, the large *mahā-maṇḍapa* of extraordinary beauty, the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*, an *utsava-maṇḍapa*, a hundred pillared *maṇḍapa* and exquisite jewel-like stone-car, a lofty *dīpastambha*—all bespeaking of the grandeur of the Vijayanagara craftsmanship at its best. The *vimāna* is of typical southern variety built in brick and mortar. The *mahā-maṇḍapa* standing on the highly ornate *adhishṭhāna* with sculptured friezes of warring horses is of outstanding quality. At intervals along the base, there are ornate miniature *vimāna* projections with figures of *daśāvatāra*. The immense monolithic composite pillars display different patterns including those carrying *vyāli* motif and some different forms of Narasiṃha. The inner pillars have certain figures of women dancers and drummers in bold relief (reminiscent of the bracket figures of Hoysaḷa temples). The ceiling is beautifully worked into a multi-petalled lotus flower—a Hoysaḷa feature. The well-finished *tritaḷa-vimāna* over the sanctum is of brick and mortar and it is lined with the *hāra* of *kūṭas*, *śālās* and *pañjaras*. The sanctum walls have ornate *dēva-kōshṭhas* and the *kumbha-pañjaras*. The *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* also called the *ḍolōtsava-maṇḍapa*, constructed in 1554 A.D. has fine balustrades and ornate ceilings. The *utsava-maṇḍapa* is also similar. The cloistered hundred-pillared *maṇḍapa* was built by Kṛishṇa-dēvarāya in 1516 A.D. The Garuḍa shrine, facing the main shrine, is an architectural gem, fashioned in the form of an ornamental temple-car or chariot on wheels, drawn by elephants (Pl. XIV, C). It is an extremely elegant piece of composition in stone with an exquisite finish, recalling to our mind similar examples at Dārāśu-ram, Kumbhakōṇam (Tanjavur District) and Chidambaram. It once had a brick and mortar *vimāna* over it.

The Anantaśayanaguḍi near Hospet, built in 1524 A.D. is another unique and impressive creation of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. A temple of colossal proportions with a huge *gōpura-dvāra*, it has a pillared cloister all around the inner periphery, *kalyāṇa-*

maṇḍapa, Dēvi shrine etc. But the sanctum is indeed the most impressive part. It is a large rectangular shrine with three entrance doors to render the head, body and feet of the large reclining god (Anantapadmanābha) visible from the *antarāḷa*, exactly like the Anantapadmanābha temple, Trivandrum. The sanctum plinth is lofty and plain over which the *vimāna* in brick and mortar rises in bold proportions. The oblong *grīva* is capped by a massive vaulted dome or *śālā-śikhara*. But it has, as Longhurst has shrewdly noted, apse-like ends which is "a marvel of engineering skill".¹⁴

The large temple-complex for Viṣṇu at one end of the famous Soolai bazar is known as the Achyutarāya temple. Its outer *prākāra* has a lofty *gōpura* with stucco figures on its top and the inner *prākāra* has three *gōpuras* on the east, west and north. There are the Dēvi or the Amman shrine in the south-west, the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* on the north-west in its usual style. Here, in this temple, too, we see the tendency to have large and spacious *prākāras*, lined with a number of *maṇḍapas* and entered by several high gateways or *gōpuras*. According to an inscription, he set up the images of twelve āḷvārs and of Tirukkatchi-nambi, the elder preceptor of Rāmānuja.

The Virabhadrasvāmī temple situated at Lēpākshi in the Anantapur District, can indeed be called as one of the last great temples of the mature phase of the Vijayanagara. Probably erected by two brothers Viruppaṇṇa and Viraṇṇa sometime between 1530-48 A.D.¹⁵ But portions of it were built later also. It has three enclosures with three outer gateways of which the one on the north is done elaborately. The gateway on the south is massive but plain. The stone basement of the *gōpuras* is not overworked. The *kumbha-pāñjara* pilaster is compressed and even absent in the upper section. There are stucco figures on the *gōpura*. The *raṅga-maṇḍapa* has sculptured columns having life-size representations of celestial musicians and dancers. The ceilings have paintings. The *ardha-maṇḍapa* is also rich in paintings in continuous bands, illustrating the stories of *Kirātārjunīya* and the *Mahābhārata*. The circum-ambulatory around the sanctum is also completely painted. The *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* on the north-west is ornate as usual with profusely carved pillars. But it appears to be incomplete. The workmanship both in pillar and sculptural details shows a wide variety of robust modelling and happy deliniation. When compared to Tāḍapatri, the workmanship and carvings are less profuse and ornate.

In Sadāśiva's reign we practically see the last glow of the brilliant phase of the Vijayanagara empire. Though temples continued to receive patronage, no new temple complexes nor huge *gōpuras* seem to have come up in this period. Shrines for Vaishṇava saints as well as *maṇḍapas* were, however, added. In 1565, Sadāśiva's chieftain conducted vast repairs to the Viṣṇu shrine at Śrīperumbudūr, the birth place of Rāmānuja and made provisions for festivals and offerings.¹⁶

In the Pārthasārathi temple at Triplicane, Madras, the shrine for the goddess (*nāchchiyār*) Vēdavalli was built by a private individual during Sadāśiva's time. He also constructed the *tiruvāymoḷi-maṇḍapa* in the outermost *prākāra* on its north-east corner.¹⁷ Both of them are modest structures without much exuberance. The *maṇḍapa* does not have any of those elaborate horse-pillars. Nevertheless the usual

sculptural motifs like the *mithuna*, the clown, the figures of *āchāryas* etc. are found. Conventionalisation and stylisation are seen in the pillar-motifs.

On the whole, the constructional activity was limited in range and that too confined to repairs and additions of shrines and *maṇḍapas*. But some chieftains like the Nāyaks at Vellore and Madurai made constructions in their provincial capitals.

(C) Last Phase (c. 1565-1650 A.D.)

After the disastrous battle of Rakkasa Taṅgaḍi in 1565 the capital was shifted to Penukoṇḍa and from there to Chandragiri. Under the Āraṇḍu kings the constructional activities decreased both in quantity and quality. Among the few constructional activities of the Āraṇḍu kings the following may be mentioned: (1) The Ūñjal or Tirumalarāyan-maṇḍapa in Sampanṅi-pradakshiṇa at Tirumalai built by Tirumalarāya has exquisitely sculptured tall pillars with riding horsemen. (2) The Kēśavasvāmi temple at Penukoṇḍa, was probably built in 1580 A.D. during the time of Śrīraṅga I.¹⁸ (3) Some *maṇḍapas* and the outer *gōpura* in the Gōvindarājasvāmi shrine at Tirupati were built during the period. The outer *gōpura* was built by Māṭṭa Tiruvēṅgaḷa son of Anantarāja, a member of the influential Māṭṭa family.

However, the Nāyaks continued the tradition in their respective territories. The Nāyaks of Vellore, Śēñji, Tañjāvūr, Madurai and Ikkēri and the Wodeyars of Mysore in Karnataka who were subordinates of Vijayanagara were, by and large, inspired by the same mission and ideal of the empire and extended patronage to Hindu temples. They gave a fresh lease of life to Vijayanagara architecture. Some notable, temples, *maṇḍapas*, *gōpuras* and palaces were built by them. The Nāyak style as it is called is only an extension and elaboration of the Vijayanagara style in all its essentials. Some of the important temples and shrines of the Nāyak period are: (1) The Jalakanthēśvara temple at Vellore (North Arcot District) of Tamilnadu with its fine *gōpura* at the entrance and exquisite *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa*, full of sculptural friezes, was built by Bommi-nāyaka of Vellore in the later half of the 16th century. (2) The Venikāṭaramaṇa temple at Śēñji, in South Arcot District, built during the later half of the 16th century by a Śēñji Nāyak, is a magnificent temple with a tall *gōpura*, at the entrance, a tall graceful four-pillared front *maṇḍapa* with stone chains dangling from corners. Sculptural friezes at the *gōpura* doorway and fine stucco figures on the *gōpura* and *vimāna* are pleasing. Independent shrines for Dēvi and Rāmānuja are also there. The temple of Raṅganātha at the top of the hill with pillared pavilions is also of the same period and style. (3) The Subrahmanya shrine in the Great temple at Tañjāvūr built by a Nāyak of Tañjāvūr is a typical example of the Nāyak temple of the ornate variety and a real gem of its kind. The mouldings of the *adhishṭhāna* and the *kumbha-pañjara* pilasters show intricate carving. The double-fleeted *kapōta* is thin and elegant, showing ribbed supporting frame-work on its underside. The *grīva* and the *śikhara* are hexagonal to match with the six faces of Shanmukha installed in the sanctum.¹⁹ The pilasters, the *palagai*, the *kapōtas*, etc. of the shrine are of thin section, slender profile and elegant finish. As Percy Brown aptly describes: "There is an animation in its sculptured relief with its pulsating light and shadow, every shaft

is fluted, many buildings ribbed, capitals and bases are scalloped, all its details have been wrought in a school where the desire for enrichment was insatiable."²⁰

(4) The outermost and incomplete *gōpura* of gigantic proportions on the south side of the Śīraṅgam temple was a Nāyak creation. The granite base is so massive that if it had been finished, it would have attained a height of nearly 300 feet. Another notable Nāyak contribution to this temple is the famous horse-court (Śēsharāyar-maṇḍapa) which, in elegance of execution and majesty, excel all its Vijayanagara predecessors. This is another example of the "insatiable desire for enrichment" found in the Nāyak buildings.

(5) The magnificent nine-storeyed towers on the south, (1559 A.D.) and the north as well as the various *maṇḍapas* inside and outside the Mīnākshi temple at Madurai were the contributions of the Nāyaks of Madurai. The south *gōpura* renovated recently, has a graceful in-curving side-profile. Its entire upper body is crowded with stucco figures of Śaiva Puranic stories. The 'Thousand Pillared' *maṇḍapa* was built during Kṛishṇappa-nāyaka's time (c. 1600) and here we see marvellous life-size sculptures with bronze finish like Nṛtta Gaṇapati, Naṭarāja, Rati, Manmatha, Kuratti (gypsy) etc. Vijayanagara motifs are taken up and enlarged and elaborated. The *pudumaṇḍapa* in front of the Mīnākshi temple is the *magnum opus* of the Nāyak creations. Built by the greatest king of the line, Tirumalai-nāyaka, it is one of the largest *maṇḍapas* in India, supported by a forest of columns of great height and beauty. Here, the lower parts of the pillars are sculptured into life-size portrait figures of the ruling king, his queens and his predecessors. There are excellent large-seized, sculptures of Gajāntaka, Ūrdhva-lāṇḍava etc.

(6) The eleven-storeyed tallest *gōpura* of Tamilnadu was built by the Nāyak king in front of the Āṇḍal temple at Śīvilliputtūr (Ramanathapur District). Other excellent *maṇḍapas* built by Madurai kings can be seen at Kṛishṇapuram, Aḷagarkōyil, Tirupparaṅkunṇam etc.

These spacious *maṇḍapas* of the Nāyaks of Madurai having long corridors, lined by the majestic array of tall monolithic pillars. The conception has much in common with the Pāṇḍyan creations. The style of the pillars is Vijayanagara though the life-size portrait sculptures dominate the scheme. This style was so popular in the regions under the Madurai Nāyaks that Percy Brown is right in calling it "Madurai style".

(7) The Nāyaks of Ikkēri built temples in places like Ikkēri, Keḷadi etc., which show a combination of the Vijayanagara and the Hoysaḷa traditions. The Aghōrēśvara temple at Ikkēri (Shimoga District) stands on a high terrace and has storeyed *vimāna*, which has the *sukanāsi* projection. The pattern of sculptures on the outer body of the *vimāna* also recall the Hoysaḷa predecessors. The inside *maṇḍapa* is also of the *navaraṅga* pattern with ornate pillars. But the animal statuary characteristic of Vijayanagara and Nāyak structures are found. Other examples of temples of Ikkēri Nāyaks are those of Rāmēśvara and Virabhadra in Keḷadi.

The last phase of the Vijayanagara which can indeed be called the "Nāyak

Phase" is an inseparable and brilliant appendage to the story of Vijayanagara architecture.

Civil Architecture

Civil architecture also entered a new and dynamic phase. City planning, layout of streets and houses, wide range of structure for a variety of purposes, political and social royal gatherings like the palace, the citadel, ministerial residences, sumptuous bazars or market-places, entertainment halls and theatres, the public baths, civic amenities like water-supply system and irrigation projects—all these seen in the Vijayanagara city are indeed remarkable and unparalleled in the history of civil architecture in India. Contemporary foreign travellers have recorded their admiration and paid warm tributes to the beauty and the splendour of the city and the excellent water-supply system. In them we see (i) the full flowering of the Hindu civil planning, know-how and architectural forms to suit the needs of an expanding imperial power. (ii) Secondly, we see the influence of the neighbouring Islamic style and the emergence of a mixed style, often called the Indo-Saracenic. This impact is seen only in the later structures and that too, confined to certain items like the arches (for entrances and domes) and projecting balconies etc. Moreover, when exactly this influence began to be felt, it is rather difficult to say. But it is not noticeable in the earlier structures. This influence must have started roughly from the time of Dēvarāya II (c. 1435 A.D.), who was the first king to invite the Muslims to come and live in his capital.²¹ This paved the way for a closer contact and better understanding for mutual benefit. The native artisans were quick to learn the new techniques and adopt them, not blindly, but very judiciously to enhance the utility and beauty of the structures. They harmonised the new methods and style with the structures, without leaving their basic Hindu fabric. Moreover, it should be mentioned that this new style was adopted only for secular buildings like the palace or stables and even residences but never in the temples. The religious buildings continued to be built in their age-old traditional style. For civil buildings, stone was used for the base, while various materials like wood, metal, brick and mortar were used for superstructure. The pillars were of timber or stone. Sometimes pillars with stone core were covered with brick and mortar. The arch, especially the wide four-centered type was freely used. The lotus and the *vyāḍi* motif were common. Ceilings were vaulted or domed. The superstructure over the roof had the Hindu style of diminishing tiers capped by *śikhara*s resembling the temple *śikhara* (e.g. Lotus Mahal, Hampi and Gagan Mahal at Penukonda).²²

The city in its original beauty has been described vividly by Abdūl Razaak, the Persian ambassador, who visited it in 1443 A.D. "The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls one within the other. The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the top of the hill and is made of stone and mortar with strong gates. The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others and in it is situated in the palace of the king. Between the first, second and third walls there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the third to the seventh, shops and

bazaars are closely crowded together. At the head of each bazaar, there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazaars are very broad and long. . . ."²³ The ruins of the bazars and streets in front of the Pampāpati temple, Achyuta temple (Soolai bazar), Viṭṭhala and Kṛishṇa temples can be seen even today perfectly lined on either side leaving a broad road in the middle. The rows of shops were simple constructions with stone pillars supporting ornamental lintel. Paes, who visited the court of Kṛishṇadēvarāya in 1520, has waxed eloquent on the beauty of the city. To him "the city seemed to be as large as Rome and very beautiful to look at, with its imposing gateways, groves, gardens and archards, with many conduits of water which flow into the midst of the city."²⁴

The Citadel: In the citadel area at Hampi, the palaces and other civil buildings described so highly by the foreign visitors are in pathetic ruins today. Only basements are available to speak about their enormous dimensions. There is the large basement of the "king's Audience Hall" which had six rows of 10 pillars each. The pillars and superstructures were evidently of timber. It seems to have had a pyramidal storeyed roof in timber. The "Throne platform", rather the "House of Victory" as Paes would call it, is also called the *Mahānavamidibba* (Pl. XV, A), since it was from there that the kings witnessed the *navarātri* festival. It was erected by Kṛishṇadēvarāya after his victorious campaign to Orissa. It has a massive square granite base in three diminishing tiers, the lowest being 40 metre square and top most 24 metre square. The height of this basement alone is 12 metres. The flight of steps leading to the top of the platform is on its west. The walls of the tiers are covered with rows of boldly carved friezes of horses, elephants, warriors, dancers and musicians. Foreigners with their queer dresses and Arab horse-dealers are also depicted. The gorgeous processions connected with the *mahānavami* festival described by the foreign travellers are all represented in the sides of the platform. Acrobatic scenes, wrestling and hunting bouts, a warrior killing a bear etc. are seen portrayed in a style full of spirit and gaiety.

The building identified as the palace is above 150 metres south-west of the "Throne platform". It is also a large and ornate granite base (27m×18m×1.5m), having a flight of steps with elephant balustrades in green chlorite stone. There are also sculptured friezes of elephants, horses and dancers.

About these platforms or "vast expanse of masonry" Percy Brown has aptly observed, "Even in their dismantled condition these elevated and orderly piles of masonry with finely moulded revetments retain some of the glamour and romance of that brilliant period when Vijayanagara was one of the most famous capitals of the east".²⁵

But palaces of later Vijayanagara period are to be seen in a fairly good state of preservation at Chandragiri, Seṅji, Penukoṇḍa and a few other places. The Chandragiri palace is an impressive and stately building with arched facades combined with Hindu type of turrets in the form of *gōpuras* at the top. At Seṅji also, secular buildings are in the Indo-Saracenic style of later half of the 16th century. Gagan Mahal at Penukoṇḍa is very much like the Lotus Mahal at Hampi.

In Hampi, there were also a number of enclosures set apart for various categories of people and personnel. The so-called Zanana enclosure contains a number of important buildings enclosed within a high-walled area. It is here that one of the finest and best preserved structures of the city is found viz. the Lotus Mahal (Pl. XV, B). It is a two storeyed open pavilion with an ornate stone basement and about twenty four pillars carry recessed and foliated arches. There was a large amount of plaster and stucco work ornamentation outside, of which some remnants are still visible. Inside, the ceiling consists of a number of vaults and domes, symmetrically arranged. The central part is a plain coffered ceiling decorated with a lotus-bud in the centre. The upper storey has a number of balconies with windows having recessed and foliated arches. The ceilings have octagonal and vaulted domes. In the centre, there is a deep clerestory elaborately ornamented with friezes and niches with remnants of seated figures and ending on top in a small ribbed inverted lotus dome. The super-structure consists of nine pyramidal *śikhara*s of varying sizes. In its original state, fully decorated, painted and covered with polished plaster work, the Lotus Mahal must have been a very beautiful and dignified structure. Except for the arches and their piers, every other feature, from bottom to top, such as the moulded basement, the *pushpa-pōdiga* corbels, the lotus-bud ceiling the pyramidal *śikhara*s at the top, not to speak of the various decorative figural friezes, the structure was modelled on the prevailing indigenous traditions.

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A SURVEY OF EARLY SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES

(With Special Reference to Tamilnadu)

R. ANANDASIVAM AND K. K. RAMAMURTHY

Introductory

BORN OUT OF AESTHETIC APPRECIATION, especially of the European connoisseurs, the study of Indian sculptural art, both in stone and metal, acquired new dimensions when Ananda Coomaraswamy and others discerned the philosophical import of Indian art pieces. One of the significant contributions of India in the field of art relates to the casting of metal images. Though the whole of India is famous for this branch of art, it was South India, particularly Tamilnadu that made a water-mark in this field.

In India all arts—poetry, drama, dance, painting, sculpture and music—were considered sacred, being related closely to religion. The art of making metal images is not an exception. The main types of metal images include those of the Buddha in different poses, Bōdhisatva Maitrēyas and other minor deities of Mahāyāna Buddhism, a galaxy of images representing different aspects of gods and goddesses of both the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava orders, those of the Śaiva *nayanārs*, Vaiṣṇava *āḷvārs* and twenty four *tīrthaṅkaras* of Jains, their *śāsana-dēvatas* and Bāhubali and a few portraits of kings, queens, saints, etc.

Technique of Casting

The antiquity of the art of casting metal images in India is attested to by the references we get in early Indian literature like the Ṛigvēda, Yajurveda, and the two epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. The earliest strata of Tamil literature called the Śaṅgam classics also refer to this art. These literary pieces are too slender and general and there is no detailed account in this early literature about the process of casting metal images. Only, literature of the Gupta period is helpful in this regard. The *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Matsya-purāṇa* give some details on the technique of casting images. Perhaps the *Mānasāra*, probably a South Indian treatise, is the earliest of its kind dealing elaborately with the 'lost wax' technique of metal casting, as found recorded in its 68th chapter. Together with it may be considered the account given in *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*, also known as *Mānasōllāsa*, of the Western Chālukya ruler Sōmēśvara III (c. 1127-39 A.D.)

The images in metal are cast either as solid (Skt. *ghana*) or as hollow (Skt. *sushira*), both the modes of casting being based on the *cire perdue* technique, also known as 'lost wax' method (Skt. *Madhuchchishṭa-vidhāna*). *Cire perdue* is a French expression (*cire* means 'wax' and *perdue* means 'lost') commonly used to denote a metal casting process in which wax subject is replaced by metal. It is this method which was largely followed in India, as in ancient China and Greece, and is even now practised in many parts of India, particularly South India, to cast metal images.

Since the model is lost for ever in this method, every image is after a fresh model, giving the tint of individuality to each of them.

In this method, a model of the subject is prepared out of wax. Then a mould of clay is obtained by coating repeatedly several layers of clay over the prepared model. A suitable orifice is provided in this clay mould. When the mould is heated, all the wax drains off through the orifice, leaving behind the terracotta mould, and after a thorough heating molten alloy is poured through the orifice. The images thus cast will be solid. However, in the cast of comparatively large images, as a matter of economy and expediency, hollow casting is preferred. In this process, the subject is modelled out of clay and covered with wax and then with clay. The wax is drained off by heating and the molten alloy poured into its space takes its shape. After the actual casting is over, some finishing work such as engraving, polishing, etc. are done. In the incipient stages of the development of casting metal images, the wax model itself was prepared in a detailed manner which left little work after its casting. But subsequently, as is now practised, a rough metal core was cast and most of the details of decoration were done after that. "Some times so much of chiselling is done that an almost chiselled out metal figure is created rather than a cast one."

In the study of South Indian metal images which were largely made out of alloys of copper and a few other metals, the term 'bronze' is used to denote them. It is a conventional term to denote the images of copper alloys, though technically questionable. It may be of some interest to know the exact content of South Indian bronzes. The *śilpaśāstras* of different ages prescribe the kinds of metals and the ratio in which they should be alloyed in making a sacred image. According to the *śāstras* and tradition, icons should be made of *pañchalōha* (five metals)—copper, silver, gold, brass and white lead. North Indian traditions specify *ashṭa-dhātus* (eight metals)—gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, mercury, copper and zinc. A chemical scrap analysis of an early Chōla bronze revealed the content of 85% copper, 12% tin, 1 to 1.5% lead, .5 to 1% zinc and traces of iron also. The present day *sthāpatis* of Svāmimalai (Tanjavur District, Tamilnadu) use alloys of 91% copper, 6% brass and 3% lead in most of the cases to cast an image. The proportion of each of these metals is determined by its properties. Copper would not give a lasting shine which is achieved by mixing a little brass which also reduces the melting point of copper. Similarly the presence of lead not only gives more mobility to molten alloy, but also facilitates more easily the chiselling and engraving processes.

Dating

Dating of South Indian metal images is a difficult, nevertheless important task which is essential for an understanding and appreciation of the history of this branch of art, in its different stages of evolution and ramification.

The original habitat of South Indian metal images are not always helpful in dating them. Most of the images are under worship and what we have in our Museums' collections were acquired as treasure troves. In the case of icons that are under worship, the icons enshrined in a temple are not chronologically co-eval

with the foundation of the temple and it is not uncommon to notice comparatively ancient icons in late temples and *vice versa*. The treasure troves are usually hit upon accidentally and no clue to dating is obtainable in this regard.

Since art in any form in India is known for its anonymity, very rarely metal icons bear dates in the form of label inscriptions. However, there are a few dated images in metal. Selectively speaking mention may be made of one of the two seated Lōkēśvaras of the Mañjunātha temple at Kadri (South Kanara District, Karnataka) which has an inscription giving the date of its installation as 968 A.D. Likewise, the image of Naṭeśa from Bēlūr (Salem District, Tamilnadu), now in the Government Museum, Madras bears a date Kali 4,611 - 1511 A.D. There is another category of metal images which are approximately datable with the help of dates of the inscriptions referring to their donation or installation and/or with the aid of the palaeography of the inscriptions found engraved on the pedestals of these images. To this class may be added the inscribed Buddhist bronzes from Nāgappaṭṭanam, the Kōṇērājapuram group of images, the inscribed Naṭeśa from Tiruveṅkāḍu, the seated Kālī from Senniyanviduti, the seated Viṣṇu under worship in Tiruchchērai, the Viṇādhara Bhikṣhātana from Mēlapperumpallam, the Pradōshamūrti from Tīrthanagarī, etc. all in Tamilnadu not to speak of several portraits of rulers and their consorts.

However, there is always an element of risk in depending too much and singularly on the palaeographical evidence which has proved in more than one case not so dependable. Moreover, one must also make sure of himself about the fact that the pedestals bearing inscriptions are in general chronologically co-eval with the images and not later replacements. It is also implicit that the stylistic characteristics of the images are in conformity with the other near contemporary products. As such these absolutely dated, and approximately datable images provide themselves as 'pointers' and with their aid, the other specimens of unknown dates are marginally dated working backwards and forwards.

However, such dated or datable images are quite few and far between which factor in turn leaves the art historian to depend on their stylistic analysis. But such an analysis is handicapped much by the fewness of studied metal images. Therefore, as may be expected, the results of the study of the advent, popularity, variations and disappearance or absence of specific features of drapery and decoration, physiognomical traits and poses and iconographic details of stone images of known dates are often pressed into service to date a contemporary metal image. This method of comparison is now generally accepted and followed, as the 'imitative propensity' of Indian craftsmen and the ease with which the medium was changed from one material to another by them are well known. In fact, in India in the past, the stone carver and metal worker were traditionally one and the same person and hence the stylistic features of the stone sculptures are bound to be reflected in the metal images, though the facility afforded or limitation imposed by the medium is also to be accounted for.

In the sculptures of different ages, it can be seen that the early simple and plain features change into complex and ornate ones in the subsequent periods. Ornaments,

dress, pose, delineation of limbs, etc. periodically change, thereby providing clues to their chronology. Thus the presence or absence of the stylistic feature may well serve as a clue to dating. It may well be remembered that no art motif, norm or design of a particular period disappears suddenly; in most cases they are seen persisting in the subsequent epochs, either due to conservatism or idiosyncrasy on the part of the craftsmen. Even in art products of a particular age the wholesome application of stylistic analysis tends to fail. For instance, the device of the hair locks being ringed by necklace as found in Śaiva images is not applicable to the Vaiṣṇava ones, since they do not have *jaṭās*. In the stylistic analysis the geographical factor is also important, as there may be more than one stylistic mooring and consequently variations in concepts and treatment. In fact, it is not possible to speak of a general style for all regions for a particular period, since rendering of stylistic traits varied from region to region.

Though stylistic features are useful guides in dating metal images and stone sculptures, exclusive dependence on them is risky, the method itself being empirical in its approach. Moreover, the method of stylistic analysis depends much on the reaction that the object under study invokes upon the critic. Such a reaction is personal, and subjective and involves human element in its results. Hence it is always necessary to allow a margin of error in the dating of the metal images.

South Indian Bronzes up to c. 600 A.D.

The famous 'dancing girl' among the archaeological finds from Mehrgarh is the earliest available Indian bronze image datable to the third millennium B.C. That South India did not lag too behind is illustrated by the find of the bronze image of the Mother Goddess at Ādichchanallūr (Tirunelveli District, Tamilnadu) assignable to the first millennium B.C. in the Iron Age. The survey of South Indian bronzes from this period would clearly show that there was more or less continuous development in this field of art achieved by our ancients.

The excavations conducted at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) have brought to light a bronze figure, probably of a prince, standing relaxedly in *tribhaṅga* with a long bow in his left hand and the right hand in *kaṭyavilambita* holding an arrow. The simple treatment, austere ornamentation, distended earlobes, typical simple head-dress with *ushnīṣa*-like projection, etc. point to an early date, say the third century A.D. The site was Vijayapurī, the Ikṣvāku capital and hence the piece may be treated as a specimen of Ikṣvāku art.

A fillip was given in South India to the art of making metal images by the Mahāyāna Buddhists who profusely installed metal images of the Buddha in their *chaityas* and *vihāras*. A cluster of Buddhist centres around Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa served as an epicentre of a school of art which was responsible for several exquisite images of the Buddhist pantheon in stone and metal, not only in South India but also in several countries in Southeast Asia. In fact, the Amarāvati school of art inspired and influenced very much the art traditions of the subsequent periods. The bronzes from Amarāvati and Buddhapāḍ of seated and standing Buddhas,

monks, etc., assignable to a period from about the third century A.D. to the close of the fifth century are the remarkable specimens of Amarāvati school in the metal medium. These bronzes are characterised by a physiognomy comparable to that of the contemporary stone sculptures, diaphanous drapery, the lower garment extending upto the anklets, the folds of the garments being shown in schematic lines, etc. The excavations conducted at Kāvēripūmpaṭṭiṇam (Tanjavur District) revealed a small seated Buddha bronze in *dhyaṇa-mudrā* from a structure datable to the fourth-fifth centuries A.D.

A continuation of this tradition is traceable to the fifth century A.D. as may be seen from the Avalōkitēśvara image at Victoria and Albert Museum, London, probably a product from the Krishna Valley. The dominant political power during the period in the region was that of the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters.

In the subsequent periods until about 800 A.D. there was evidently a lack of popularity of the art of making metal images, as may be seen from the paucity of extant bronzes. It is difficult to explain this lacuna in the history of this branch of art. Since hitherto it was largely a Buddhist inheritance, it may be said that the declining fortunes of this sect with the rise of the Hindu dynasties following the Śātavāhanas and the Ikshvākus may be considered as one of the reasons. However, certain isolated centres of Buddhism did not fail to produce metal icons. The image of Bōdhisatva Maitrēya from Nāgappaṭṭiṇam (Tanjavur District) which is dated by Sivaramamurti to the eighth century A.D., may be cited as an instance. Jainism has also contributed its own mite to this branch of art, to which we may revert later.

South Indian Bronzes from c. 600 to 900 A.D.

With the rise into prominence of the major Hindu dynasties such as the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, Pallavas of Kāñchī (Simhavishṇu line), Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi and the Pāṇdyas of Madurai, Hinduism in South India received tremendous royal and popular support and the practice of making metal icons, which was till then more or less a Buddhist legacy came to be popularly adopted by the Hindus. The 7th-9th centuries which synchronised with the rise of these dynasties marked a new epoch in the religious history of the land. It was in this period that structural temples in permanent medium came into vogue and the majority of Śaiva *nāyanārs* and Vaishṇava *āḷvārs* heralded the *bhakti* movement in the Tamil country. Also the period witnessed the progress of the *vāmācāra* sects of Śaivism in different parts of the region.

One cannot but think that these religious movements could have created a religious awakening among the people and consequently their participation in congregational worship, both inside and outside the temples increased. This resulted in the proliferation and elaboration of temple rituals and festivals, particularly in Tamilnadu. The installation of metal icons of the Śaiva and Vaishṇava orders was only a logical extension in this direction. In fact almost all bronzes available to us are all images to be carried in procession on festival days and on certain ritual occasions. Most of them, except a few small ones are provided with holes in the pedestal through which rods could be inserted to hold them in position and carry them.

Fortunately we have an epigraph (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. IV, no. 131) from the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchīpuram which records the gift of 1,000 poṇ (gold) obviously for making a bowl for sacred offerings (*balittālam*) and for an image (*paḍimam*) to the god of the temple of Paramēśvara-viṇṇagaram by Abhimāna-siddhi *alias* Pallavaṇ. This inscription, assignable to the middle of the ninth century A.D. is the earliest available reference to the donation of metal images to temples in the Tamil country.

However, the actual production of metal images in the period which synchronised with the period of the decline of the Pallava rule, in Tamilnadu should have been very limited. This is quite understandable since the power of the Pallavas after the death of Paramēśvaravarman II (c. 731 A.D.) was not strong and so they could not have extended much patronage to this art. Thereafter there was a civil war in the Pallava kingdom between Nandivarman II and other rival claimants to the Pallava throne. Between 817-45 A.D. the kingdom was virtually divided among the Pallava princes in the wake of an interregnum. Though Nandivarman III (c. 846-69 A.D.) was able to revive Pallava glory, the kingdom again came to be divided among his two sons Nṛpatuṅgavarman and Kampavarman perpetuating internecine wars. Amidst these internal political disturbances, not to speak of foreign invasions, the artistic creations in the Pallava kingdom should have been indeed limited. A near analogy is the paucity of Chola bronzes assignable to 940-70 A.D. during which period the Chōḷa kingdom witnessed troubles due to the Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion under Kṛṣṇa III on the northern frontier of the Chōḷa kingdom.

The chief physiognomical traits of the Pallava sculptural art include a rather long face, a flat nose and double chin. The shoulder is massive and the arms and legs are columnlike. Costumes and ornamentation are generally subordinated to the body. This emphasis on the frame of the body tends to present an individualistic, elegant, natural and simple look to the works of the Pallava age. Equally simple is the dress. The drapery which rarely indicates the details of fold, consists of a girdle with its main loop hanging in a broad curve. A marked oblique twist can be seen in the median girdle. A slim abdominal portion is indicated by a shallow horizontal line above the hips. The necklaces are circular, close fitting and flattened. Armlets are shown with a small fan-shaped projection. At times the *udarabandha* is beaded. But the most important feature of the Pallava images is the *yajñōpavīta*, broad and ribbon-like, flowing over the left arm. However, it persisted as late as the 10th century as gleaned from its presence in the stone image of Chandēśvara at Puñjai (c. 950 A.D.), as also in the Tripurāntaka bronze from Koḍumuḍi (c. 950-1000 A.D.). In the Kōñērīrājapuram bronze of Śiva, the wavy *yajñōpavīta* merely rests on the left arm in a curve. The *kaṭisūtra* (waist band) in Pallava art pieces is represented as a flat band around the waist, with a semi-circular and broad loop falling over the thighs, the ends of the band being knotted in the shape of a long loop. On either side of the *kaṭisūtra* a long strip extends upto the anklets from below the side loops.

In the Pallava sculptural art, the deities generally carry the iconographic cognizances naturally. It is said that the discus in the Viṣṇu images are shown generally

in profile, as if being launched (*prayōga*). Though the depicting of flames in *śaikhha*, *chakra*, etc. is often taken to be a later development, not found in Pallava sculptures, flames do appear in the symbols in the Pallava period. It may also be observed that when more than one pair of arms are shown, the upper arms branch off from the elbow of the front lower arms.

There is a small group of bronzes, possessing a few of the above characteristics of the Pallava sculptural art, among which the flowing of the *yajñōpavīta* over the left arm, and the oblique twist shown in the median loop of the girdle are often stressed. Most of the images in this Pallava group are assigned to the later Pallava period i.e., from about c. 750-900. A.D. These bronzes are mostly of medium size, hailing from different places, and exhibit archaism of the stone sculptures of the Pallava period. There is no consensus of opinion among scholars with regard to the dating of these images. T. N. Ramachandran and Gravely asserted that 'no Pallava images, seem, however, yet to be known in metal'. On the contrary, P. R. Srinivasan has placed as many as 21 images as belonging to the Tamil-Pallava period. The recent treatise on the early Chōla bronzes by Douglas Barrett resurrects the earlier view of T. N. Ramachandran and Gravely and takes certain Pallava icons to the Chōla period.

The images of disputed dates include Vishāpāharaṇa, Kīlappudanūr, Tanjavur District (Srinivasan, fig. 38 & 39: c. 850 A.D.; Khandalawala: 840-50; A.D.; Barrett: 940-50; A.D.; Narasimhan: 680-730 A.D.) Tīrpuāntaka, probably from the same District(?), Gautam Sarabhai Collection (Srinivasan, fig. 32 & 33: c. 850 A.D.; Khandalawala: 850 A.D.; Barrett: 900 A.D.; Narasimhan: 680-730 A.D.), Viṣṇu, Peruntōṭṭam (Narasimhan: 680-730 A.D.; Nagaswamy: 9th century A.D.); Sōmāskanda, Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, Chingleput District (Srinivasan, fig. 36 & 37: c. 850; A.D.; Sivaramamurti: 9th century A.D.; Narasimhan: 800-50 A.D.); Naṭeśa from Kūram (illustrated; Srinivasan: c. 875 A.D.; John Irwin: 900 A.D.; Barrett: not earlier than 950 A.D.; Sivaramamurti: 8th century A.D.; Narasimhan: 800-50 A.D.); Naṭeśa, Nallūr, Tanjavur District (Srinivasan: 900 A.D.; Khandalawala: 875 A.D.; Barrett, fig. 61 & 62: 900 A.D.; Narasimhan 800-50 A.D.); Trivikrama, Singānallūr, Coimbatore District (Srinivasan, fig. 53: c. 900 A.D.; Khandalawala: 875 A.D.; Barrett: 940 A.D.; Sivaramamurti: 8th century A.D.); Kīrātamūrti and Arjuna, Tiruvēṭkaḷam, South Arcot District (Srinivasan, fig. 44 & 45: 875-900 A.D.; Khandalawala: 900-25 A.D.; Barrett: 950-60 A.D.), etc. are to mention only notable ones, among them. Recently a few more bronzes have been placed in the Pallava period. They include the standing Viṣṇu, National Museum (LK, 15, pl. xxvi fig. 1 & pl. xxvii, fig. 2; Dvivedi: 8th century A.D.); Śiva Puñjaiyūr (LK, 18, pl. vi, fig. 4; Nagaswamy: c. 800 A.D.); Umāmahēśvara, Paṭṭamarigalam (LK, 18, pl. v, fig. 2 & 3; Nagaswamy: c. 850 A.D.); Kalyāṇasundara and Umā, Vaḍakalattūr (*Damila*, 1970, pl. 16, 17; Nagaswamy: c. 850 A.D.); Subrahmanya, Taṇḍāntōṭṭam (LK 10, frontispiece; Nagaswamy: 9th century A.D.); Viṣṇu, Madras Museum (LK, 14, plate XII; Srinivasan Desikan: 9th century A.D.); Viṣṇu (Vāsudēva), National Museum (LK, 15, pl. xxvii, fig. 3 & 4: early 9th century A.D.); etc.

To take up two specific cases. The Nallūr Naṭeśa is placed in c. 875, A.D. c. 900 A.D. and c. 900 A.D. respectively by Karl Khandalawala, Srinivasan and Barrett showing that the difference of opinion is mainly due to the use of dynastic appellation such as late Pallava and early Chōḷa. However, in the case of the Singanallūr Trivikrama image the datings are widely apart. The image is dated to about the 8th century A.D. by Sivaramamurti, 875 A.D. by Karl Khandalawala, c. 900 A.D. by Srinivasan and c. 940 A.D. by Barrett. This clearly shows that the differences in dating are mainly due to different concepts of stylistic development.

It may be noted that a sizable bulk of the above bronzes comes from outside the homeland of the Pallavas and largely from the modern Tanjavur and Tiruchirappalli Districts, i.e. the ancient Muttaraiyar and Irukkuvēl tracts. If a late Pallava date, say between the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. is claimed for these bronzes, it would pose an interesting problem since the lower Kaveri valley was never under the effective control of the Pallavas during the period. The Pāṇḍyas of Madurai, always contested with the Pallavas for the supremacy over this region. The subordination of the Muttaraiyars and Irukkuvēls who held sway over this region, to the Pallavas was only nominal and in fact the dating of inscriptions in the regnal years of a Pallava suzerain was only a political arrangement. In this tract was evolved an architectural style with a distinct local touch and combining in itself the Pallava-Pāṇḍya art norms. Hence it is probable that this region which later on passed into the hands of the Chōḷas could have well served as an immediate source of inspiration for the early Chōḷa art and architecture. Since, most of the bronzes in the Pallava group come from and around this area, it is likely that the differences due to different concepts of stylization in the study of bronzes of this period may disappear if a thorough study of them is made taking into account the local stylistic ramifications in art.

In this group of images for which a Pallava date is claimed, the one of Naṭeśa, from Kūram now in the Government Museum, Madras (Pl. XVI, A) is an interesting specimen. Kūram is a village in the Chingleput District very near Kāñchīpuram with strong Pallava association. Barrett seems to doubt the original habitat of this bronze. Characterised by the restrained rhythm of dance, Śiva in this piece is depicted with a somewhat serious countenance. He has two pairs of hands the upper right carrying *damaru*, slightly bent downwards, the upper left holding a snake, the lower right in *abhaya mudra* and the lower left in *gajahasta*. He stands in perfect balance on the slightly bent right leg over the *apasmāra puruṣa* and the left leg is bent at the knee and raised up, suggesting *ūrdhavajānu* pose, a very rare feature indeed. The *jaṭāma-kuta* is ornate and is cylindrical with *dattūra* flower on the left and crescent on the right. The face, which shows signs of recutting, is oval with vertically cut third eye on the forehead. Earlobes are long, adorned with *makara* and *patra kuṇḍalas*. Three necklaces are seen around the neck. The *yajñōparīta* is shown with a double bell clasp on the left chest. The characteristic Pallava idiom, i.e., the *yajñōparīta* flowing over the left arm is not applicable here since the image is characterised by movement. The broad median loop and the knots in the form of loops with splayed free ends on either side of the *kaṭisūtra* with a *simhamukha* knot in the middle front are notable features.

Sivaramamurti would place the image in the 8th century A.D., Srinivasan dates it to the third quarter of the 9th century A.D., John Irwin takes it to c. 900 and Barrett thinks that it should not be placed earlier than c. 950. The late dating of the image by Barrett is due to the rare feature of the presence of snake in the upper left hand of the figure instead of fire. Near comparison is provided by the stone sculpture of Naṭeśa in the temple at Āvani (Kolar District, Karnataka) dated on grounds of architectural style, in the tenth century. Barrett thinks that the Kūram Naṭeśa was inspired by Āvani Naṭeśa of the tenth century. However, it is also likely that the Āvani Naṭeśa, probably a Nolamba art piece, would have been inspired by the Kūram Naṭeśa, rather than *vice versa*.

The Bāhubali bronze from Śravaṇabelagoḷa, (Karnataka) now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay would highlight the contributions of Jainism which had strong roots in Karnataka. The image of Bāhubali, is in the *kāyōtsarga* pose. The face of Bāhubali is long and ovoid, and the torso is aptly characterised by slight looseness, as he was a prince turned ascetic. The curled ringlets of hair and the entwining stem and leaves of the creeper over the naked body are in high relief. This is dated about the 9th century and, if the regional art norm is stressed it may be taken to be a representative specimen of early Ganga art.

South Indian Bronzes from c. 900 to 1300 A.D.

From about the beginning of the tenth century the art of casting metal icons came to be patronised more widely in the Tamil country. The imperial Chōḷa rule from about the close of the 9th century up through the reigns of the two great monarchs Rājarāja I and Rājendra I constituted the golden age of bronzes in South India. The art under the Chōḷas reached hitherto unknown heights. As O.C. Gangoly long ago remarked, "In the absorbing serenity of expression, in the rhythmic sways and dynamic symmetry of the poses, above all in the moving generalised forms of an original, yet artistic anatomy, the bronzes of this school translate the abstruse conceptions of brahmanic philosophy into which the artists have skillfully mingled their own meditations, their prayers and all the hopes of their lives. To know them and appreciate them is to receive an invitation into a new world of plastic dreams."

The production of bronzes during the period was overwhelming. Though a good number of Vaiṣṇava icons also were cast, it was the Śaiva pantheon that was well represented. The most popular theme was Śiva as Naṭeśa (or Naṭarāja) in the *ānanda-tāṇḍava* mode. The other forms of Śiva depicted in bronze were Tripurāntaka, Viṇādhara, Vṛishabhavāhana, Sōmāskanda, Kalyāṇasundara, etc. Special importance and encouragement were given also to the *kṣhētrapāla* icons such as, Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, Bhikṣhātana, etc. Since the Chōḷas were powerful warriors, the concept of Subrahmaṇya was also popular. The largest bronze of Subrahmaṇya of this period is from Gaṅgaikondachōḷapuram. On the Vaiṣṇava side, besides the icons of Viṣṇu with or without consorts, those of other well known incarnations of Viṣṇu were also produced. Interestingly, it was from the early Chōḷa period that metal icons of Rāma, Sītā, Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān in a group appear in the Tamil

country. In the early stages the figure of Rāma was treated more like a *rājapurusha* than like a *daiva*. This is evidenced from the early Rāma and Lakshmaṇa bronzes which are shown with minimum details, having *karaṇḍamakuṭa*. *Dammila* type of head-dress was intended for Sītā. In the late Chōḷa period, they were portrayed as *avatāra-purushas* as *kirīṭamakuṭa* is substituted for *karaṇḍamakuṭa* and *śrīvatsa* symbol is introduced on the chest of Rāma. It is not out of place here to mention that it was during this period that the first Tamil rendering of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Kambaṇ was done.

The Chōḷa period is considered again to be important for the prolific production of icons of minor deities in metal. Images of Kālī, Ayyaṇār, and those of Chaṇḍēśa, Nandi, Adhikāranandī, Sūrya, the *āyudhapurushas* of the Vaishṇava order, etc. besides Śaiva *nāyanārs* like Appar, Sambandhar, Sundarar, his consort Paravai Nāchchiyār, Mānikkavāchakar, Kaṇṇappar, Kōṭṭupuli, etc. and Vaishṇava *ālvārs* like Tirumaṅgai are notable in this category. It is an interesting question how the choice of a particular aspect of god was made by the temple, though Naṭēśa (Naṭarāja, popularly called in Tamil inscriptions as *Āḍalvallāṇ*) was favoured by almost every Śiva temple in Tamilnadu. One of the reasons for the preference of a particular theme for bronze image may be either to represent in plastic art the legends grown around the temple and the presiding deity or to glorify the aspects of the deity sung in the hymns of that place. The donor's personal wish might also have had some bearing on the choice of icons.

The original habitats of most of the images of this period are confined to the lower Kaveri delta region covering the modern Kumbhakōṇam, Mayūram, Nannīlam, Nāgappaṭṭiṇam and other taluks in the Tanjavur District and some parts of the Tiruchirappalli District. For the sake of convenience, the bronzes belonging to the period from c. 900 to 1300 A.D., synchronising with the Chōḷa supremacy, may be studied here in two groups, viz. (i) bronzes of the period from about the beginning of the 10th century to the close of the 11th century and (ii) bronzes of the period from about the beginning of the 12th century to the close of the 13th century. It may be noted that this is only a broad classification of the bronzes of the Chōḷa period, though it is possible to distinguish many sub-phases in their stylistic development. For instance, Barrett in his *Early Chōḷa Bronzes* takes the early Chōḷa phase from about 850 to 1014 A.D. and distinguishes three sub-phases, namely Phase I (850-940 A.D.) Āditya I phase, Phase II (940-70 A.D.) and Phase III (970-1014 A.D.) Śembiyan Mahādēvi phase. Phase III of Barrett's classification is noted for the precipitation of a classical metropolitan school of Chōḷa bronzes.

In this regard one must not miss the seemingly endless list of gifts consisting of images, vessels, ornaments, etc. of gold, silver and copper, made by Rājarāja I, the members of his harem and his subordinates to the temple of Rājarājēśvaram (Bṛihadīśvara) at Taṇjāvūr. The inscriptions (see *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II) which refer to these gifts supply good source material for the study of metal icons and iconography in general in the 10th-11th century. Many interesting pieces of information are available through these inscriptions. For instance, apart from the images of gold

or brass, some 80 images made of copper are referred to with individual descriptions of dimensions and weights. But hardly do we get any reference to 'bronze' images. This incidentally reiterates the fact that South Indian 'bronzes' are really copper icons.

It is stated in one of the inscriptions that the Ardhanārīśvara gifted by a general of Rājārāja I was made of copper, the female half being gilded with brass. But one is yet to get a Hindu icon with brass gilding. The Tañjāvūr inscriptions also reveal another fact that the *vāhanas* (vehicles of gods and goddesses) were cast hollow, though the accompanying icons were solid casts. For instance, the figure of Vṛishabhavāhana set up by one of the queens of Rājārāja I had a hollow cast *vṛishabha*. Interestingly the bull of the Vṛishabhavāhana set of the Tandāntōṭṭam village (now under worship) is a hollow cast one. It is not a mere coincidence that almost all the animal figures in the Bronze Gallery of the Government Museum, Madras are hollow casts. Similarly it is a matter of common knowledge that in the South Indian bronzes the *āsanas*, *prabhas*, etc. were attached to the main icon. In one of the Tañjāvūr inscriptions there is a specific mention about a seated Dakṣiṇāmūrti image on a mountain under a banian tree with nine branches and forty four minor ones sewn or soldered on to it.

It is rather difficult to summarise the characteristics of the bronzes of the Chōḷa period in this short compass. The stylistic variations are too numerous in different images of this period and it is very difficult to define definitely all of them at one place. It is also to be noted that some parts of the Chōḷa empire itself and the provinces bordering it produced metal icons of "regional styles, if not autonomous yet with a distinct local flavour". However, in the present state of our knowledge on the subject, the identification of these icons of a regional variety beyond any doubt, is difficult.

The anatomy of the early Chōḷa metal sculptures is perfect to an appreciable extent and well-proportioned, exhibiting inherent rhythmic quality. Early Chōḷa icons combine grace with strength. The modelling is invariably sensitive. The face which bears an absorbing countenance is expressive. The upper torso is nearly flat and merges into the abdomen graciously. A slight protuberance is shown on the knees to mark them. The images are generally characterised by a soft and supple form and an appealing freedom of pose.

In the early Chōḷa bronzes the crown is shown with latticed/trellis decorative pattern. A small sized coronet is the feature of the head-dress of the figures of goddesses. In the images of the tenth century, it is said, the pipal leaf shaped jewel on both the shoulders makes it *debut*. Necklaces, in general, assume broad shapes. They are bedecked with jewels and floral designs are discernable in them. One of the most important ornaments in early Chōḷa bronzes is the *skandamāla* or *svarṇavai-kāṅkshaka* (shoulder tassel), especially present in the images of goddesses. It makes its appearance in the early Chōḷa period and is shown on the right shoulder only. Though in some of the early Chōḷa images, the *yajñōpavīta* is shown as running over the left arm, close to the loin, in many of the images of the period, it is rather sinewy; but it retains the earlier ribbon-like shape and bell clasp. The *sinhamukha* clasp at the loin is predominantly seen in early Chōḷa metal images, though the same

is also noticed in the earlier stone sculptures of the Pallava period. The median loop is semi-circular in shape and is shown running halfway diagonally on either side forming a semi-circle at the median point alone. Subsequently the side loops and tassels become thinner near the *kaṭisūtra* and the long strip which extends upto the anklets in the earlier period bifurcates into two and reach the knee of the figures of the early Chōḷa period

In the late Chōḷa period, there can be seen a tendency to elaborate the decorative details of the images by imposing more ornaments and embellishing them profusely. Though there are bronzes of the late Chōḷa period which can be said to be second only to those of the early Chōḷa period, many late Chōḷa bronzes in their modelling, treatment and decoration anticipate the static perfection that is to characterise the still later images of the Vijayanagara and Nāyak periods. Figures are of squat appearance. The *makuṭa* assumes a cylindrical shape, somewhat conical at the apex. A tassel-like decoration covering the ear half-way is the characteristic decorative feature of the images of the period. The *skandamāla* is seen on both the shoulders. The pipal-leaf shaped ornament which is predominantly seen in the early images disappears in the late Chōḷa period and a thick strand takes its place. The disposition of the *hāra* usually composed of a series of circular heads or pearls in this period is significant as it cuts across other necklaces and runs below them. The number of strands in the *yajñōpavīta* are on increase. Instead of a clasp of the shape of double-bell 'a short series of packed and thick rings' is seen in the *yajñōpavīta*. The under garment extends even below the knees. A median square pattern is seen in the lower loop of the *kaṭisūtra*.

With this as brief introduction to the characteristics of the metal sculpture of the Chōḷa times, a survey of images produced during the period may be made. Among the bronzes of the early Chōḷa period the following may be included. Naṭeśa, Nallūr (Barrett pl. 61 & 62), Naṭeśa, Bank of Italy (Srinivasan fig. 48), Naṭeśa, Ānaikkuḍi (LK, 10, pl. xxix, fig. 14), seated Śiva, Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Srinivasan fig. 42 & 43), Viṣṇu, Koḍumudi (Barrett pl. 89 & 90), Viṣṇu, Tiruchcherai (Barrett pl. 47 & 48) Subrahmanya, Kīlāiyūr (Srinivasan fig. 61), Kālīya Kṛṣṇa, Sastri Collection (Srinivasan: fig. 64); Naṭeśa, Okkūr (Srinivasan fig. 88 & 89), Gaṇeśa, Kīlāikkurichchi, Pudukkōṭṭai Museum (Barrett pl. 81 & 82); dancing Kālī, Madras (LK, 18, frontispiece), etc.

According to Barrett., the number of bronzes assignable to the period between 940 and 970 A.D. is comparatively less, probably due to political troubles in the Chōḷa country following the invasion of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III. However, when the Chōḷas recovered from the shock, vigorous activity is seen in all spheres of social life. Together with temple art and architecture the art of metal casting also received extensive patronage under the aegis of the Chōḷas. Among the bronzes of the later half of the tenth century mention may be made of Vṛṣabhavāhana and consort, Pallavēśvaram (Barrett: pl. 23 & 24); consort of Naṭeśa, Peruntōṭṭam (Barrett: pl. 29, 30, & 31); Vṛṣabhavāhana, Tripurāntaka, Pārvatī and Gaṇeśa, Kōṇērājapuram (Barrett: pl. 1 & 2, 3 & 9; 4, 5 & 6; 7 & 8); Kalyāṇasundara, Tiruvēlvikkudi

(Barrett: pl. 10, 11, & 12); Tripurāntaka, Māyavaram (Barrett: pl. 13, 14 & 15); Śiva, Kōṇērīrāapuram (Barrett: pl. 21); consort of Naṭeśa, Tirumeignam (Barrett: pl. 25 & 26); Bōgēśvari, Pallavēśvaram (Barrett: pl. 35 & 36); Viṣṇu, Paruttiyūr (Barrett: pl. 73 & 74); Naṭeśa, Vṛiddhāchalam, Naṭeśa, Koḍumuḍi (Barrett: pl. 87 & 88); Tripurāntaka, Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Barrett: pl. 17 to 20); Pārvaṭi (Mēlaiyūr), Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Barrett: pl. 22); consort of Naṭeśa, Śembiyan Mahādēvi (Barrett: pl. 27 & 28); Viṇādhara, Bēlūr (Srinivasan: fig. 56); Dēvi, Freer Gallery (Srinivasan: fig. 59 & 60); Viṇādhara, Tiruppurambiyam (Srinivasan: fig. 62 & 63); Tripurāntaka, Kīlappaḷuvūr (Barrett: pl. 65, 66 & 69); Viṇādhara, Vṛishabhavāhana and Naṭeśa, Tandāntōṭtam (Srinivasan: fig. 65 & 66; 67 & 68; 71); Sōmāskanda, Sorakkuḍi (Srinivasan: fig. 86 & 87); Naṭeśa and Sōmāskanda, Śivapuram; Chaṇḍikēśvara, Tiruvenkādu (Srinivasan: fig. 84 & 85); Dēvi, Metropolitan Museum (Srinivasan: fig. 76 & 77); Kīrātāmūrti, Tiruvēlvikkūdi (Srinivasan: fig. 74 & 75); Rāma, Tiruchcherai (Barrett: pl. 43, 45 & 46), Sītā, Tiruchcherai (Barrett: pl. 44); Vṛishabhavāhana, Kīlappaḷuvūr (Barrett: pl. 64); Tripurāntaka, Veḷḷanūr (Barrett: pl. 67, 68 & 70); Viṣṇu and Bhūdēvi (Rāṣipuram), Pudukkōṭṭai Museum (Barrett: pl. 83 & 84; 85 & 86); Kṛishṇa, Tiruchcherai (Barrett: pl. 95 & 96); Bōgēśvari, Kuttālam (Barrett: pl. 37); Naṭeśa (Tiruvaraṅguḷam), National Museum (Srinivasan: fig. 107), etc.

The image of Tripurāntaka in the Naṭeśvarasvāmī temple at Āvaraṇi Pudukchēri (Nagappattinam Taluk, Tanjavur District, Pl. XVI, B) belongs to the above group of images. This bronze of Śiva as Tripurāntaka is shown standing in the *dvibhaṅga* pose over a *padmāsana* placed over a *bhadrāsana*. He has two pairs of hands. The iconographic cognizance of the upper right hand (i.e. *paraśu*) is missing. The left upper arm is holding the deer by its hind legs. The lower pair of hands are shown as if holding the arrow in the right and bow in the left. The image presents an austere look, characterised by minimum of ornamentation. The *jaṭāmakuṭa* is simple with a skull and so is the *paṭṭabandha*. The eyes and eyebrows are incised and the nose is sharp. The hip is thin and sensitive. The *kaṇṭhis* are worn closely around the neck and are in simple relief. The *yajñōpavīta* again simply passes close to the loin below the *udarabandha*. The *kaṭisūtra* is flat and thick. The loin cloth is shown with decoration covering only upto the thighs, the end of which is shown prominently in front. Mending is evident almost throughout the image—fingers, lower right fore arm, stomach, left thigh area, etc. On stylistic grounds this bronze may be assigned to the second half of the tenth century.

The classical school of Chōḷa bronzes commenced from about the end of the third quarter of the tenth century and continued in the 11th century for three or four decades, though Barrett would like to prescribe an upper limit at 1014 A.D. Some of the notable bronzes of this period are Vṛishabhavāhana and consort, Tirukkaravāśal (Barrett: pl. 40; 38 & 39); Bhikshāṇa, Tirukkaravāśal (Barrett: pl. 41 & 42); Naṭeśa, Tiruppalanam (Barrett: pl. 56, 57 & 58); Naṭeśa, Karuntattakūdi (Barrett: pl. 63); Śiva, Chayavanam (Barrett: pl. 71 & 72); Gaṇeśa, Pallavēśvaram (Barrett: pl. 79); Naṭeśa, Velankanni (Srinivasan: fig. 117 & 118), Naṭeśa, Tañjāvūr (Srinivasan

fig. 137); Tripurāntaka, Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Barrett: pl. 16); Śiva, Tillaisthānam (Barrett: pl. 77 & 78); Vīṇādhara, Tirunāmanallūr (Barrett: pl. 49, 50 & 51); Bhikshāṭana, Tirunāmanallūr (Barrett: pl. 52 to 55); Viṣṇu, Tiruppalanam (Barrett: pl. 75 & 76); Gaṇeśa, Tiruveṅkāḍu (Barrett: pl. 80); Chaṇḍeśa, Tiruvēlvikkūḍi (Srinivasan: fig. 182); Śrīnivāsa, Tiruvēlvikkūḍi (Srinivasan: fig. 153); Śrīnivāsa group, Vaḍakkappanaiyūr (Srinivasan: fig. 154 & 155); Kirātamūrti, Rādhā-narasimhapuram (Srinivasan: fig. 156); Naṭeśa, Pārvati and Chaṇḍeśvara, Sēmaṅgalam (Srinivasan: fig. 157 & 158; 159 160 & 161); Tripurāntaka with consort, Tranquebar (Srinivasan: fig. 166 & 167); Naṭeśa, Śivakāmi and Gaṇeśa, Puñjai (Srinivasan: fig. 169, 169A, 169B and 170); Subrahmaṇya and Durgā, Gaṅgair-konḍachōḷapuram; Durgā, Dharmapuram Adheenam (*Damilica*, 1970, pl. 20a); Sūrya, Nāgappaṭṭiṇam; Vṛishabhavāhana, Kalyāṇasundara, Ardhanārīśvara and Naṭarāja (small), Tiruveṅkāḍu; Rāma, Vaḷarpuram (Srinivasan: fig. 171 & 172); Rājamanār, Vaḷarpuram (Srinivasan: fig. 173 & 174); Kalyāṇasundara, Tiruvor-giyūr (Srinivasan: fig. 188); Bhikshāṭana, Tiruveṅkāḍu (Srinivasan: fig. 175 & 176); Kaṇṇappa Nāyaṇār, Tiruvālaṅgāḍu (Srinivasan: fig. 180 & 181), etc.

The graceful bronze of Śiva, as Ardhanārīśvara from Tiruveṅkāḍu (Pl. XVII, A and B) may be counted as one of the superb creations of the mature Chōḷa metropolitan school. The figure stands on a *padmāsana* and in the *tribhaṅga* pose. The right half of Śiva, is depicted with two hands, the upper hand holds a *paraśu* (battle axe) and the lower hand is graciously bent as if leaning on the back of *vṛishabha* (which is not represented). The leg is slightly bent suggesting *kuñchita* pose. The right male half has a *jaṭāmakūṭa*. The ear is distended. A simple loin cloth extends upto the thigh only. The left half representing the consort Umā of Śiva, bears in every detail the feminine beauty. The head-dress is of the *karaṇḍamakūṭa* type, the ear is adorned with *patrakuṇḍala* and the hand is depicted as if holding a flower. The full blossoming breast, the treatment of hip and the depiction of saree with folds extending below the knee and the slender leg speak volumes of the care taken by the artist to distinguish the female half from the male half. The ornaments include also *kañthis*, the *yajñō-parīta*, *nāgavalayas* and the beaded *vāji-bandha*. Interestingly the curved pendent is seen on the right (male) shoulder only. A developed *simhamukha* clasp is seen. The back view of the image only justifies the onlooker's appreciation of the success of the artist in giving an excellent form to the abstruse conception of hermaphrodite. On stylistic grounds the figure may be assigned to the first half of the eleventh century.

Among the images assignable to the second half of the 11th century, immediately after the period of zenith of the Chōḷa bronzes, may be studied here the image of Kālī from Turaikkāḍu (Tanjavur District). In this piece (Pl. XVI, C) Kālī is seated on a rectangular *bhadrāsana*. The right leg is bent and kept on the pedestal while the left is fully stretched and the foot is slightly pressing the head of the lying demon, probably Nishumbha. The figure has eight hands, carrying spear, pestle, dagger, *nāga*, shield, *kañṭha* (bell), and *kapāla*. The index finger of the lowest left hand points downwards, obviously against the demon. The head-dress is of the *kēśabhāra* type. The face brings out both the *raudra* and *saumya* aspects, the former suggested by the

tusker teeth and the latter by the soft countenance and facial expression. The right ear is adorned with *prētakundala* and the left with *pushpakundala*. A mango-type of necklace is seen around the neck. The breasts are full and prominent and tied by a *nāga-kuchabandha* which in fact, does not cover the breasts, but just goes around. The *prabhā* is apsidal in shape with perforated pattern and fringed with seventeen flames, each with three prongs, except the one at the apex which has five prongs. It is obvious that the intention of the artist was to give a form to the goddess Durgā, immediately after her fight with Nishumbha in which the latter was slain. Nishumbha-sūdani, is just calming down, but not fully, and hence is a rare combination of subsiding terrible and restoring benign passions. The image is assignable to the second half of the 11th century if not slightly earlier. To the same period are also assignable the bronzes of Durgā, Kōnērīrājapuram (Barrett: pl. 97 & 98); Naṭeśa and consort, Melapperumpallam (Barrett: pl. 59 & 60; 99 & 100); Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, Peruntōṭṭam (Barrett: pl. 91); Tripurāntaka group, Idumbavanam (Srinivasan: fig. 183); Sōmāskanda, Niḍūr (Srinivasan: fig. 189), etc.

From the beginning of the 12th century some sort of conventional attitude sets in the treatment of modelling of bronzes. As said earlier, a tendency to elaborate is seen in the images of the later Chōla period. Among the bronzes belonging to the period (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) may be included, the Bhikṣhātana, Melakkadambūr (Barrett: pl. 101 & 102), Sambandhar, Pudukkōṭṭai Museum (Barrett: pl. 92, 93 and 94); Pārvatī, Okkūr (Srinivasan: fig. 193); Naṭeśa (Tiruppanandal), Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Srinivasan: fig. 196); Kīrātamūrthi and Dēvī, Mēlapperumpallam (*Damilica*, 1970, pl. 21a); Chaṇḍēśvara (Srinivasan: fig. 207). Sūrya, Hariśchandrapuram (Srinivasan: fig. 211); Viṣṇubhavāhana, Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōḷapuram (Srinivasan: fig. 216); Sōmāskanda and Pārvatī, Vellur-sruvarai (Srinivasan: fig. 220 & 221); Rāma and Sītā, Manakkal (Srinivasan: fig. 225 & 226; 227); Viṇādhara, Bhikṣhātana, Mēlapperumpallam (*Damilica*, 1970, pl. 20 b), Sōmāskanda, Vaitṭīśvarankōyil (Srinivasan: fig. 229 & 230); Naṭeśa, Dharmapuram Adheenam (Srinivasan: fig. 234); Rāma group, Tirukkaḍaiyūr (Srinivasan: fig. 235); Naṭeśa, Veḷḷāḷagaram (Srinivasan: fig. 236), Naṭeśa, Puṇḡanūr (Srinivasan: fig. 238 & 239), Naṭeśa, Kaṇkoḍuttavanītam (Srinivasan: fig. 250); Sōmāskanda, Kunnāṇḍārkoyil (Srinivasan: fig. 253); Pradōshamūrti, Tīrthanagarī (*South Indian Studies*, pl. 188); Kīrātamūrti, Nāgappattinam (*Damilica*, 1970, pl. 21b); Naṭeśa, Uttattūr (Srinivasan: fig. 257); seated Viṣṇu, Śermādēvī (Srinivasan: fig. 260); Dēvī, Kuttālam (Srinivasan: fig. 261), etc.

Upto the beginning of the 12th century if not still later, the bronze makers of South India were able to strike a nice balance between the prescriptions of the *śilpa-śāstras* and their imaginative forms. However, in the subsequent ages, very close adherence, to the iconometric texts naturally weighed down their imagination heavily. Consequently the metal images, as well as the stone sculptures were trapped in rather lifeless perfection.

The above survey of South Indian metal images from the earliest times down to the end of the 13th century would show that the study is as interesting as it is exacting.

Fresh bronzes are noticed now and then. For instance, in the famous Naṭarāja shrine at Chidambaram (South Arcot District, Tamilnadu) very recently has been discovered some 80 bronzes, some of which dating back to the early Chōḷa times. It is hoped that the Antiquities Act of the Union Government of India which makes it obligatory on the part of the owners of antiquities to document and register them, will go a long way in bringing to light many antiquities including bronzes. The leading desideratum is to collate and study all the latest bronzes together with known ones in a comprehensive manner.

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SOUTH INDIAN PAINTINGS : A SURVEY

R. CHAMPAKALAKSHMI

REMAINS OF MURAL PAINTINGS in South India¹ date from c. 7th century A.D. down to 18th century. The 7th century represents a period of innovation in architecture, as stone was introduced for the first time on a large scale in the early excavations of the Pallava region on royal initiative. As a result, the paintings that were executed in these cave temples have survived in considerable quantity providing sufficient basis for the study of this art tradition.

An almost incessant architectural activity of the rock-cut style went on in the Deccan between 2nd century B.C. and 9th century A.D. and has been one of the major causes for the survival of earlier and remarkable series of paintings in this region, notably in places of Buddhist importance such as Ajantā and Ellōra, and relatively fewer remains of Brahmanical paintings in centres like Bādāmi and Ellōra. The Jains have also have left their paintings at Ellōra. The Tamil country, on the other hand, contains an important series of Brahmanical and Jaina paintings. The absence of Buddhist paintings in the Tamil region may be explained by the fact that Buddhism never attained any remarkable popularity and following in this area.

Be it Buddhist, Brahmanical or Jaina, the stylistic evolution of the art of painting in South India can be studied through the ages beginning from about the 2nd century B.C. through the three phases of painting remains at Ajantā, followed by Bādāmi and Ellōra in the Deccan upto the 9th century A.D. and through the Pallava-Pāṇḍya and Chōla to the Vijayanagara paintings in the Tamil country. It is at Ajantā that one meets with the major trends of this development and the classical expression of this art medium, which has served as the 'norm' for comparative studies of Indian murals and as the "fountain head" or "source of inspiration" for nearly half the art of Asia.

In the Tamil country, the painting tradition was well known as early as the Śaṅgam age though actual remains are datable only from the Pallava period onwards down to the period of the Nāyaks, the erstwhile subordinates of Vijayanagara, thus representing a period of activity ranging from the 7th to the 18th centuries. In Kerala this activity extended well into the 19th century as seen in the paintings of Cochin and Padmanābhapuram. Here, the stylistic development assumes a some-what different direction sometime in the 18th century.

The approach of an art-historian to the study of these paintings is three-fold i.e. relating to style, chronology and technique. Such a study has been made on almost all the important paintings of India. However, it is in the analysis of the technique of preparing the ground for painting and the actual methods of applying the pigments that much work has not been done, apart from a single investigation conducted by S. Paramasivan into the technique at places like Ajantā, Ellōra, Sittānavāsal and Tañjāvūr. While studies in the styles are important for the relative dating of the painting and for understanding the pattern of evolution, investigations into the techniques

are equally essential for a comparative analysis of textual descriptions of the techniques with the actual methods followed at different centres.

Another fascinating problem associated with the study of paintings, is that of interpreting the themes represented and their iconographic value. Interpretation of the subject involves a study of the literary texts, mainly of a religious nature, and the relation of the themes to these texts. The correlation of literary data and paintings would also provide a clue to the date of the paintings. Incidentally, this kind of work would further help in the understanding of some important aspects of society and culture. Work in this direction has perhaps just begun and attempts are yet to be made to compare the available information with data from other sources. This is true of all other important art remains of India.

Painting remains in the Tamil country are mainly mural. Manuscript illustrations or miniature paintings are totally absent in this region.

The earliest datable remains of paintings in the Tamil country go back only to the 7th century A.D., although there is little doubt as to the continuity of a paintings tradition from very early times, as revealed by the Śaṅgam works.²

The Śaṅgam works refer to the art of painting as *ōvam* and *ōviyam*, as an important aspect of decoration both in religious and secular structures.³ Several types of pictures such as wall paintings, paintings on wooden boards and on canvas (or textile) are frequently mentioned.⁴ Wall paintings were executed on lime plastered wall surfaces as indicated by references to *veṇi śudai* or white plaster (stucco).⁵

In the cave temple at Tirupparankunṇam near Madurai, paintings representing the story of the curse of Indra and Ahalyā, the wife of Gautama are said to have existed.⁶ The Buddhist *vihāras* at Vañji (Karūr) and at Kāvēripūmpaṭṭiṇam also had painted decorations. That the art of painting was consciously developed is often indicated by references in the *Maṇimēkhalai*.⁷ An *ōviya nūl* is mentioned in *Śilappadikāram* and the well known commentator Aḍiyārkkunallār also knew of its existence.

The painters (*ōviyar* and *ōvamakkaḷ*) had separate quarters in well-defined suburbs of cities like Kāñchī.⁸ The technical terms used for painting and the equipment of a painter are *vaṭṭigai chaidi* (painting), *tugiligai* (brush) and *vaṭṭigaippalagai* (palette).⁹ The brush is said to resemble the fragrant trumpet flower—a kind of bignonia.¹⁰

References to the art of painting and conventions governing the art are numerous in later literary works in Tamil such as *Perunkadai*, *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*, *Divākara Nigaṇḍu* and *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam*.

Such well authenticated references are not substantiated by actual remains prior to the Pallava-Pāṇḍya period (7th-9th centuries), evidently because of the nature of the materials used in the construction of both religious and secular edifices—such as brick, mortar, lime and timber. The deviation from the above practice i.e. the introduction of stone (in rock-cut and structural temples) is often attributed to Mahēndravarman I, the Pallava (c. 580-630 A.D.), on the basis of the Maṇḍagap-

paṭṭu inscription (in South Arcot District) of this 'inventive' king (*vichitrachitta*). There is, however, some evidence to show that the rock-cut style of architecture may have been started in the Pāṇḍya country, where a rock-cut cave bearing an earlier inscription (in late Brāhmi characters) has been found at Piḷḷaiyārppaṭṭi.¹¹

It is from the period of the introduction of stone for architecture that the paintings, which continued to be an aspect of decoration as well as mode of representing the principal object of worship in the shrines, acquired a more durable background and hence their survival from the 7th century onwards.

1. Kāñchīpuram (Pallava)

Paintings of the period of Rājasiṃha (c. 695-722 A.D.) are found in the shrines enclosing the Rājasiṃhēśvara (Kailāsanātha) temple at Kāñchī. They are extremely fragmentary, although chemical cleaning and conservation undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India have brought to light some interesting remains and preserved them. Most of the pictures have been hidden beneath a thick coat of lime wash, thus irretrievably harmed by a pious renovator. What has been revealed shows a head here, a torso there and limbs elsewhere. The cells in which these paintings are executed are so small that one can merely peep into them and peer at the walls for a glimpse of the remnants.

The sculptures within these cells had also been once painted over and traces of colour are still visible on them. From whatever has survived, it is clear that they represent some rare masterpieces of pictorial art.

The cells number fifty-eight in all. The predominant theme chosen for representation is that of Śiva, his consort, family and attendants (*gaṇas*) particularly the Sōmāskanda aspect. The most remarkable features of these paintings are their sharp and clear outlines, bright and rich colouring. The linear draughtsmanship exhibits a masterly hand which could make the lines flow in gentle and sweeping curves with apparently no effort. Some of the more important remains are described below.

In cell no. 8 a few heads are visible. The biggest and perhaps the best preserved among them is described as a *mahāpurusha* (Great Being) by C. Sivaramamurti.¹² In the delineation of its eyes with a downcast look and drooping eyelids with long lashes, this head recalls some of the well known figures of Ajantā. It combines the expression of great feeling with grace. Wearing an elaborate crown (*kirīṭa*), it has a striking resemblance to the figure of a king in the 9th century paintings of Śittanavāsāl. These two figures represent the precursors of the later delightful Chōḷa figures, indicating the continuity of an art tradition which derived its norm from the classical idiom of Ajantā. While the classical idiom continues and survives in an attenuated form in these later paintings, it would, perhaps be an extravagant claim to describe them as "a Hindu counter part of Ajantā."¹³ The basic argument against such a claim would be the entire absence of tonal modelling in the later paintings. Although, Indian paintings as a whole are linear in conception and execution, it is only at Ajantā that some attempt is made to distinguish depth, mass or volume and highlight by subtle variations in colour, in addition to a general linear modelling.

In the same cell a seated figure with a *yōgapaṭṭa* across the knees has been revealed by chemical cleaning. The dominant colours used here are red and green.

Cell 22 has the torso of a figure with four arms, the two right ones holding a sword and a long staff. This figure is also in red against a green background and wears a blue striped dress.

A fairly well-preserved painting of Sōmāskanda has been revealed in cell 23. For details of dress and decoration and choice jewellery this panel is perhaps the most remarkable of all the remains in these cells. The figure of Śiva wears elaborate jewels like the *kēyūra* (armlet) and a jewelled belt. The head and shoulder of this figure have practically disappeared. The figure of Umā (the consort of Śiva) wears a lower garment similar to the one worn by the figure of Pārvati (Umā or Bhavāni) at Panamalai, another centre where paintings of the Rājasimha period have been found. Her bust is bare but the ornaments and *yajñōpavīta* (sacred thread) are treated with great care. The figure of the child Skanda wears a *channavīra* (an ornament with cross chains and medallions on the front and the back), and is an interesting piece of art. Above this group, on the left, is an umbrella, commonly found in such representations.

Other figures, so far identified, are those of Dakṣināmūrti (between cells 26 and 27), Brahmā and a Yogic figure (between cells 28 and 29).¹⁴

The most well known among the Kailāsanātha temple paintings is the figure of Sōmāskanda in cell 41, first spotted by J. Dubreuil and later described in poetic terms by C. Sivaramamurti. Only the barest outlines of this composition remain today but what little is seen speaks of the dexterity of the master artist of the Rājasimha period in the delineation of a divine theme rendered in human terms. According to Sivaramamurti "the lovely theme of the fond parent and the frolicsome child, of the ideal mates and the object of their love, philosophy of affection spent on the offspring but increasing evermore."¹⁵ The composition is well balanced with a superb handling of dress and ornaments. The figures are marvels of brush work, their treatment elegant, the contours of the female figure, in particular, representing the ideal of feminine grace. The Sōmāskanda panels in cells 23 and 41 have many iconographic features in common, but the decoration differs in minor details. Conceptually, this theme had just attained popularity under the care and attention lavished upon it by Rājasimha, who brought the theme to life by having it executed both in sculpture and painting.

Another group of figures in the same cell represents a pair of *kinnara-kinnari*, a combination of bird and human forms, celestial beings associated with music. The male figure keeps time with cymbals while the female figure plays on the flute.

More than one layer of paintings have been noticed in the Kailāsanātha temple, the Pallava layer recognisable on the basis of its style and resemblance to contemporary sculptures.

2. Panamalai (Pallava)

Executed in one of the subsidiary shrines (the northern one) attached to the main shrine of the Tālagarīśvara temple at Panamalai (South Arcot District) these paintings

include a superb figure of Pārvati in the act of witnessing the dance of Śiva. The scene, according to T. N. Ramachandran,¹⁶ recalls to mind Kālidāsa's description of the dance of Śiva in the *Mēghasandēśa*, being witnessed by Bhavāni. The figure of Bhavāni is a superb creation of the pictorial art, showing the goddess standing in the delightful *tribhanga* posture. (Pl. XVIII, A). The left leg is turned and bent upwards as if supporting the figure against the wall (?). "Her garment is treated beautifully with floral designs and the fastening at the waist is an excellent conception. The right hand is pleasingly bent and the well shaped tapering fingers rest near the chin as if to touch gently the flowing hair. The left hand moves close to the body in *lōkahasta* posture. The figure is adorned with jewellery recalling the technique called 'metallic jewellery.' " The half closed eyes, the graceful tilt of the head and the calm of repose add divinity to the beauty of the figure. The parasol above the goddess adds to the elegance and dignity of the figure, both by its design of peacock feathers and pleasing colour combinations in the drops of the rim. The flow of the linear curves, the flesh tint, the judicious combination of colours, the graceful posture, the supple treatment of the limbs and the dreamy eyes all combine to make this representation one of the finest creations of Indian art. With the exception of the leaning figure of a lady (a dancer?) in Ajantā (cave no. 2), there are few representations in art worthy of comparison with it.

The figure of the dancing Śiva is practically obliterated except for the bare outlines. The pose of the figure may be equated with one of the *Karaṇas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, either the *tala samphoṭita* or *vivṛitta* (or *nivṛitta*).

The above theme, of Bhavāni witnessing the dance of Śiva, is also the subject of a remarkable sculptured panel in a cell in the south eastern part of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī. The similarity between this sculptured panel and the Panamalai painting is striking.

Pallava paintings have been noticed in other centres also. Fragments of paintings are found on the *vimāna* of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchī (first half of the 8th century). Traces of painting and plaster have been met with in the Ādivarāha cave temple, the *rathas* (monolithic temples) and on the open air rock sculpture, all in Māmallapuram. Two cave temples at Māmaṇḍūr (North Arcot District) of the period of Mahēndravarmān I also show remains of coloured decoration. Another Pallava cave temple viz. the Raṅganātha temple at Śiṅgavaram in the South Arcot District also contains remains of paintings. No serious study of these paintings can be made on account of their extremely fragmentary character. Nevertheless, they would still be significant as testifying to the keen interest evinced by royalty and nobility in the art of painting both as an aspect of decoration and as a means of illustrating various episodes of religious and narrative interest.

3. Ārmāmalai (Rāshṭrakūṭa)

Jaina paintings have been noticed in a cave at Ārmāmalai (North Arcot District). While C. Minakshi assigns them to the Pallava period, a recent study¹⁷ has dated them in the 10th-11th centuries. These paintings are found on the ceiling of the cave

and the walls of the brick shrine attached to the cave. The only figure that can be made out clearly is the crowned head of a royal personage, the best preserved of these paintings. Of the rest, carpet patterns on the ceiling, floral designs, a lotus pond similar to the one found at Śittannavāsai, can also be recognised. Besides these, there are figures of Agni with his consort Svāhā, riding a ram. The details of the dress and ornaments of this pair are interesting. Yama, on his buffalo and his consort Dhūmrōrṇā can also be seen among the clouds. Figures of geese represented in these paintings also recall those at Śittannavāsai.

The similarity between the paintings of Ārmāmalai and those of Śittannavāsai may be attributed to the nature of the themes as well as the stylistic features of this art as it developed in the 9th-10th centuries. It may also be mentioned here that the Ārmāmalai paintings bear a close resemblance to those of Ellōra in the monolithic Kailāsa temple. While the lotus pond, the flowers, the animal figures such as elephants, birds and fish correspond closely to the Śittannavāsai paintings and those of the Kailāsa at Ellōra, the *dikpālas* and the cloud patterns are in close conformity to the paintings of the Indra Sabhā (Jaina) cave at Ellōra.

Several parts of Tondaimaṇḍalam were in the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭas in the third quarter of the 10th century and its recovery by the Chōḷas was achieved in the reigns of Sundarachōḷa and his successors towards the end of that century. Cultural contacts, starting from the Pallava-Chālukya period, continued to influence the movements of art styles in both the regions, the Deccan and the Tamil country. It is not, therefore, surprising that the echoes of this contact reverberated in Jaina centres like Ārmāmalai and even as far south as Śittannavāsai. The latter shows greater affinity to the Pallava and Chōḷa paintings of the 7th and 11th centuries respectively.

At this point, it would be useful to see the trends of development in the style of Indian mural painting. It would undoubtedly provide a larger perspective against which one can view the painting remains of the Tamil centres.

Taking Ajantā as the norm-setter, the following characteristics of the style have been marked out as the basis for describing Ajantā as representing the classical style, which exercised a far-reaching influence on the art of India and of every other country into which Buddhism penetrated. Broad handling of subjects, variety of themes (though mainly Buddhist), poetry of motion, wonderful diversity in postures, feeling for colour and strong yet subtle line work are the chief aesthetic traits of this idiom. Decorative beauty is the "keynote of these paintings to which all else is attuned." While realism is not always their aim, they are still free from stereo-type convention. To be sure, the portraits are taken direct from life. So fresh and vital is their portrayal, that there is no shadow of doubt as to their realistic treatment. At the same time these paintings exhibit a quality of abstraction which is "indispensable to mural decoration."¹⁸

Among other characteristics of these paintings may be mentioned the complete contours of the forms, the effect of plasticity, achieved both by linear and tonal modelling, recalling the rounded modelling in sculpture and the successful depiction

of perspective or depth from which the figures appear to emerge i.e. "the direction of forthcoming," as it is called by Stella Kramrisch.

Viewed against this idiom, the later paintings of the Deccan, especially those at Ellōra of the 9th century may, perhaps, be described as an 'afterglow' of the art of Ajantā, when it was losing its splendour and was to fade away gradually. Or, as it has been more correctly said, Ellōra "represents a movement away from the modelled, breathing forms of Ajantā, towards a more linear mode of expression."¹⁹ The line takes upon itself the entire burden of modelling and expresses its own vitality rather than that of nature. "Such modelling as exists is not there to create the illusion of mass or volume but as a device to lift the slender lissom figures. Lightness, elegance, nervous energy are the qualities sought and the contrast with the inert weight of the rock walls of the temple must have been superbly effective." It is, hence, believed that this style does not derive from the northern Deccan tradition as represented by Ajantā. Further, it is suggested that in the Chālukyan centres like Bādāmi, the southern Deccan style had already developed in this direction, perhaps under the influence of Pallava art of South India. Stella Kramrisch would call this trend in the Ellōra paintings as the Southern type and would assign it to the influence of the southern element over it.²⁰ Nihar Ranjan Ray, on the other hand, attributes the angular, attenuated forms of Ellōra to the influences from Central Asia, brought in by foreign invaders of North India, which he calls the medieval factor in paintings.²¹

There seems to be a general inclination to see in the post-Ajantā paintings of the Deccan a different trend, although there is no agreement on the direction from which this trend emerged. It is, however, difficult to visualise a distant art tradition (from Central Asia), which itself had earlier received an impetus from Indian art styles, changing in any substantial way the movement of the Deccan painting style. On the contrary, the closeness of the contacts between the Tamil country and the Deccan could and does seem to have played a major role in directing the trends of artistic development, both in sculpture and painting. What is particularly important and significant is that the resemblance between Ellōra and Ārmāmalai does not stop at the level of their themes but go much deeper i.e. in the manner of treatment of each and every common motif.

This is also largely true of the slightly later Tañjāvūr frescoes, where again one meets with similar motifs treated in much the same manner. It could be argued either that Tañjāvūr carried the Pallava tradition towards a more linear expression or that it represents a logical outcome of the interaction between the Tamil and Southern Deccan centres.

4. Śittannavāsai (Pāṇḍya)

The next important group of painting remains in Tamilnadu are found in the Jaina rock-cut cave temple at Śittannavāsai (Tiruchirappalli District). Two layers of paintings have been noticed here, the first one executed probably in the 7th century and the second one about 200 years later in the 9th century during the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha (c. 815-62 A.D.).²² Not far from the

cave temple is a natural cavern with an early Brāhmi inscription and containing traces of early paintings on its overhanging ledge. Almost completely obliterated, the remains consist of patches of designs such as rosettes and one big lotus.²³

The extant layer of paintings in the rock-cut cave temple consists of the following themes: On the ceiling of the sanctum is a carpet patterned canopy above the sculptures on the back wall with ornamental borders. The rest of this ceiling is devoted to the theme of the lotus tank, which is also the main theme on the ceiling of the verandah. The centre of the sanctum ceiling is occupied by the carving of a *vyajachakra* (wheel of victory) of the Jainas, which is also painted over, the decoration being both geometric and floral. The pattern here is rather complex, the motif being repeated several times, a pattern of squares and circles within. The circles contain crosses with two human figures above and two animals below. The human figures are identified as *ganadharas*, the immediate disciples of Mahāvīra. They have also been identified as *arhats*. The animals seem to represent either two lions or a lion and a goat. In the latter case, the two *arthats* may be identified as Māhāvīra and Kuntunātha, who had the lion and goat respectively as their cognizance. The crosses may represent the arms of the *svastika*, a sacred symbol of the Jainas, used frequently as a design.

The paintings in the pillared verandah (*ardha-maṇḍapa*) consist of two carpet patterned designs over the two lateral niches of the verandah and other floral designs in which lotuses and lilies figure dominantly. The central part of the verandah ceiling contains the most important theme, viz. a tank featuring lotuses, lilies, fishes, birds, a *makara* (mythical and hybrid creature—fish and snake), elephants, buffaloes and three men in their loins (*bhavyas* or devotees) wading in the tank, gathering flowers.

The undersurface of the cornice is decorated with conventional *hamsa* (swan) figures and the median bands of the corbels contain foliage, which appears to be a pattern of lotuses amidst green leaves rather than parrots within foliage as described by T. N. Ramachandran.

The pillars of the facade in their upper octagonal parts contain the two well known dancing figures (*apsaras* or celestial beings). On the top of the southern pillar are the figures of a king and his queen depicted as if they are entering the shrine and standing before them is the figure of an ascetic.

The principal theme on the ceilings of the verandah and shrine has been variously identified as "a scene in the religious history of the Jains", as "the parable of the lotus pool graphically described in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*",²⁴ or one of the fourteen portents (*śakuna*) seen by Trīśalā, when the embryo of Mahāvīra was transferred by Harināgamēsha, Indra's messenger, from the womb of the *brāhmaṇa* lady to that of the *kshatriya* lady Trīśalā. A third and more acceptable identification of the theme is that of T. N. Ramachandran, who says that it represents one region of the *samavasaraṇa*. The lotus tank is the second region called the *khāṭikā-bhūmi*, which the devotees have to pass through before they finally reach their respective *kōshṭas* (places) in the *Lakshmīvara-maṇḍapa* in the *samavasaraṇa* or heavenly pavilion to listen to the discourse of the *tīrthaṅkara*. The *samavasaraṇa* is described as one of the

most attractive heavenly pavilions created Saudharmendra for the Jina, to hold his divine discourse attended by all pomp, immediately after attaining *kēvala jhāna*.

The lotus tank is a superb composition symbolising, in a sense, life itself in its unending movement forward. The basic motif, skilfully used to represent this growth or movement is the lotus—the bud, the half bloom and the full bloom. Life and its movement are also shown by fishes leaping and geese playing about, elephants bathing and plucking lotuses by their stalks. The lotus leaves serve as the background of the lotus flowers in bloom. The lotus, as a motif of Indian art, has many roles to play depending on the different sects which used it. By far the most dominant role it plays is that of symbolising life and prosperity. The undulating stem of the lotus and its blossoms thus form the central motif in the "tree of life" designs, both in sculpture and painting. The interspersing of the bird, animal and human figures amidst this foliage is an excellent conception. The Śittannavāsai artist has treated his animals with great realism, the buffaloes in particular, one of which appears to be a bit agitated and tilts up his head with twisted horns and a rolling eye. The ducks shown in pairs or singly, exhibit varied movements and provide interesting examples for a study of the artist's skill and keen observation of nature.

The dancing *apsaras* found on the upper parts of the pillars of the facade, are full of feminine grace and seem to strike two poses from the *karaṇas* known as *latā-vṛśchika* and *bhujāṅgāchitaka*, as described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.²⁵ These figures are treated with a singular grace, supple in their movements. So striking are these female dancers that N. C. Mehta rapturously exclaimed: "It was left to the artists of southern India to crystallise into immortal form, the rhythm of dance and the energy of dynamic movements, as seen respectively in the glowing figures of the swaying *apsaras*, 'loaded with jewelled ornaments, broad-hipped, narrow waisted, powerful and graceful as panthers' and in the noble conception of Śiva as Naṭarāja, the divine dancer."²⁶

The royal figures on the northern face of the southern pillar may represent king Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha and his queen and the red figure in front of them may be identified as Iṣam Gautaman, the teacher from Madurai, who carried out, according to epigraphical evidence,²⁷ renovations and embellishments to the cave temple and made additions in a structural form. Renovations in this instance (being a cave) could only mean the painting afresh of the verandah and the application of a second layer of painting in the sanctum.

The similarity of these paintings to the Pallava paintings at Kāñchī is striking. The royal figure is comparable to the figure of the *mahāpurusha* in cell 8 of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī. At the same time, the motifs are mostly in common with those at Ārmāmalai and their rendering very much alike in both the centres.

There is little doubt that the Śittannavāsai paintings represent the dominance of line over shades of colour, in modelling: There is, however, an attempt here and there to use half tones and light and shade. Nevertheless, these paintings began and ended with outlines, red being predominantly used for preliminary outlines, later reinforced after the areas enclosed by them had been filled with appropriate colours.

These paintings are executed on well consolidated and firm lime plaster, different from the weakly consolidated mud plaster at Ajantā. The technique of applying pigments is that of lime medium or fresco-secco, whereas at Ajantā the pigment is held in position through the admixture of gum or gluc. There is a sheen or gloss over the Śittannavāśal paintings, which was probably imparted through polishing.

The pigments used here are lime for white, lamp black for black, ochres for yellow and red and *terre verte* for green. Thus mineral colours, which are of a permanent nature, have been employed. The colour scale is rather restricted as is generally found in fresco paintings. A southern technique seems to have started in the Śittannavāśal paintings of the first layer and in those at Kāñchī, Māmaṇḍūr etc. as fresco-secco and through the second layer of the 9th century at Śittannavāśal developed into the pure "fresco" technique of the Chōḷa period in the paintings of the 11th century and continued upto more recent times through the later Pāṇḍya, Vijayanagara and Nāyak paintings.²⁸

5. Tañjāvūr

The next important group of paintings in the Tamil country is represented by the 'frescoes' of the Br̥hadiśvara temple at Tañjāvūr. They are found in the inner ambulatory of the *vimāna* (the sanctum with its super-structure) and were executed in the period of Chōḷa Rājaraḷa I (c. 985-1014 A.D.). The Nāyak rulers of the 17th-18th centuries executed a second layer of paintings over the Chōḷa layer. This inner dark ambulatory is divided into fifteen chambers by vertical pilasters corresponding to the system of bays and recesses of the outer wall of the *vimāna*. The best preserved and most remarkable Chōḷa frescoes occur in chambers 5, 7, 9, 10 and 11, where the Nāyak layer has been removed and the Chōḷa layer revealed by chemical cleaning.

The themes represented in these frescoes have been taken from Śaiva mythology and from the Śaiva hagiology i.e. the stories of the *nāyanārs* as narrated in the *Periya Purāṇam*.

On the north wall of chamber 5 facing south, are represented the two forms of Śiva as Bhairava and Dakṣiṇāmūrti. The background is a huge forest and the figure of Śiva as Bhairava, eight armed, holding different weapons, is seen approaching the forest on the left side of the panel. The delineation of the forest is remarkable as it contains huge trees and wild beasts such as lions, bears, snakes with their sinuous coils and upraised hoods, treated in a realistic manner. Monkeys are seen jumping from one branch of a tree to another and the birds provide an interesting study in natural life. Deer, elephants and other animals complete the picture, while even a hunter with his bow and arrow is introduced into the scheme. The pictures are almost life like.

The scene also includes caves with bearded sages in an attitude of reverence (to the figure of Bhairava?). The scene is strongly reminiscent of the Dārūkavana. The whole scene apparently forms a backdrop, as it were, to the central theme of this huge composition viz., a big seated figure of Dakṣiṇāmūrti below a huge tree, occupying the centre of the lower portion of the panel. This figure is, however,

badly mutilated. The identification²⁹ is made possible by the presence of two seated figures, a *rishi* and his royal disciple, to the right of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. The sage and the royal disciple invariably find a place to the right of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in all sculptures and paintings of this period. Secondly, the figure of Dakṣiṇāmūrti has to be represented facing south. Every detail of this scene may be traced to one of the well known hymns of Sundarar,³⁰ which describes how lord Śiva revealed the Great Truth to the *kinṇaras*, tigers, venomous serpents, ferocious lions and blameless *tapasvins* (ascetics) under the beautiful banyan tree and those, who listened to him, attained eternal happiness.

The journey of Sundarar and Chēramān-perumāḷ to Kailāsa (heavenly abode) forms the subject of the huge panel in chamber 7. The story is represented in the continuous narrative form from the bottom of the panel upwards, starting from the wedding of Sundarar being interrupted by Śiva in the guise of an old man (*taduttāḥ-kondadēvar*), followed by Sundara's realisation of the old man's identity, the journey to Kailāsa on the Airāvata (the elephant of Indra), Chēramān-perumāḷ overtaking Sundarar on horseback, celestial musicians and dancers receiving the two saints and above all these at the top the two saints shown in Kailāsa singing devotional songs in praise of Śiva, who is shown here seated with Pārvatī and witnessing dance and music. The heavenly abode occupies the top of the panel, as it should, according to religious convention. Yet, the *piece de resistance* is the journey to Kailāsa, Sundarar on the white elephant and Chēramān-perumāḷ on horseback, both of whom are shown larger in size than the rest of the figures in the composition including that of the divine pair in Kailāsa.³¹

The panel on the east wall of this western chamber 9 is of special interest. The theme has been identified as Rājarāja with his queens worshipping Natarāja in Tillai.³² This identification is unsatisfactory and unacceptable. The scene, on the other hand, represents Chēramān-perumāḷ worshipping Natarāja at Tillai (Pl. XVIII, B). The figure of the main worshipper resembles the figure of Chēramān-perumāḷ in the Sundara panel, in every detail, and is indeed quite different (this is obvious) from the figure identified as that of Rājarāja in chamber 10. Further, the scene may be compared in all its essential details to the story of the visit of Chēramān-perumāḷ to Tillai and his intense devotion to god Natarāja, which he brings forth in his hymns called *Poṇṇaṇṇattiruvandādi*.³³

The stories of Sundarar and Chēramān-perumāḷ were apparently very popular in this period and must have exercised a powerful influence over king Rājarāja I, who got them executed in his *magnum opus*—the Rājarājēśvara temple in Tañjāvūr.

In chamber 10 there are two standing figures on a pilaster representing Rājarāja with his religious preceptor Karuvūrdēvar (Pl. XVIII, C). Other figures in this chamber include female musicians with cymbals and some damaged royal (?) figures.

The south wall of this northern chamber 11 is devoted to one of the most remarkable representations of Śiva as Tripurāntaka. The dominating conception is the fight between Śiva and three *asuras* (demons), who are said to have built three impregnable metal fortresses and whose prowess frightened the *dēvas* (gods) into appealing to Śiva

to destroy the *asuras*. The figure of Tripurāntaka is eight armed holding different weapons including the bow and arrow, which was to destroy the Tripura. He rides on a four wheeled chariot driven by Brahma. *Śivagaṇas* (attendants) accompany him. Facing Tripurāntaka are the grotesque *asuras* with their forces, their women-folk and their preceptor Śukrācharya. A forewarning of the result of the battle is already indicated by the figure of an *asura* woman clinging to her mate.

Subrahmaṇya on his peacock, Gaṇeśa on his mouse and Durgā on her lion are also shown as joining the fray. The most peculiar part of this composition is found on the topmost portion of the wall, where, in the centre, is a seated figure in the attitude of meditation, wearing what appears to be a robe like the one worn by Buddha figures. This figure may be said to represent *Māyā-mōha* (the arch Deluder) form of Viṣṇu, who incarnated himself in this form, to create confusion among the *asuras* by preaching false and anti-Vedic doctrines among them and thereby caused their destruction.³⁴ The same Buddha form, as the personification of *Māyā*, recurs in the arrowhead aimed by Tripurāntaka, the arrow depicting Viṣṇu.

On the wall opposite to the Tripurāntaka panel, there is yet another representation of Śiva as Kailāsanātha or Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti. Rāvaṇa is shown attempting to lift the Kailāsa mountain with Śiva and Pārvaṭi attended by *gaṇas*. In the process he is crushed by the weight of the mountain under the pressure of Śiva's toe and suffers agony and humiliation.

The art of the Chōḷas as seen in these frescoes is a continuation of the earlier art traditions of the Pallavas at Kāñchī and Panamalai (7th-8th centuries) and the Śittannavāsāl paintings (Pāṇḍya—9th century). They are also not unrelated to the classical paintings of Ajantā; yet the artists of the Chōḷa period were "using a pictorial language, which was their own vernacular, having a fluency and flexibility of its own". The Chōḷa frescoes stand in vivid contrast to the later Nāyak layer which covers them, by the originality of their expression through the media of line and colour.

The Chōḷa artist had a genius for brush drawing and he visualised the figure in the round translated into lines. The modelling of the plastic forms is achieved by skilful linear expression of the contours. The line flows subtly, rhythmically over the surface and creates relief and volume, while colour hardly attempts to create masses, depth or highlight. No tonal variations have been attempted, yet illusory depth and perspective are not entirely wanting. Foreshortening, intersecting and the like have been employed to such perfection that the sweeping brush lines brings to life dynamic forms like the dancing *apsaras* in the Sundara panel.

Anatomical accuracy is not one of the merits of these Chōḷa paintings. Nor is it consciously sought after in any medieval paintings of India. But this cannot be attributed to a degeneracy in the art. It may, on the other hand, be the result of artists of different degrees of skill, working on different pictures or due to a conscious attempt to represent shocky and less graceful forms based, perhaps, on regional conventionalism.

Composition and design are effective in all the panels, especially so in the Sundara and Tripurāntaka panels. The eye is not allowed to wander aimlessly over the panel. The spaces are so related that they focus attention on essential points showing strength and unity of purpose. Religious convention often determines the size of a figure. A figure is large or small according to the role played by it in the story, as for example, Sundara on the elephant in the Sundara panel and Tripurāntaka on the chariot in the Tripurāntaka panel. The importance of the principal figure is emphasised both by its size and through the skilful disposition of spaces around it.

The colours used by the Chōḷa artists are red, yellow, green and blue and their combinations. Black or brown is used only for outlines. Flesh tint has been rarely used. Green is used largely for the background and depth in particular. Ornaments are picked out in white, being mainly of pearls, and the conventional trefoil clouds are also in white.

The dress, ornaments and coiffure of these figures are worthy of close study as they give us a graphic picture of contemporary customs. Of special significance is the coat, open in front, worn by the attendants in the Naṭarāja panel. Some of the royal figures and celestial beings are shown in diaphanous garments, but the edges are visible at the ankles. The garments have both striped and floral decorations. Waist-sashes hold the lower garments in place. The bust is generally bare except for a piece of cloth worn over the left shoulder and passing under the right arm in *yajñō-pavīta* fashion. There is a general profusion of ornaments, the variety of which is a study by itself. However, while the dancing figures are lavishly ornamented, there are also instances in which the sophistication of minimum jewellery is evident. The elaborate coiffure of the female figures is represented with considerable skill but one misses the variety of Ajantā.³⁵

Chemical investigations³⁶ on the Chōḷa layer have revealed that the technique of the Chōḷa paintings is *fresco-buono* i.e. the true fresco method. The painted plaster consists of what is called *stuccoduro* prepared by laying a smooth coat of lime plaster on a rough one, which is first laid on a stone wall. Over the smooth coat of lime the pigments are laid. The painted surface of the Chōḷa layer is smooth and glossy. The Chōḷa artists have used old and well-flaked lime in the preparation of the ground. There are some points of similarity between the Tañjāvūr and Roman frescoes; but marble, which is a well recognised ingredient of plaster in many European frescoes, has not been used at Tañjāvūr.

In the Tañjāvūr paintings, no binding medium has been used either in the preparation of the ground or in the laying of pigments. Lime, with sand as the inert material, forms the main ingredients of the plaster. In Ajantā, the ground is prepared out of mud plaster with vegetable fibres, paddy husk etc. acting as binding materials. Again in the laying of pigments some kind of adhesive-like gum or glue has been used at Ajantā while the pigments at Tañjāvūr have been applied without any adhesive. The pigments in Tañjāvūr have interfused and spread beneath the wet stucco surface, which is a characteristic of the pure fresco method. In Ajantā, the ground has been allowed to dry completely before the pigments were applied with some adhesive.

On the other hand, the pigments in the Chōḷa frescoes have been applied when the ground was still wet. Such a method must have demanded great skill and swiftness of execution. Thus the Chōḷa technique appears to be superior to that of Ajantā.

6. Tirumalaipuram (Pāṇḍya)

Tirumalaipuram, a village four miles east of Kaḍaiyanallūr in the Tirunelveli District, has a cave temple containing remains of paintings, which appear to belong to the 12th century A.D. J. Dubreuil assigned both the cave temple and its paintings to early 7th century and called the paintings "the sole specimen of Pāṇḍya frescoes". But the only inscription found on a pillar in the cave temple is in Tamil characters of about the 12th century and may be taken as a pointer to the *terminus ad quem* of any artistic activity here.³⁷ The inscription belongs to the reign of a Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabhadēva, who has been identified with Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha, a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I (c. 1070-1120 A.D.).

The paintings are found on the brackets of the cubical pilasters between the sculptured panels of Naṭarāja and Viṣṇu. The ceiling of the cave, excluding that of the shrine was also once elaborately painted over. Most of it has been damaged by a covering of soot. Parts of a dancing scene are preserved on the ceiling, consisting of bearded dancing figures with a drummer on the left. There are also motifs such as lotuses, lilies, scrolls and ducks besides geometrical designs (Pl. XVIII, D). Another fairly well preserved figure is that of a heavenly being riding on a lion painted on the ceiling near the panel of Brahma. "The wild ferocity of the lion and the dignified serenity of the figure riding it are balanced in a masterful fashion."³⁸ The animal and bird figures are realistically treated and the duck is an interesting study. The treatment is very much similar to that of the animals and birds at Śittannavāśal.

The lotuses are painted white on an indigo background covering a considerable space of the ceiling. They are simple but effective in treatment. The scroll and other ornamental designs on the brackets of the pilaster are painted in black and tinted blue and show a mastery in designing.

Among the figures (*gaṇas*) in the dancing scene, the drummer has his head bent and recalls to mind a similar figure in the Tañjāvūr frescoes. The bearded dancers wear coats similar to those worn by the musicians in the Tañjāvūr frescoes. The coats are closed in front. The attendants in the Naṭarāja panel at Tañjāvūr also wear coats but open in front. All these figures may thus be grouped as a class of royal servants, musicians and dancers at the royal court.

It has been suggested that the bearded figures are sages engaged in amorous sports in the company of women—the *tapasvīlīlā*, as described in the *Śilparatna*. It has also been pointed out that on the basis of their dress, they may be identified as hunters and the figure of a boar that one of them carries on his shoulder seems to support this identification. According to another view, the picture may represent the revelry of the *Yavana* referred to in the *Ūrkāṅkāthai* of the *Śilappadikāram*, wherein mention is made of a bodyguard of the Pāṇḍya king and the *Yavana* women who practised the cult of Astarte at Madurai and indulged in Bacchanalian orgies.

There are figures of women among this dancing group and they are full of grace and dignity.

7. Nārttāmalai (Chōḷa)

The walls of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* in the temple of Vijayālaya Chōḷīśvaram at Nārttāmalai (Nagarattāmalai) in the Tiruchirappalli District, were once covered with paintings, belonging probably to the Chōḷa period. The temple, originally built in about the 9th century by a local chieftain, was later repaired and renovated at a later date due to the fact that the original shrine was struck by lightning as mentioned in a 12th century inscription.³⁹

On the north wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* are traces of a figure of Śiva as Bhairava. It is a standing figure with a wide mouthed dog behind it. Surrounded by a *tiruvāchi* (aureole) of flames, the figure has eight arms holding various weapons. Possessing a fierce countenance, the figure has three eyes and wears a mailed corset like covering for the chest. It wears several ornaments, a *yajñōparīta* and a long string of human skulls. In addition to a waist band with four bells, the figure also has two serpents entwined round the loins. Painted in dark bluish green, the figure is drawn in rich red outline.

There are some fragments of plaster revealing a few pretty cherub like faces on the south wall, strongly reminiscent of the Chōḷa school of Tañjāvūr, which may belong to the late Chōḷa phase i.e. 12th 13th centuries.⁴⁰

The difficulty in dating these paintings arises out of the 12th century inscription referring to the destruction of the temple by lightning and the repairs carried out later. It may be presumed that the paintings were carried out at the time of repairs and renovation.

It is clear that stylistically the paintings exhibit the linear mode of expression. Technically, however, the method employed here seems to be a combination of the tempera and the lime medium processes. Chemical analysis has revealed the presence of organic binding medium due to some drying oil and also lime used in pigments.⁴¹

8. Tirumalai (Chōḷa and Vijayanagara)

Mural paintings have been found in the Jaina temple at Tirumalai in the Polur Taluk of the North Arcot District. The temple represents a complex of structures which have come up in front of an original series of caves. Two layers of paintings occur on the walls of a brick facade attached to the caves on the second floor. The earlier layer is visible on the walls of the last and outermost of the five cells on the top floor.

The earlier layer has been assigned to the 11th 12th century (Chōḷa period) on the basis of the resemblance of the paintings to those of Nārttāmalai. The second layer has been dated in the Vijayanagara period i.e. 15th-16th centuries.⁴² This layer bears unmistakable resemblances in style to the Vijayanagara paintings at Tirupparuttikkunṅam (near Kāñchi).

The temple was originally built in the pre-Chōla times, with subsequent additions and embellishments made at various stages from the early Chōla to Vijayanagara time (c. 10th to the 15th centuries). This fact introduces a major problem in determining the dates of the paintings.

The themes illustrated are taken from Jaina mythology such as the *samavasaraṇa* of Nēminātha, to whom the temple is dedicated, and the life stories of Agni'ā and Varadattā, two *yakshais* of the Jaina pantheon.

9. Tirupparuttikkunram (Jina Kāñchī Vijayanagara)

The local temple of Vardhamāna known as Trailōkyaṇātha contains two series of paintings datable to the Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara periods respectively. The paintings are found on the ceiling of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the *saṅgīta-maṇḍapa* of the temple. They illustrate the life stories of three Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras viz., Rishabhanātha, Nēminātha and Mahāvīra, the first, twentysecond and twentyfourth Tīrthaṅkaras respectively. There are also scenes from the life of Kṛishṇa, who according to Jaina mythology, was a cousin of Nēminātha. The paintings are executed in broad, horizontal friezes. The life stories of Rishabhanātha, Nēminātha and Kṛishṇa have descriptive labels in late Grantha and Tamil characters but the letters in most of them are lost.

On the analogy of the *Śrīpurāṇa*, a late Jaina work dealing with the stories of the 63 *śalākāpuruṣas* (great beings) of Jaina mythology, the scenes in the above paintings have been identified. The story of Agni'ā (Dharmādēvī), the *yakshī* of Nēminātha also figures in some of these scenes.

Another group of paintings earlier than the above is found in the *saṅgīta-maṇḍapa*. They represent floral and ornamental designs and a few scenes from the life of Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra). T. N. Ramachandran assigns the earlier group to the 17th century and the later group (first mentioned) to the 18th.⁴³ As stylistic similarities are often the only clue to the chronology of these paintings, the earlier group may be assigned to about the 14-15th centuries both on account of their resemblance to the Tirumalai paintings and on the basis of the inscription recording the erection of the *maṇḍapas* and extensive renovation carried out by Irugappa, a general of Harihara II (in c. 1387-88 A.D.). Thus the later group of paintings may fall in a period between the 16th and 18th centuries, but there is no means of dating them more precisely.

The temple itself has a long history of development and the nucleus of it dates from the Pallava times⁴⁴ it having passed through several stages of addition and renovation in the Chōla and Vijayanagara times.

The paintings of Tirupparuttikkunram and of other Vijayanagara sites, have great historical significance, as they are illustrative of the contemporary life in all its aspects, court life, urban life, modes of warfare, dress and ornamentation etc. which register a remarkable change from the Chōla times. While they are typically conventional, yet the narrative method of representation has to be welcomed as a kind of folk art which gives an easy means of reading the stories of the gods and form,

as it were, visualised books of mythology and iconography, presenting the details in an easy and interesting manner. Quantitatively, the Vijayanagara paintings represent the largest series of painting remains in three major regions of the South—Andhra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu. Religious edification was the chief purpose of the art of Vijayanagara, apart from the fact that such a practice incidentally gave encouragement to arts and crafts.

The technique employed in the paintings at Tirupparuttikkunram is one of 'lime medium' or fresco-secco. The pigments used are lime, yellow ochre, red ochre, carbon and indigo.⁴⁵

The paintings of the Vijayanagara period differ from the classical mode and its southern Indian version of the Pallava and Chōla times. They may be said to represent the last link in a medieval tradition which succeeded the classical idiom as modified in the Pallava and Chōla periods. They lack the flow and gliding lines of the Pallava art and the rapid movement, the variety of poses and dynamism of the Chōla paintings; yet they have an undertone of the characteristics of both, though they have become largely conventionalised.

While it would be difficult to label them as 'degenerate', one may largely agree with the rest of the characterisation of this art as detailed above. There is also a remarkable sense of colour in these artists who painted attractive pictures in rich colours as in Lēpākshi. Yet "the colour and disposition of draperies and ornaments are used only for a formal purpose and though the line cannot resist the urge to follow the contours of figures, thereby giving them scale and dignity, it is not allowed to disturb the rich two dimensional texture of the painted surface."

The Vijayanagara traits in the art of painting persisted with greater emphasis on the linear expression in the post-Vijayanagara i.e. the Nāyak period down to the 18th century.

Notes and References

1. Since the author has made a more intensive study of the painting remains of the Tamil areas, which constitute a large proportion of the mural remains all over India, she confines herself to the Tamil country.
2. The chronology of the Śaṅgam works is generally accepted as the first three centuries of the Christian era.
3. *Ahaṇḍāru*, 5-20; 54-4; 96-11; *Narriṇai*, 152-2; *Pāṭṇinappilai*, *Maduraikkāṇchi* and *Neṇḍunalvāḍai* also contain such references.
4. *Śilappadikāram*, III: III, VI: 169.
5. *Neṇḍunalvāḍai*, 110; *Aham*, 211:2; *Maṇimēkhalai*, III; 160; VI: 43. etc.
6. *Paripāḍai*, 19.
7. *Maṇimēkhalai*, *Uṇḍarurai*, 30-31.
8. *Maṇimēkhalai*, XXVIII; 38.
9. *Śilappadikāram*; XI: 121; *Maṇimēkhalai*, II;
10. *Pāḍirippā-Narriṇai*: 118.

11. T. V. Mahalingam: *Kāñcīpuram in Early South Indian History*, 1969, p. 71; I. Mahadevan: *Corpus of Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions*, Madras, 1966.
12. *South Indian Paintings*, National Museum Publications, New Delhi, 1968.
13. See S. K. Govindaswamy, "Chola Painting", in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. I, p. 74.
14. S. T. Baskaran, "Paintings of Tondaimandalam"—Paper read at the Seminar on History and Culture of Tondaimandalam, Archaeological Society of South India, October 1973, Madras.
15. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XI, pp. 74-76.
16. The Talagirisvara Temple at Panamalai, *The Hindu Weekly Magazine*, January 28, 1962.
17. *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 289; S. T. Baskaran, *op. cit.*
18. John Marshall: *The Bagh Caves*, London, pp. 4-5.
19. Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *Painting of India*, Treasures of Asia Series, Skira, p. 35.
20. *Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, pp. 78 ff.
21. R. C. Majumdar (ed): *The Struggle for Empire* (History and Culture of the Indian People Vol. V), pp. 576-83.
22. K. R. Srinivasan: "South Indian Paintings—A note on the date of the Śittannavāśal Paintings" in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Session 7, 1944.
23. T. N. Ramachandran, "Cave Temple and Paintings of Sittannavasal" in *Lalit Kala*, No. 9, April 1961, p. 32.
24. J. Dubreuil and T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *Indian Antiquary* Vol. LII, pp. 45 ff.; S. R. Balasubramaniam, "A Note on the fresco painting at Sittannavasal" in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. IX, 1935, pp. 83. ff.
25. T. N. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.
26. N. C. Mehta: *Studies in Indian Painting*.
27. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1904-05, Inscriptions Nos. 368 and 370.
28. See S. Paramasivan, "Indian Wall Paintings", *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XII, 1940; "Studies in Indian Painting", *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, 1941; The Mural Paintings in the cave temple at Śittannavāśal, An investigation into the method," *Technical Studies*, Harvard, 1939, VIII.
29. For a detailed description and identification of all the themes represented in these frescoes see the author's "New Light on the Cōla frescoes of Tanjore", *Journal of Indian History*, Golden Jubilee Volume, pp. 349 ff.
30. *Tirumūṛai* 7, Hymn 65 (Tirumūṛiyūṛ)
31. Śiva is not represented here as Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti as C. Sivaramamurti thinks. See his *South Indian Paintings*, pp. 80-82. Śiva is merely seated in *lalitāsana* accompanied by his consort.
32. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas* (Madras, 1955), p. 741.; T. N. Ramachandran, *The Thanjavur Art Exhibition Souvenir*, p. 3, C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Paintings* p. 87.
33. For details see *JIH.*,—Golden Jubilee Volume, pp. 353 ff.
34. See J. N. Banerjee: *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 424.
35. See the author's "Dress and Decorations from Murals", in *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures*, Madras.
36. S. Paramasivan: "The Mural Paintings in the Brihadisvara Temple at Tanjore—An investigation into the method" in *Technical Studies*, Harvard, Vol. V, No: 4, 1937, pp. 221-40.
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38. T. N. Ramachandran: "Cave Temples near Tirumalaipuram and their Paintings", *JISOA*, Vol. IV, No. 1, June 1936 p. 70, and C. Sivaramamurti: "Note on the Paintings of Tirumalaipuram" *ibid.*, pp. 72 ff.

39. Venkatarangam Raju: "Cola Temples in Pudukkottai", *JISOA*, Vol. V, pp. 87 ff.
40. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *op. cit.*
41. S. Paramasivan: "Technique of the painting process in the temple of Vijayalaya Colisvaram in the Pudukkottai State", *Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Science*, Vol. VII, No. 4, Sec. A., 1938, p. 282 ff.
42. Stella Kramrisch, "Dakṣiṇa Citra", *JISOA*, Vol. V, pp. 232 ff. S. Paramasivan, however, brings both the layers down to the 16th—17th centuries and later. See *JISOA*, Vol. VII, 1939, pp. 33 ff.
43. T. N. Ramachandran: *Tirupparuttkuṇṇem (Jina Kāñet) and its temples*, pp. 62 ff.
44. T. N. Subramanian: Paṭṭakoyil Copper Plate Grant of Simhavarman' in *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1958-59.
45. S. Paramasivan: *JMU*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, 1941, pp. 72-74.
46. C. Sivaramamurti: "Paintings of Lepakshi", in *JISOA*, Vol. V, p. 184., Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

THE SOUTH INDIAN MUSIC

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THE MUSIC OF SOUTH INDIA is called Karnāṭaka¹ music. Like many familiar objects, the term Karnāṭaka music eludes a precise and compact definition despite several methodological complementary approaches. Multiple chronological stratification with considerable overlap weakens the attempt to historically relate it to epochs of origin, development or culmination. It may not be geographically delimited to the South Indian peninsula, for, a large territory of this peninsula is also the home of Hindūsthāni music; also Karnāṭaka music is now widely diffused in North India. To define it in a comparative method by delineating the similarities and dissimilarities with other systems of music such as the Hindūsthāni would be descriptive and not definitive; it would involve *petitio principii*. At least, it would require resolution of many yet intangible factors such as affective and aesthetic differentiation and collimation of techniques and treatment of similar or same empirical material. This is why a semantic approach would remain, in the present state, barren.

Again, Karnāṭaka music cannot be defined in terms of content. For, if content is understood as the totality of the compositional forms employed, these are largely transient. Many have passed into oblivion or obsolescence, while yet others have drastically metamorphosed over the centuries. If content means the matrix of theory and practice, the secondary frame of empirico-descriptive flux necessarily keeps on changing against the more or less fixed primary frame of fundamental, foundational or formative concepts, both autonomous and heteronomous. A linguistic definition or demarcation is equally unsatisfactory because the verbal content in Karnāṭaka music is largely extraneous or irrelevant to its musical autonomy and is only its extra-musical dimension. Also, it is composed in nearly all Dravidian languages besides Sanskrit. In its format it is polyvalent as a music, religious or ritual music, traditional music etc. with considerable and frequent exchange of form and content with folk-music. It comprises a heterogeneity of forms in musical and literary structure. Ethnologically, it cannot be restricted by racial characterisation.

Thus the nature of evolution of Karnāṭaka music admits more of an eclectic and comprehensive description than a precise and compact definition. A description of this system is attempted in a historical perspective in this paper.

Nomenclature

The fallacious popular belief that the name Karnāṭaka music is ancient, must be laid to rest. Not a single reference to this name is to be found in the vast array of historical records, musical treatises, literary sources etc. which are available. In fact, the names Karnāṭaka and Hindūsthāni emerge from only about hundred years. Their first available textual mention dates from only 1917.

A widely prevalent contemporary musicological belief holds that the dichotomisation of Indian music into the northern (Hindūsthāni) and southern (Karnāṭaka)

streams originated in about 1310 A.D. and first recorded in *Saṅgītasudhākara* of Haripāladēva of the Sēūṇa family of Dēvagiri. This belief is wrong in every detail. The author of *Saṅgītasudhākara* is not this Yādava prince (Harapāla, not Haripāla) but the Haripāla of the Western Chālukyas who flourished in the last quarter of the 12th century. This work nowhere divides Indian music into these streams or names. Such dichotomisation occurs for the first time in the namesake short work, *Saṅgītasudhākara* of Paralīkar Kasinātha Apatulasi of Poona who composed it in 1914. This brief work was published by Sukthankar in 1917 in Poona from the Arya Bhushana Press. The author's name is repeated frequently in the work and the date of its composition unequivocally mentioned at the end. Without noticing these, Sambamoorthy inaugurated the above erroneous belief through a hasty equation.² Apatulasi's dichotomisation was followed up by Bhatkhande in 1934.

In fact, the name Karnāṭaka music was conferred by Tamilians. This was adopted by Maharashtrian musicologists such as Apatulasi and Bhatkhande because of a purely irrelevant historical accident and the name then diffused into Karnataka through territorial contiguity. Both the names Hindūsthāni music and Karnāṭaka music as well as the corresponding systems stabilised in Karnataka which is the only Indian state in which they both equally flourish. European writers of the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries largely meant Hindūsthāni music when they mentioned Indian music because their knowledge and acquaintance were limited to Hindūsthāni music, with the exception of Fox Strangways. Maharashtrian musicologists, especially Bhatkhande equated Karnataka music with the music of Madras.³ Tamilians gave the name of Karnāṭaka music to South Indian music probably for two reasons: To distinguish it from their own ancient heritage of *pans* and *iṣvārams* and to mark the bequeathal from the Vijayanagara empire which included large territories of Tamilnadu at different times, an empire comprising the neighbouring provinces of Karnataka and Andhra.

Origin

It is generally believed that till about a thousand years ago, Indian music was one integral art, uniformly being the same everywhere in India. Uniformity in the matrix of theory in textual tradition and in operational and functional concepts both in the North and the South have largely contributed to this belief. It is difficult to concede, for example, that the music practised at all times in the four extremities of so vast and varying a subcontinent as India was uniformly identical. As a matter of fact, there is a continuous and contiguous transition in the character of Indian music along three axes drawn from the southern tip to the northern, north-eastern and north-western extremities at all times, and even today. Such progressive ethnic and cultural variation is a basic anthropological axiom in any large community and India is no exception. However, similarity or identity in cultural values must have conferred some degree of internal logical and formal coherence on the practice of this art. This naturally admitted a uniform methodology and technique as well as a uniform, general, theoretical treatment. There are few, if any at all, musicological treatises in India which limn the music of only a given province in a given epoch.

They are, by and large, eclectic collections and assimilations of musical and musicological data in time and space. However, every major treatise on Indian music does contain indications of provincial contribution and variation.

Be that as it may, Karnāṭaka music commenced its emergence as a distinct entity from about the middle of the 14th century. By this time Indian music was ripe enough to shed what was archaic, obsolete or redundant in concept and content and to mould into a new one with functional relevance and contemporary needs. The North and the South achieved this in their own characteristic way, in keeping with their peculiar line of historical development. The reemergence of Indian music as Hindūsthāni music took the form of absorption and assimilation of alien and invasive influences, that is, the form of external logic. Exotic influences from the far off lands of Ispahan, Tabriz, Transoxana, Hijaz etc. poured into the crucible of change and fused. The musician and musicologist of North India, largely in the royal courts of the Sultans and Mughals, poured this melt into a new cast the image of which was new but still characteristically Indian. Renaissance in the South was marked by internal pressure and the need to resolve mounting internal tensions and reactionary trends. Thus the evolution of Karnāṭaka music largely flowed along the line of internal logic. As a consequence Hindūsthāni music retains traces of exotic impression even today while Karnāṭaka music still restrains an authentic and traditional descent. The overall result was a new lease on life for both systems. Both streams flowed in different directions with an occasional confluence and sometimes on conceptually parallel beds. A major difference between the two systems is that in the Hindūsthāni music the evolution occurred in terms of abrupt conceptual changes and by individual enterprise i.e. through historical accident while in Karnāṭaka music the conceptual changes in both theory and practice were gradual and logical, not promoted or spearheaded by musicologists and musicians.

Karnāṭaka Music

South Indian music is called 'Karnāṭaka' music because Karnataka and her sons were the largest single factor in launching and developing this music over the centuries. There is every reason to believe that the sage Vidyāraṇya who inspired the founding of the Karnataka (Vijayanagara) empire, also founded Karnāṭaka music in this empire. This does not mean that he created an entire musical system out of the void. It is simply that he recognised the trends, noted the aspects which required reorganisation, buttressing and expansion and revitalised the spirit and core of the system and provided both direction and leadership. The 13th and 14th centuries may be regarded as the dark ages in the cultural history of South India marked by internal conflict, disorganisation and inconsistency, lack of unity and direction. It revealed the need for collimating the scattered forces to a focus. This is reflected in the political, social, religious and cultural life of the people of this age, and especially so in music. Vidyāraṇya was the spearhead of this renaissance and brought order into chaos in South India. Thus melodic aspect of our music was in chaos, being torn between ancient, rigid prescription and permissive usage. Alien and exotic influences were also invading and inundating the hinterland of musical

practice. The sage Vidyāranya created the *mēḷa* concept to replace the archaic *grāma* system and this ushered in, through scalic temperament and reorganisation of the tonic and synonymisation of the trilogy of key, tonality and modulation, a new era. This indeed formed a sign post on the path of evolution. The epithet 'Karnāṭaka' may be justified in other ways also. Most of the leading musicologists who contributed to the growth of the conceptual edifice flourished in Karnataka or were Kannadigas who migrated into far off places in India and wrote on music. For over 1,500 years, most of the influential writers on Indian music have hailed from Karnataka and from kingdoms established and ruled by princes hailing from the many imperial and subordinate dynasties from as far south as Talakāḍu to as far north as Mithilā. Amongst such may be mentioned the Gaṅgas, the Western and Eastern Chālukyas, Rāshtrakūṭas, Hoysaḷas, the Sēūṇas of Dēvagiri, the different dynasties of Vijayanagara and their feudatory dynasties at Mysore, Keladi etc. Many a royal musicologist from these and other dynasties has shed lustre on our music. The contribution of all these musicologists and musicians from Karnataka was definitive, formative and crucial to the evolution of our music in all its phases and faces. These concepts and ideals were realised in performances both in royal courts and temples of Karnataka. Karnataka led in instrumentation and instrumental techniques. Nearly all the major musical instruments which have come down to us now received decisive and far reaching changes in Karnataka at their critical phase of development. Most of the compositional forms employed today in Karnāṭaka music from time to time were, and are, of Karnataka extraction. Even a casual study of the history of Indian music convinces of the appropriateness of the qualifying term 'Karnāṭaka' in the name of this musical system.

Evolution

The emergence of Karnāṭaka music may be traced to its development of an independent form and content. From about the 14th century, it established for itself a distinct form by developing a corpus of concepts and techniques to express them. This was achieved through innovation, not in the nature of replacement, but as extension, expansion or modification of the already existing framework of theory. Only the absolutely obsolete and archaic was discarded. Wherever musical practice exceeded theoretical convention or prescription, the corresponding theoretical tenet was shown by commentary to extend or expand enough to include the growth in practice. This technique is native to the genius of Indian culture and is found exemplified in every aspect of its evolution.

While the differentiating corpus of concepts was developed through an adequate instrument of techniques, differentiating content was achieved through a corpus of compositional forms. Thus the origins of Karnāṭaka music lie in roots of the quadriology of *rāga*, *tāḷa*, *prabandha* and *vādyā*. The first three are included in the principle of *chaturdaṇḍī* (literally, four pillars) *gīta*, *ālāpa*, *thāya* and *prabandha*. This principle originated, or first enunciated by Gopalanāyaka of Karnāṭaka in the 14th century is a distinguishing feature of Karnāṭaka music and remained its guiding principle till about the late 18th century.⁴

All melodic content of Indian music, comprised of the above *chaturdaṇḍi* stems from *rāga* which is a melodic situation arising out of melodic movement and with an independent appeal or aesthetic content of its own, its specificity emerging from the employment of tonal material⁵ the specificity of which itself is further physically analysed into ten vital characteristics such as notes of attack, rest, initial and medial pauses, recurrence and non-recurrence, limits in the upper and lower registers, specified note combinations, *gamaka*, etc. All *rāga* inheres the scale. The octave is divided into seven primary steps called *svaras*, and subdivided into twentytwo (equivalent) steps called *śrutis*. The *svaras* are fixed in theory by allocation of the *śrutis* as follows: *Shadja*(4), *riṣabha*(3), *gāndhāra*(2), *madhyama*(4), *pañchama*(4), *dhaivata*(3) and *nishāda*(2). The *svaras* are regarded as the manifested maturity of a locus of a moving point of sound, cumulatively gathering musical expressiveness progressively as it proceeds upwards and acquiring different degrees and color of expressiveness, thus 'becoming' the above mentioned different *svaras*. These *svaras* occupying the 4th, 7th, 9th, 13th, 17th, 20th and 22nd *śrutis* respectively were designated as *śuddha* (pure) and if they occupied the next or previous, as in the case of *shadja*, *madhyama* and *pañchama* *śrutis* they were called *vikṛita*. The seven *svaras* were sequentially organised into a parent scale called *grāma* epitomising all the scalic concomitants such as *tāna* and *murchana*, elements of melodic movement such as *varṇa* and *alaṅkāra* and expressiveness such as *vādī* etc.⁶ Three such parent exemplar or archetypal scale called *shadja grāma*, *gāndhāra grāma* and *madhyama grāma* were postulated in which *shadja*, *gāndhāra* and *madhyama* notes were the commencing, ending and most prominent notes respectively in the body of music which was composed in their frames; there were also the nucleal notes to which the respective melodic corpus naturally gravitated. The *gāndhāra grāma* became obsolescent because the actual empirical intervals of contemporary musical practice did not coincide with those derived from it, leaving only the *shadja* and *madhyama grāmas*. The *shadja grāma* was defined as the scale in which the seven notes had the above mentioned *śruti* intervals, while the *madhyama grāma* was derived from it by diminishing the *pañchama* from the 17th to the 16th *śruti*. By modal shift of tonic, that is by rotating the same scale around each of the seven notes separately maintaining the same mutual intervallic relations, seven derived scales, called *murchanas* were obtained in each *grāma*. By omitting one of a few prescribed notes in each *murchana*, hexatonic scales called *shāḍava-tānas* were derived. Similarly, pentatonic scales called *auduva-tānas* were also derived by omitting the *shāḍava* causing note as well as its consonant note. Thus an exemplar body of two *grāmas*, fourteen *murchanas* and eightyfour *tānas* were employed to compare, derive or create *sampūrṇa* (heptatonic), *shāḍava* and *audava rāgas* in current usage respectively.

Rāga

The beginnings of Karnāṭaka music are found in the conceptional metamorphosis in the *rāga*. This may be traced to the obsolescence of the *grāma*. The 14th century witnessed trends culminating in the *shadja grāma*, *madhyama grāma* and their paraphernalia being reduced to a single parental scale which retained the name of

śaḍjagrāma but not the inherent concomitants. This became the standard for definition, comparison and creation of melodic material. This also resulted in uniform gravitation of the corpus of melody to a unicentric focus, viz. the lowest note of the scale thus conferring an upward tendency in melodic movement. Several fundamental changes followed inevitably from this. The choice of a single—the lowest—note of the scale as the reference pitch (designated *ādhāraśruti*) greatly modified the contours of melody. *Madhyama* yielded place to *pañchama* as invariant (*prakṛiti*) and lost its indestructibility i.e. nonomissibility (*avināśitva*); being no longer inevitable in every musical usage. These and other changes were followed by scalar temperament: musical intervals were realigned; the *vikṛitapañchama* of the *madhyama-grāma* was incorporated as *pratimadhyama* into the *śaḍjagrāma* by diminishing one more *śruti*; *Antara gāndhāra* and *kākalī nishāda* were shifted into the next higher, i.e. 12th and 13th *śrutis* respectively, thus radically changing the *sādhāraṇa* principle of Bharata; the minimum interval between two successive notes was reduced from two *śrutis* to one and the maximum was raised from four to six *śrutis*.

A major breakthrough in the development of the melodic structure in Karnāṭaka music occurred in the full exploitation of the expressive potential of a musical note in the scale in terms of contextual extension. This was achieved through the dual principles of alternative denomination (*pariyāyatattva*) and representative expression (*pratiniḍhitattva*). According to the former the same given degree of pitch (*svara-ssthāna*) could assume the character of a precedent or subsequent note depending on the context, thus enlarging the vocabulary of melodic expression. According to the latter, a given degree of pitch in the scale could substitute for a theoretically prescribed but empirically obsolescent note, thus ingeniously replacing deadwood.⁷

Another revolutionary change which helped to crystallise Karnāṭaka music into its modern structure is the innovation in *rāga* classification. The cumbersome *grāma* apparatus was completely replaced by schemes which were based on sound, rational, physical criteria. The schemes of *aṅga* (*rāgāṅga-upāṅga*, *bhāṣhāṅga* and *kriyāṅga*), *varjya* (*auduva* and *śhāḍava*) and *vakra* (irregular sequence in ascent and descent), new concepts in classifying *rāgas*, operated effectively to define different degrees of physical similarity with a given exemplar or model.⁸ These are retained even today. Difference in degrees of fitness for composing the *chaturdaṇḍi* was also adopted as a basis for classifying *rāgas* into good (*uttama*), mediocre (*madhyama*) and poor (*adhama*), but could not stand the test of time.⁹

But by far the most productive scheme of *rāga* classification was derived from Vidyāraṇya's *mēla* scheme. He grouped all extant *rāgas* into groups (*mēla*) such that the members of any given group bore physically similar structures and intervallic materials, and each group differed from the rest. The most typical, representative, or leading *rāga* from each *mēla* (group) was chosen such that it had all the seven notes (in ascent or descent or both or in toto) and was designated as *mēlakarta* (group maker) and the respective group was defined as being contained in this *mēla* which was defined as the sequential arrangement of the seven notes. This *mēla* had no character of *rāga*, but could, when the ten vital characteristics were judiciously

bestowed, become a *rāga* also. This scheme directly inspired into existence the *samsthāna* or *thāṣa* scheme of *rāga* classification in Hindūsthāni music as in Lōchana's *Rāgatarāṅgiṇi* and Hṛidayanārāyaṇa's *Hṛidayakautuka* and *Hṛidayaparakāśa*.

Vidyāranya's *mēḷa* concept was worked out in detail in the 16th and 17th centuries. By the time of Rāmāmātya and Pōlūri Gōvinda this concept was firmly engendered in both theory and practice of our music. In fact, Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala proposes a highly logical, practicable and adequate mathematical scheme of deriving ninety *mēḷas*, while Sōmanātha derives a comprehensive scheme of 960 *mēḷas* based on permutations of *svarasthānas*.¹⁰ Both schemes employ the principles of *paryāya* and *pratindhi* explained above. Veṅkaṭamakḥin employed the same principles and derived the scheme of 72 *mēḷakartas*.¹¹ Owing to the purely historical accident that Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala and Sōmanātha expounded their schemes in places in which not Karnāṭaka music but Hindūsthāni music prevailed and that the Veṅkaṭamakḥin scheme was adopted by the musical trinity and their schools, the latter become enduring and is now firmly established as an indivisible and indispensable part of Karnāṭaka music. An interesting early attempt at establishing theoretical, comparative standards was the erection of generalised melodic frames called *jātis*. A *jāti* was defined in terms of the physical concomitants of musical expression such as the vital characteristics of *rāga* mentioned above. Seven pure and eleven modified *jātis* were described by Bharata and Dattila for this purpose. Because of generalised frame obtained by manipulating the elements of musical expression by permutation, it was possible to comprehend several *rāgas* at once in a single *jāti*.

The *mēḷa* concept was augmented by other associated concepts and slowly but inexorably evolved into its present status. It originated as an organisation of all the seven notes in sequence; this was realised in the form of a *rāga* (the *mēḷakarta*) such that it was sufficient if the *ārōha* (ascent) plus the *avarōha* (descent) together had all the seven notes, but not necessary to have all seven notes in the ascent and in the descent separately. The second significant development emerged in the 18th century when the concensus of musicological trends required that the *mēḷa* forming *rāga* should be both *avakrasampūrṇa* and *rāgāṅga*. The modern relationship between the *mēḷakarta* and its derivative as progenitor (*janaka*) and progeny (*janya*) was inaugurated in the 16th century by Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala¹² and was revived by a group of musical treatises *Rāgalakṣhaṇam* (Anon.), *Saṅgītaratnākara* (Kannada, Anon.), *Samgrahachudāmaṇi* (Gōvindāchārya), *Saṅgītasārasamgrhamu* (Tiruvēṅkaṭa Kavi) and others in the 18th century. All *rāgas* are today derived from the respective *mēḷakartas* in terms of the tonal material employed; in terms of the notes employed they are classified as pentatonic (*auḍava*), hexatonic (*shūḍava*) and heptatonic (*sampūrṇa*). In terms of the regular or irregular sequence of the notes in the ascent and descent in melodic movement they are again divided into *rakra* (curved) and *avakra* (straight). They are further classified on the basis of the degree of physical similarity with the *mēḷakarta* which is regarded as the exemplar of musical expressiveness. Thus a *janya* possessing only the notes of the *mēḷakarta* and no other, is termed *upāṅga*; one seeking to incorporate the shade of expressiveness native to another *mēḷa* by

borrowing one or more notes from other *māḥas* (accidentals) is called *bhāṣhāṅga*. The *kriyāṅga* is a type of *rāga* possessing an action-evoking affective content.

Tāla

Karnāṭaka music now employs a compact, coherent and highly logical *tāla* system. This is entirely the fruit of the labours of the Haridasas of Karnataka. In the dark age referred to above, our music was drowned in archisms and anachronisms as much in the temporal aspect as in the melodic aspect. It was cloyed with proliferation of the theoretical and practical elements of *tāla*. Thus the very multiplicity of the legacy in theoretical principles and rules led to confusion; the structural components of *tāla* were too numerous and their temporal values had grown ambiguous and unstable. The component known as *virāma* had grown to be a nuisance instead of an expedient. The number of *tālas* became unmanageably large, and their construction was governed more by individual fancy and fantasy rather than practicality. The durations spanned by them were very complex or too large for logical coherence and comprehension. Mathematical, rather than musical, formulation determined their prestige and acceptance. The techniques of performing the *tālas* had become cumbersome. Because of the vast multiplicity and variation in them, no uniformity could be achieved. And this tended to unsettle the music because the *tāla* is, by definition, the foundation, the denominator, the substrate of all music.

The Haridāsas brought order into this wilderness. They displayed brilliant insight and musicological acumen by bringing far-reaching changes in the corpus of the *tālas* without sacrificing continuity or internal logic. They selected time-honoured and popular temporal measures from the contemporary medley and transformed them into a simple, compact, comprehensive system, with laudable parsimony of athetisation, adaptation and generalisation. The *tālas* they selected for such universal application were those employed in a very ancient musical form, the *sālagasūḍa prabandha*. Each segment of this compositional form employed a different *tāla*; the Haridāsas experimented with this form so well and so prolifically that it has, despite its long history, come to be rightly regarded as their contribution; they called this form the *suḷādi* and the *tālas* used therein by them are therefore called *suḷādi tālas*. They composed such a vast variety and number of songs, exclusively in these *tālas* and patterned these song-forms with such consummate skill and technique, that they became the prototypes of much that is modern Karnāṭaka music. Thus the bulk of our music is now transacted only in terms of the *suḷādi tālas*. The strength of any system is measured in terms of the parsimony it exercises in evolving its foundational concepts and material as also the endurance of its parameters. The Haridāsas have conferred both on Karnāṭaka music in the *tālas*.¹³

The edifice of Indian music is built on the foundations of *rāga*, *tāla* and *prabandha*. Hindūsthāni music and Karnāṭaka music are distinguished from each other in terms of the treatment and technique which this trilogy receives. The *chatur-dandī* structure of Karnāṭaka music rests on them.

Chaturdaṇḍī-Ālāpa

The first of the *chaturdaṇḍī* is *ālāpa*. *Ālāpa* is the extempore creation of a melodic personality using a given tonal situation which is comprehended in the scale of a given *rāga*. This constitutes the acme of both Karnāṭaka music and of its creative genius. The personality is governed by broad and fairly elastic structural rules, grammar and idiom. It is systematised adequately in early treatises. Thus an *ālāpa* has six broad physical phases: *akshiptikā* (Vulg. *āyitta*) manifests the emergence of the *rāga* in introductory melodic passages; *rāgavardhini* (Vulg. *karaṇa*, *eḍupu*) develops the motifs introduced by elaboration; 'it increases' the *rāga*, i.e. develops and sustains its body. The *vidāri* is the third phase in which the *rāgavardhini* is properly phased out. In other words, it separates, by suitable techniques, the various paragraphs (*rāgavardhinis*) in the essay (*ālāpa*). *Sthāyi* is the next stage, in which clusters of *tānas* blooming around a given note of the *rāga* are established in the scheme of unfolding the *rāga* personality. In *varianī* (Vulg. *makariṇi*) clusters of *tānas* on other notes are also built up. *Muktāyi* is the final phase in which the *ālāpa* is brought to a close. This is the cadential part of the melodic structure of the *rāga* and finally rests on the *nyāsa svara*. These were initially prescribed for delineating songs by early musicologists such as Śārṅgadēva but were transposed to the more general—and abstract—canvas of *rāgālāpa*, inaugurated in the 17th century by Gōvindadīkshita.¹⁴

Chaturdaṇḍī-Ṭhāya

Ṭhāya is the second member of the *chaturdaṇḍī* and has no parallel in Hindūsthāni music. It originated from the *sthāyas* described at length by earlier writers. Probably for the first time by Pārśvadēva¹⁵ who uses the terms *sthāya* and *ṭhāya* synonymously. The *sthāya* is defined as the organ of *rāga* and ninety six of these are enumerated and described.¹⁶ But their method of singing is given for the first time by Veṅkaṭamakhin. But by this time the *sthāya* was metamorphosed from being an integral part of a *rāga*, being employed during *ālāpa* for special effects into a distinct, autonomous musical form. Thus Veṅkaṭamakhin describes only *ṭhāya* and not varieties of *ṭhāya*. He devotes a separate chapter for the description of the *ṭhāya*, and says that *sthāyai* is sung on any suitable note of the *rāga* and a *tāna* is sung on each of the next four notes in conformity with the nature of the *rāga* first in the ascent and then in the descent. Then any note among these eight *tānas* is made the *sthāyi* and the melodic movement in it is rested on *mandra śaḍja*. This is called *makariṇi*. It is followed by *muktāyi*, i.e. the finale of the *rāga*.

Chaturdaṇḍī-Gīta

The third *daṇḍī* is *gīta*. A *gīta* generally means song but has acquired special connotation in Karnāṭaka music. Till the middle of the 18th century it signified the *sālagasūḍa prabandha* mentioned above. In modern parlance it means a simple—the simplest-song type to which the fresher-student is introduced. Both are distinct contributions of the Haridāsas of Karnataka. The *daṇḍī* is in the former sense. The *sālagasūḍa prabandha* in ancient times was a collection of several compositions with

structural coherence, performed in its entirety in prescribed order with strict accordance to rules. They were *niryukta* (i.e. fixed by prescription) in affective, prosodial, *rāga*, *tāla*, etc. They had hundreds of subvarieties. This huge array gave rise to license for arbitrary and non uniform usage. Since the *tālas* themselves suffered from profligacy non uniformity and confusion, the above defects became aggravated. The Haridāsas led by Purandaradāsa adapted them in the manner already described. These marked a major phase of development of Karnāṭaka music but have now become obsolete and need not be discussed further here.

Chaturdaṇḍī-Prabandha

Prabandha is the fourth and final *daṇḍī*. *Prabandha* is musical composition and may or may not, be set to *tāla* (*nibaddha* or *anibaddha*). It consists of six organs, solmisations (*svara*), word content (*pada*), onomatopoeic syllables associated with sounds produced by musical instruments (*paṭa*), laudatory address to the hero (*biruda*) the auspicious syllables *te-na* and *tāla*. Structurally, it has four segments: *udgrāha* the introductory passage, the refrain or body (*dhruva*), the passage spanning these two (*mēḷāpaka*) and conclusion (*ābhōga*). A passage bridging the *dhruva* and *ābhōga*, called *antara* (or *upāntara*) is optionally used only in *śulādis*. Of the other melodic segments *mēḷāpaka* and *ābhōga* may be omitted in construction but never *udgrāha* and *dhruva*. On the basis of the number of the above six organs, *prabandhas* are classified into *mēdinī*, *ānandinī*, *ḍīpanī*, *bhāvanī* and *tārāvalī* from a maximum of all six to a minimum of two organs. The *prabandha* may be *niryukta* i.e. prescribed in respect of *rasa*, *tāla*, metre, *rāga* etc. or *aniryukta*.¹⁷ About seventy six varieties of *prabandha* are grouped under the heads of *sūda*, *ālīkrama* and *vīprakīrṇa*. Several of these have many subvarieties.

A major difference between Hindūsthānī music and Karnāṭaka music is the discontinuity in the evolution of song forms in the former; the above were almost completely lost sight of from about the 15-16th centuries in North India while many of them were composed and performed till about the 18th century in the latter. Yet, probably the most interesting fact about the compositional forms of Karnāṭaka music is that the old and the new coexisted between the 15th and the 18th centuries but while some of the new forms were logical evolutions of older forms, there were some which were entirely new but yet were not included in the treatises written during this period.

A further interesting fact is that the majority of the song types now used in Karnāṭaka music may be traced to Kannada and Karnataka for its archetypal emergence. Thus the exemplor of the *kṛtī*, *pada* and *jāvalī* is found in the musical forms created by the Haridāsas both in form and content. The *tillāna* has undoubtedly descended from the ancient *Kaivāḍa prabandha*. The founder of the *varṇa* was the Kannadiga Ādi Appaiah whose descendents and disciples led in fostering its growth. The *dēvaranāma*, *ugābhōga*, *śulādi*, *nāmāvalī* are, of course, obvious gifts of the Karnataka Haridāsas.

Nevertheless, each of these forms received inspiration, impetus and succour from the neighbouring provinces of Andhra, Tamilnadu and Kerala. While the

prototype of the *kṛitī* is found in the songs of Naraharidāsa in the 14th century and proliferated by the *ādyas*, Śīpādarāya, Vyāsarāya, Purandaradāsa, Vādirāja, Kanakadāsa etc. the composers of the Tāḷlapākam family and Virabhadraiah, Ramadas, Sesha Iyengar, Krisnasvamayya etc. from Andhra, the great musical trinity (Tyāgarāja, Muttusvāmī Dikshita and Śyāmaśāstṛi) and their schools in Tamiḷnadu, Svātītirunāl and his band of composers from Kerala have later directed and determined its evolution. The *varṇa*, again grew into its present dimension largely in Tamiḷnadu and Kerala.

Telugu and not Kannada is the major medium of discursive expression in Karnāṭaka music today. Sanskrit has the second place of honour. The *kṛitīs* of Aruṇagiri-nāthar, Kōttīśvara-ayyar and such other great composers have given an important status to Tamil in Karnāṭaka music besides the ancient *tēvārams*, *tiruvāymolī* and the *paṇis* in which they were composed. *Tillānas*, *varṇas* and *padas* are composed almost exclusively in Telugu even now. *Jāvalis* are available in larger number in Kannada, Telugu and Tamil. The contributions of Svātī Tirunāl have elevated Malayalam to a considerable position in musical expression.

Compositional Forms

A brief description of the musical forms of modern Karnāṭaka music may now be attempted. The songs of this system are all segmented with only few exceptions. The *svarajati* is a composition in which solfic passages of a given *rāga* are phrased out in a *tālā* through prosodial groupings into various segments with the initial passage serving as the refrain. Rarely, words are also set to the song, such that the syllabic duration synchronises with note duration. The *varṇa* has an erotic, laudatory or devotional theme set in a slow tempo to melodic lines replete with *gamakas* in a given *rāga*, in an introductory passage called *pallavi*, followed by an equally or doubly long passage, usually bearing the composer's signature, called *anupallavi* (and *upapallavi*). This is the first segment. The second segment is a solfic passage called *chitte-svara*, this rests on the opening part of the *pallavi*. This constitutes the first half of the *varṇa*. This is followed by a short passage called *ettugade*, a refrain for each of the subsequent segments of solfic passages which are rarely set to words. The *varṇa* is called *padavarṇa* or *chaukavarṇa* if it is in slow tempo, in *aṭṭatāla* and set to an erotic theme. It is called *tānavarṇa* if it is set to *ādītāla* and to devotional themes. The *kṛitī*, *dēvaranāma*, *pada* and *jāvali* are all derived from the same matrix of *pallavi*, *anupallavi* (which is sometimes optionally dropped out) and one or more (usually three, but generally odd numbered) *charaṇas*. The composer's signature is to be found in the final *charaṇa*. All the *charaṇas* in a *kṛitī* have the same music except in rare instances (eg. the *paṭṭcharatnakṛitīs* of Tyāgarāja). The *dhātu* (melody-lines) of *pallavi* and *anupallavi* are different and are repeated in the *charaṇa*; in the *kṛitīs* of Dikshita it is independent and different. The *kṛitī* may be set in slow (*vilamba*) middle (*madhya*) and rarely fast (*druta*) tempos. Sometimes the *charaṇas* are in a faster tempo than in the rest of the *kṛitī* and each in different *dhātu*. The word-theme (*mātu*) of the *kṛitī* and *dēvaranāma* may be praise of God, spiritual quest, moral or ethical exhortation, social reformation etc. The *pada* has the musical structure and

segmentation but set always in slow tempo and generally in *chāpu tāla* and invariably to an erotic theme consisting of the yearning of the lovelorn heroine (*nāyika*) for the hero (*nāyaka*) and *vice versa*. The *pada* is often interpreted in spiritual symbolism as representing the yearning of the individual soul for the universal soul. The *jāvaḷi* has physical love of the hero and heroine for its theme and is set to light, attractive *rāgas* and simple *tālas*. The *tillāna* is composed in *pāṭas* set to a *rāga* and *tāla* with brief solfa passages and *mātu* carrying the composer's signature. The *mātu* is adulation, prayer or love dedicated to the author. Like the *varṇa* it is also a *bharatanāṭya* composition. The *aṣṭapadi* is a song from the *Gītagōvinda* of Jayadēva Sarasvatī with a *pallavi*, *anupallavi* which is also the refrain and eight verses, the last of which bears the composer's signature. It is adapted to the *rāgas* and *tālas* of Karnāṭaka music since about the early 18th century. The *aṣṭapadi* is usually prefaced with a *ślōka* from the same work which sets forth in a narration the context and background for the *aṣṭapadi*. A *ślōka* from *Ramakarnāṃṛitam*, *Kṛishṇakarnāṃṛitam*, *Mukunda-mālāstōtra*, etc. set to a garland of *rāgas* (*ragamālikā*) is usually performed at the end of a recital. The *pallavi* is a single melody line in which the syllables of a brief word-theme are rigidly fixed in the span of a single *tāla āvarta* (*tāla* cycle) and which is elaborated in terms of the import of the *rāga*, rhythmic potential, the affective content etc. extempore. It is a confluence of all the creative elements in Karnāṭaka music. It is prefaced with an elaborate and detailed *ālāpana* of the *rāga* of the *pallavi* and *tāna*. The *tāna* consists of clusters of musical notes arranged in various prosodial combinations appropriate to the *rāga*. The *pallavi* line is extended by *neravalu* and followed by *svarakalpana*. The *tāna* and *pallavi* are about two centuries old.

Creative and Decorative Elements

Every musical system characterises and distinguishes itself by the elements of spontaneous creativity it evolves and employs. In Karnāṭaka music the performer is also a composer besides interpreting music of original composers. He creates not only to enlarge, enrich and embellish the predetermined ideation, affect, melody and rhythm in a song he has received, but creates his own music also. All this latter creation is extempore and its quality is a measure of the mood and ability of the performer. Thus *rāga-ālāpana* prefates the rendering of a song and consists of purely spontaneous elaboration and development of melodic motifs as well as affective and aesthetic content within the framework of a given scale. *Tāna* consists of *ālāpana* of a *rāga* set to groupings of notes in prosodial patterns and combines both *rāga* and rhythm in a manner which is unique in the world of music. *Svarakalpana* is the weaving of *svara* patterns in different tempos, rhythms and movements in the given *tāla* cycle to dovetail exactly into the point of commencement (*edupu*) of the *mātu* in the *tāla-āvarta*. *Neravalu* is the exposition of both *dhātu* and *mātu* occurring in a given segment of song in different but logically coherent variations, moods and aesthetic forms. *Saṅgati* is variation of a melodic theme in a given verbal context developed progressively from simplicity to complexity and involves increasing embellishment, dynamics and density gradually. The foregoing elements are collectively designated *manōdharma saṅgīta*.

The decorative elements are those designed to enhance the beauty of a song by techniques and extensions, judiciously conferred on it, by the composer himself or others. Of these the *saṅgati* may be classified as both *manōdharma saṅgīta* and decorative element. *Madhyamakāla sāhitya* is a *mātu* in faster tempo and in taught, cross rhythms with dense syllabic population, added after the *anupallavi* or and after the *charaṇa*. The *chittesvara* is a well balanced solfic passage at the end of the *charaṇa* sometimes also set to *mātu*. The *mātu* may display segments in which a series of new words are formed by the progressive addition or subtraction of a syllable at the beginning. Often, the *mātu* syllable coincides with the syllable symbolising the *svara*. The name of the *rāga* is sometimes ingeniously woven into the fabric of the *mātu*. The *chittesvara* or the *mātu* of a song may be composed to include clusters of *pāṭāksharas*. The *chittesvara* is sometimes so composed that it reads exactly the same when read from right to left. The *mātu* may be composed in a mixture of languages. The *mātu* may be densely decorated with alliteration and with recurrence of same or similar phonetic community.

Most of the creative and decorative elements were originated in Karnāṭaka music 200-250 years ago.

Instrumentation

The musical instrument used in a recital of Karnāṭaka music are chiefly *tambūra*, *vīṇā*, *gōṭṭuvādyā* and violin among chordophones (*tata*), flute, saxophone and clarinet among aerophones, *mṛidaṅga*, *khaṇjira*, *dōlak* and *tavil* among the membranophones, and *jalataraṅg*, *ghaṭa*, *tāḷa* and triangle and morsing among idiophones.

The *tambūra* is the drone instrument for both Hindūsthāni and Karnāṭaka music. It provides the reference pitch to which all the music rendered is oriented and is therefore a prime instrument. It crystallised into a definite form and structure in the 14-15th centuries and its first mention is found in Śrīpādarāja (1404-1502 A.D.) Vyāsarāja (1447-1539 A.D.) and Purandaradāsa (1484-1564 A.D.). This instrument has been referred to as *daṇḍige* by Kannada poets and the Haridāsas. It consists a hemispherical resonator of jackwood to which a long neck of the same wood is fixed. Three steel strings tuned to *mandra pa*, *madhya sa*, *madhya sa* and a fourth brass string tuned to *mandra sa* pass over a bridge and are fixed to pegs beyond the neck. The first string is tuned to *mandra ma* in the case of female voices or obtain a higher reference pitch; or, the latter *tambūra* is made shorter to accommodate the same tuning but higher pitch.

The *vīṇā* is one of the most ancient keyboard musical instruments of India. Its present form emerged from about the 18th century. Prior to this period its keyboard was of two varieties; one in which the frets could be moved to different positions to give the notes of a desired *rāga* and another which had fixed frets for all *svrasthūnas* so that it could accommodate any and every *rāga*. Each was tuned in three different ways to give different ranges in the tonal continuum. As many as thirtythree varieties of the *vīṇā* were known even as late as the 16th century. The one now in exclusive use in Karnāṭaka music is called Sarasvatī Vīṇā. It consists of a hemispherical

resonator of jackwood to which a neck bearing a keyboard carrying 24 brass or bronze frets are fixed. The neck has a gourd to serve as a prop. The instrument has four strings passing over the bridge on the resonator, across the frets and are fixed to pegs in the 'head' beyond the neck. The first two are of brass and tuned to *anumandra pa* and *mandra sa*. The other two are of steel and tuned to *mandra pa* and *madhya sa*. Three steel strings called *śruti*-strings pass over a side bridge attached to the main bridge and along the side of the neck and are fixed to pegs provided on the side of the neck. They are tuned to *madhya sa*, *madhya pa* and *tāra sa*. Between roughly 1750 and 1900 A.D., if not even earlier, the resonator rested on the crossed legs of the squatting *vaṇṇika* and the neck resting vertically along the left shoulder; the left fingers moved over the keyboard up and down while the right fingers plucked the strings. But now the *viṇā* is positioned horizontally the resonator resting on the ground near the right knee of the squatting player while the prop rests on his left lap. The left hand passes under the neck and the fingers move over the keyboard forward and backward. The right forefinger and middle finger pluck the strings while the right ring finger is used to pluck the *śruti* strings to mark the accents in the *tālāvarta*.

The *goṭṭuvādyā* is as old as about 1610 A.D. since Raghunāthanāyaka, ruler of Tanjore, mentions it in his *Śṛigārasāvitri*. The instrument is also known as *mahā-nāṭakaviṇā*. Sambamoorthy claims a Tamil origin for this name deriving it from *kōḍu* (=stick).¹⁸ It may be noticed however, that a more plausible and probably derivation is available in Kannada, *Goṭṭu* means hard, complete dry. The instrument is not played with a stick, but with hard, dry piece of wood called *goṭṭu*. Alternatively, *goṭṭu* refers in Kannada to a technique of playing on the *viṇā* where the desired *gamaka* is obtained by horizontal movement rather than by deflection of the string. It may be noticed that this is exactly the way that the instrument is played. The *goṭṭuvādyā* is identical with the *viṇā* in every way except that it has no keyboard and that the *svarasthānas* are obtained by stopping the plucked string at the appropriate position by pressing with the *goṭṭu* with the left hand. The *goṭṭu* is made of a hard, dry, heavy wood such as rose wood or ebony.

In the form in which it is employed today in Indian music, the violin is undoubtedly an importation from Europe. But the European violin is equally undoubtedly evolved from a form which was imported from India. This instrument came back to India in the 19th century. Some fantastic surmises are made in deriving or sanskritising the name. Thus Parur Sundaram Iyer twists the name into *bāhulīna* and associates it with Rāvaṇa.¹⁹ He claims that the first introduction of the violin into Karnāṭaka music was by Padmanābhadaśa Svāti Tirunāl who imported three violins which were played upon by his palace artists. Svāti Tirunāl ruled Travancore from 1829 to 1847 A.D. and presented one of these to Vaḍivēl, a disciple of Muttu-svāmi Dīkshita, in 1834 A.D. Sambamoorthy claims, on the other hand, that "In the history of South Indian music, Bālasvāmi Dīkshitar happens to be the first to receive systematic training in the technique of violin playing and to later to adopt it successfully for playing South Indian music" and that "While young he (Bālasvāmi Dīkshitar) accompanied his father to Maṇali (near Madras) and there stayed for a

number of years. It was there that Maṇali Chinnayya Mudaliyar engaged a European violinist to give him lessons in violin playing for three years". He himself admits that "He was born in the Parābhava year, Mithuna Ravi and Aśvini-nakṣhtra, Kanyā-lagna corresponding to Wednesday, 21st June 1786."

Both claims are untenable. For, the earliest introduction of the violin into South India is much earlier, at least in about 1760 A.D. This was in Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa, the then capital of Mysore, in the royal court of Ṭīpū Sultān. A mural painting on the wall of Darya Daulat in this place, dated beyond doubt as 1784 A.D. contains a panel of musicians in which one of the artists is playing on the violin. The instrument must have been in use at least for about 25 years to have become popular enough for such pictorial representation. In any case, the painting itself, let alone the first introduction of the instrument, was composed two years before Bālasvāmi Dīkṣita was born. It is evident that Haider (1761-82) or his son Ṭīpū (1782-99) introduced this instrument in his court as a result of his intimate alliance with the French. This is not an isolated single evidence of the early use of violin in Karnataka. In the wooden car (*ratha*) of Śrī Rāṅganātha of Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa, now stationed near the temple and consecrated at about 1850 A.D., a carving shows a female violinist. Again, a huge wall painting in the Jaganmohan Palace at Mysore which authentically records the old customs of the *jambūsavāri* of Vijayadaśami in the Navarātri festival, shows a violinist among the musicians.

The architect of the modern violin was Antonio Stradivari (1644-1737) who perfected the instrument in about 1700 A.D. Its bow was perfected by Erancoise (1747-1835) in about 1780. The construction of the violin involves about seventy separate parts requiring expert cutting and assembling. It is a hollow box, usually 14 inches long. The upper half, called the table or belly is made of a soft wood like spruce; the back is made of hard wood, usually maple. Both the back and the top are arched; and may be made of one piece or two pieces joined. The belly is the resonator and has two f-shaped holes, one on each side. The belly curves in at the middle. The top and back are joined by pieces known as the ribs. An ebony finger board is fixed to the belly such that about half of it lies outside the belly. The finger board ends in an elevation called the nut-corresponding to the *mēru* in the *tambūra* and the *viṇā*. To the nut is attached a peg box ending in a scroll. The box has four pegs to which the four strings are tied. A seven stinged violin, requires, of course seven pegs, some of which may be screws. The neck, head, scroll and ribs are made of maple, like the back while the finger board, nut, saddle and the tail piece are made of ebony. The four strings of the violin are stretched over a carefully filled bridge of maple and are sounded by the friction of drawing a horsehair bow across them between the bridge and the finger board, or by plucking, or striking with the wood of the bow. The strings are attached to a tailpiece provided with screws to facilitate minor adjustments in tuning. The tailpiece is attached to an end pin at the top centre of the belly. The top left of the belly is usually supplied with a chin-rest. Inside the violin, the top, bottom and corner blocks of the instrument as well as the sidelinings add strength and stability to the structure. The top is supported by the bass bar and

sound post. The sound post, usually of spruce, stands upright just behind the right foot of the bridge and must be filled exactly to the inside surface of the back and top. Its height, width, grain and location determine the quality of the violin tone. The bass bar supports the top against the heavy string pressure and as also an acoustical aid. The bow stick is generally round or octagonal. The hair is attached to the hatchet faced head at one end to the movable nut called 'frog' at the other end. A metal ferrule at the frog, secured by a small wedge serves to spread out the hair and hold it in a firm ribbon. The nut is made of ebony, ivory or tortoise shell. The bow is tightened by turning a screw-cap which draws the nut back. The broader end of the bow is usually lapped with leather for better finger-hold. The length of the bow is about $29\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The bow hair is selected from the strands of the tails of white-horses and is about $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is rubbed on a coat of resin to give it friction, which produces the musical note on the strings.²⁰ An innovation in the Indian is the introduction of seven strings which has yet to become popular because of the difficulty in tuning and the extra care required in both bowing and fingering to avoid overlap and undesirable notes.

The flute employed in classical Indian music is the single, transverse blown type. It is a cylindrical tube of uniform bore, closed at one end. It is made of various materials such as seasoned bamboo (hence giving rise to the name *vēṇu*), ebony, sandal, red sandal, ivory, iron, steel, copper, bronze, silver, or gold. It is called *bānsurī* in Hindūsthāni music (*vāṃśa svārī* > *bans surī* > *bānsurī*). The difference between the North Indian and South Indian varieties is of size and tone range. The former tend to be longer and bigger. The tone range, described in terms of low scale and high scale is measured by the ratio of the diameter to the length. The flute may be considered in three parts; the head in which the *mukharandhra* (embouchure, blowing hole) is situated about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch from the stop, the middle in which there are no holes; the foot in which there are usually six, but sometimes seven to nine holes, depending on the range required. All these and the embouchure occur in a straight line, and the holes other than the *mukharandhra* are equally spaced out and are approximately of the same width. The first hole nearest the embouchure is called *tārarandhra* since this gives the highest tone. The over all tone range of the flute depends on, and is usually expressed in terms of, the distance between the *mukharandhra* and the *tārarandhra*. Based on this, fourteen types of flutes have been described in ancient Indian musical treatises. The pressure and volume of air blown is a contributory factor in determining the pitch of the note produced. Overblowing produces the octave note. The flute covers ordinarily a range of $2\frac{1}{2}$ registers and corresponds in quality and range, nearest to the human voice. By completely opening, partly opening and completely closing the holes, different notes may be obtained. *Gamakas* and different and subtle shades of notes such as the illusory note, implied note etc. may be produced by the appropriate movements of the fingers on and above the holes. The embouchure is placed on the chin so that half of it is covered by the under lip. The jet of air produced by the flutist's lips must strike the outer edge of the embouchure at its central point to produce a tone of optimum quality. Otherwise the tone quality will be bad and *apaśruti* (notes displaced from their true positions)

will result. The embouchure may be fractionally covered with bees' wax for correction and minor adjustment of fundamental pitch. Besides the above, the flute also has one or two vent-holes on the side and/or underside to assist in fingering techniques and *gamakas*.

The saxophone and clarinet being exact borrowals from western music and retained without adaptation or modification, need not be described here.

Nāgasvaram is also called *nādasvaram* wrongly, and *nāyanam* in Tamil, *vāḷaga* in Kannada. It consists of a wooden tube of conical bore between 2 to 2½ feet fitted with a metal bell at the bottom and a metal cap at the top. The bell may also be made of the same wood. The cap, in the form of a staple, is fitted with a double reed. Spare reeds and an ivory bodkin to clean the reeds with, are also attached on a string to the instrument. The number of finger holes vary, but are generally seven or eight. Several vent holes are also provided at the rear or side to control the pitch and for *gamaka* manipulation. The *nāgasvaram* is named variously depending on its size. The largest of them is *būri* (from *bhāri* - big) and the smaller is called *timiri*. The ensembles employing these are respectively called *periya* (big) *mēḷa*, in Tamil and *doḍḍamēḷa* in Kannada and *cinna*, or *cikka* (small) *mēḷa*. Smaller ones are called *mauri*. A very small variety is called *mukhavīṇā*. The blowing is different from other aerophones. Since the reed is completely held in the mouth, no air is wasted, but the pitch variations are brought out also by variation in the volume of air and intensity of blowing. The fingering techniques correspond to these obtaining in the flute. Rarely, a *nāgasvaram* made of stone may also be found. The drone for the *nāgasvaram* is provided by the *ottu*, which is similar to, but longer than, the *nāgasvara*, but without the finger holes. It therefore gives a monotone which serves as the drone pitch. However, it is provided with a few vent holes at the bottom which may be fully or partly closed with wax to adjust the drone pitch exactly to the required value.

The *jalataranga* is an idiophone, but may be conveniently described here before proceeding to the percussives and rhythm-idiophones. It is said to have flourished in ancient times under the name of *udakavādya*, but is probably a recent addition to Karnāṭaka music. Ahōbala describes this instrument in his *Saṅgītapārijāta*. Its usage in Karnāṭaka music dates back to about 150 years in the name of *jalatarang*. It consists of 18 porcelain cups of progressively increasing volume. They are specially prepared to give a sonorous tone. The note is produced when the cup is struck with a light bamboo stick. The pitch produced is inversely proportional to the volume of the cup and depends on the volume of air resonating in it. The cups are arranged in a semicircle before the performer who operates with both hands. The cups are filled with varying amounts of water. This serves to stabilise the cups and confers continuity on the note. Further various *gamakas* may be manipulated by bringing the stick into contact with the surface of the water. It also offers an easy and ready method of making slight adjustments in tuning. For, the pitch may be diminished by adding water and raised by removing it. This also provides for tuning the same set of cups for different *rāgas* by adjusting the amount of water. The lack of popularity of this instrument is understandable because tuning it is both tedious and time

consuming. Further the tones are largely discrete thus resulting in lack of coherence and intelligibility. Also, the drastic limitation on *gamakas* of which the instrument is capable is a serious handicap.

The leader of the percussive instruments used for temporal accompaniment is undoubtedly the *mṛidaṅga*. It is one of the most ancient of Indian musical instruments and its origin is buried deep in myth and legend. *Mṛidaṅga* means a body of clay, indicating that it used to be made of clay in early times, as it occasionally is even now. The tone quality of the instrument, the perfection in the material and method of construction, and the augmentation of the rhythmic structure of song are peculiar only to this instrument and are an impressive contribution of Karnāṭaka music to the world.

The *mṛidaṅga* is a double-head drum. It is made of clay, jackwood, neem, a cacia, redsandal, redwood etc. It is hollow, broadest at about the middle, tapering down towards both ends. It is hollowed out of a single piece of wood, and looks as if two flower pots are attached face to face. The instrument has two heads: the right has three superimposed, concentric, tightly stretched skins. The outermost is a ring of calfskin. This is called *reppe* (eyelid) in Kannada and Telugu. It is also called *mīṭu*. The stroke on this portion with the forefinger is called *mīṭu*. The intermediate membrane, called *chāpu* (=beat, stroke) is made of sheepskin or goat-skin. A mixture of manganese dust, boiled rice and tamarind paste or fine iron dust and boiled rice is ground intimately layer after layer and fixed permanently to the central circular region of the *chāpu*, and allowed to form a homogeneous dry fixture, thickest at the centre and thinning out towards the edge. This mixture is called *karani* in Kannada and Telugu and *sōru*, *marundu* in Tamil. This acoustically loads the membrane and is mostly responsible for the unique tone quality of the instrument, producing a radial overtone spectrum in the Baeyer series. The paste of the above mixture is applied in small grains and is then rubbed and polished with a smooth hard stone. The innermost membrane is buffalo skin. The left head consists of an outer ring of buffalo skin and the inner membrane is of sheep skin. The central region of this is loaded with a thick aqueous paste of fine soji, or of boiled rice and ashes. This is applied temporarily just before performance and is scraped off at the end. It should not be allowed to dry out during the performance. Its amount determines the pitch produced by the membrane and is inversely proportion to it. The right head is tuned to the reference pitch and the left head to its lower octave note. Each head has a leather hoop to which the membranes are fastened in sixteen eyelets by buffalo hide a thong which tighten the hoops. The thong is a single, continuous one and is threaded to the eyelets of the left and right heads alternately and is tightly stretched across the body of the *mṛidaṅga*. Small, cylindrical, solid wooden pieces are wedged in between the thong and the body to raising or lowering the pitch. If they are driven towards the head tension in the thong rises and hence in the membrane and hence the pitch is raised and vice versa. Minor adjustments in tuning are made by hitting the rim of the eyelets in the hoop at the appropriate place downwards with calculated force with a round polished stone or small hammer to raise the pitch and upwards to lower it.

The *mṛdaṅga* is made in three sizes to accommodate different reference pitch ranges. Thus, for male voices and low reference pitch, the belly or drum is 24 inches, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick and is divided into left segment 11 inches long and right segment 13 inches long and is 36 inches wide where they meet. The right head is $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, the left head is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches. For low female voices (and *śruti* "4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ") the above dimensions are retained except that each of the heads is shorter by one and half inch in diameter. For low male voices and high female voices (*śruti* "5 $\frac{1}{2}$ -6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "), the above dimensions are modified thus: drum is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick and 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches long divided into 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 12 inches for the left and right heads respectively and is 34 inches where they meet. The right head is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter and the left is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The *dōlak* and the *tavil* resemble the *mṛdaṅga* in that they are both double headed percussives. The *dōlak*, also called *dhōlak* is coming into use in Karnāṭaka music recitals only in recent years as an auxiliary to the *mṛdaṅga* and is thus elevated to the status of an art music instrument from that of a folk instrument. It is a wooden cylindrical shell with hoops on both extremes stretching buffalo or sheep-skin membranes and tightened by cotton cords or ropes passing through circular metal rings at the middle of the shell. These rings are used in tuning. The heads are unloaded and are plain. The right head is played with the right fingers covered with calico, plaster cloth etc. to protect the fingers from damage and to give a brittle, discrete quality to the sounds. The left head is played with a stick. The overall effect is to produce a loud, guttural, brittle sound which offers an attractive contrast to the mellow sounds of the *mṛdaṅga*.

The *tavil* is used exclusively as a percussive accompaniment to *nāgasvaram*. Its loud, commanding tone is very appropriate to the *nāgasvaram*. A big ensemble may have two main *nāgasvaram* performers, one *ottu*, two *tavils* and a triangle player and one cymbal player. The unison, variation and eager repartee of the *nāgasvaram* players and the extraordinary sophistry in technique and scholarship as well as the dialogue between the *tavil* players has no parallel in any other system of music in the world.

The *tavil* is made of a single block of wood hollowed out into a cylinder 1/8-1/10 inch thick tapering towards both ends. Both ends have thick hoops of hemp over which the parchment is tautly stretched. The hoops are attached with leather thongs to the shell. Leather straps are also passed round the middle, interlaced with braces which may be tightened or loosened to tune the head to the desired pitch. The right head is played with the right fingers covered suitably as with the *dōlak* and the left head is played with a drumstick.

The *khaṇḍira* is undoubtedly a borrowal from Islam and is popular all over India as a folk instrument. It has acquired a unique status and much popularity in Karnāṭaka music for nearly 150 years. It is a single head percussive consisting of a wooden circular frame about 3-4 inches wide and 8-9 inches in diameter, slightly tapering towards both rims. A lizard skin, usually of *varanus* (*uda* in Kannada) is rightly stretched on the frame. Its pitch may be slightly lowered by dampening the under-surface of the skin with a little water while it may be raised by warming the head.

The frame is provided with three or four slits carrying jingle plates or small dance bells which produce a pleasant jingle or thinkle with the rhythm. The *khajjira* is held with the left hand and played with fingers of the right hand. This instrument is also used as an auxiliary accompaniment to *mṛidaṅga* in Karnāṭaka music concerts.

The other instruments, *ghaṭa*, morsing, *tāla* (cymbals) and triangle are idiophones and are all rhythm instruments. *Ghaṭa* (lit. pot) is a baked claypot with an open mouth and narrow, considering the size of the *ghaṭa*. The mouth is rarely covered with a leather membrane. It is a very ancient instrument. The mouth is pressed against the stomach of the performer to add to the resonance. Both hands are employed in playing it on most of the surface, resulting in a large variety of sounds; the brittle, discrete and dry sounds offer a good foil to the *mṛidaṅga* with which it is used as an auxiliary instrument in a concert or as an accompaniment to the *vīṇā*. Morsing is the Egyptian harp and is a very common folk music instrument also. It consists of an elastic thin iron strip called the tongue which is fixed to an iron ring, projecting a little beyond it at one end and curling slightly at the other end which is longer. This longer end is sandwiched between the two arms of the ring. The instrument is held in the left hand and the frame is placed between the lips. The tongue is plucked with jerking movements by fingers of the right hand. The movement of the iron tongue is reinforced by intermittent blowing and sucking. The mouth cavity of the performer acts as resonator. The instrument may be tuned within narrow limits by damping the curled end of the tongue with bees wax to diminish the pitch. The morsing is also an auxiliary accompaniment to the *mṛidaṅga*. The *tāla* is a pair of small cymbals of bell metal. They are struck against each other to mark the accent in the *tāla-āvarta*. The *trivālī* is a steel triangle, described in our musical treatises since about a thousand years as an idiophone. It is suspended from the left hand and struck with a steel rod to mark the accents in the *tāla-āvarta*. Both *tāla* and *trivālī* are used in a *nāgasvaram* performance to mark time.

This is the foundation of Karnāṭaka music. This is the destination of Karnāṭaka music.

Besides Karnāṭaka music, Hindūsthānī music is also practised in a large part of South India, especially in Karnataka itself and in Maharashtra and Gujarat, south of the Vindhya mountains. Many of the roots of this system are found here. So are the fruits. South India is also the treasure house of a vast multiplicity of folk musical forms and instruments—probably among the richest in the world.

Notes and References

1. In early references at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, this was often spelt as 'Carnatic'. The ambiphonetic 'C' is now largely replaced by 'K'.
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3. V. N. Bhatkhande: *Chaturapaṇḍita*; B. S. Sukthankar (Ed.) *Śrīmallakshyaśaṅgītam* (Arya-Bhooshana Press, Poona, 1934), Sl 7, 8. p. 2.

4. *Vide Veṅkaṭamakhin: Chaturdaṇḍiprakāśhikā*, (Ed.) and (tr. Kan.) R. Sathyanarayana, (Prasaranga, Bangalore University, Bangalore, 1978) pp. 155-57, 213; Tulaja: *Saṅgīta Sārāṃyita*, (Ed.) S. Subrahmanyasastrī, (Music Academy, Madras, 1942), XII, p. 153.
5. *Mataṅga: Bṛhaddēśi*, (Ed.) K. Sambashivastrī, (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XCIV, Trivandrum, 1928) Śl. 280-81, p. 81.
6. Śārṅgadēva: *Saṅgītaratnākara*, (Ed.) S. Subrahmanyasastrī (The Adyar Library, Madras, 1943), Vol. I, iii-vi, pp. 62-168. For explanation of terms *tāna*, *mūrchanā*, *varṇa*, *alathkāra*, *vādi* etc., see R. Sathyanarayana: *Nihāṅka Hṛdaya*, comm. Śārṅgadēva, op. cit. (Prasaranga, University of Mysore, Mysore 1968), p. 4.
7. Kallinātha: *Saṅgītakalānidhi*, comm. Śārṅgadēva, op. cit. II, 30-32 pp. 28-33, II, 159-60, pp. 114-16. See also Rāmāmātya: *Svaramēlakalānidhi*, (Ed.) and (tr. Eng), M. S. Ramaswami Ayier, (The Annamalai University, Annamalai, 1932) II, 24-65, pp. 10-13, III, pp. 14-20; Puṇḍarīka Viṣṭhala: *Rāgachandrōdaya*, (Ed.) Ganesha Sharma (Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1912) II, pp. 10-14; Veṅkaṭamakhin, op. cit. III, 1-80, pp. 166-171.
8. See. Veṅkaṭamakhin: op. cit. v. pp. 195-203; Tulaja: op. cit. ix, p. 65; x, p. 72-111; Muddu-veṅkaṭamakhin: *Rāgalakṣhaṇam*, (Ed.) and (tr. Kan), R. Sathyanarayana in Veṅkaṭamakhin, op. cit. pp. 249-65; Gōvindāchārya: *Saṅgrahachūdāmaṇi*, (Ed.) S. Subrahmanyasastrī, (Adyar Library, Madras, 1938) III, pp. 84-149; Tiruvēṅkaṭakavi: *Saṅgītasārasaṅgrahamu*, (Ed.) G. Subramayya, Music Academy, Madras, 1940) pp. 26 ff.
9. Rāmāmātya, op. cit. v, pp. 25-37; Pōlūri Gōvinda: *Rāgatālachintāmaṇi*, (Ed.) T. V. Subba Rao, (Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras 1952) 53-149, pp. 135-50.
10. Puṇḍarīka Viṣṭhala: *Rāgachandrōdaya*, II, 43-58; p. 14; Sōmanātha: *Rāgavibōdha* (Ed.) S. Subrahmanyasastrī, (Adyar Library series No. 48, Madras, 1945) III, 1-26, pp. 79-92.
11. Veṅkaṭamakhin: op. cit. IV, 1-92, pp. 178-84.
12. Puṇḍarīka Viṣṭhala: op. cit. III, 6f, p. 15. No indication is available to determine whether this reference *janya-janaka-rāgunirūpaṇa* n—and all other titles, legends etc. are editorial insertions or formed an integral part of the original text.
13. For details, see R. Sathyanarayana: *Sulādis and Ugābhōgas of Karnāṭaka Music*, (Sri Varalakshmi Academies of Fine Arts, Mysore 1968).
14. Gōvindadīkṣhita: *Saṅgītasudhā(nidhi)* (Ed.) P. S. Sundaram Iyer et. S. Subrahmanyasastrī, (The Music Academy, Madras, 1940), II, 460-68 pp. 156-58; Śārṅgadēva: op. cit. II, 25-27 pp. 21-22; The published *Saṅgītasudhā* claims the authorship of Raghunāthanāyaka who ruled Tanjore (1630 A.D.) but the author is known to be Gōvindadīkṣhita, his chief minister from a claim of the latter's son, Veṅkaṭamakhin: op. cit. I, 154f, p. 158.
15. Pārśvadēva: *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* (Ed.) to Ganapatiastri, (Trivandrum Sanskrit series No. LXXXVII, Trivandrum, 1925) II, 32-123, pp. 7-15.
16. Śārṅgadēva: op. cit. III, 97-188, pp. 171-78
17. *ibid.*, IV. 7-21, p. 204-22.
18. P. Sambamoorthy: *A Dictionary of South Indian Music and Musicians*, Vol. II (The Indian Music Publishing House, Madras-I, 1959) p. 201 R.
19. P. A. Sundaram Iyer: 'Supremacy of the Violin' in the Souvenir, *Shree Thyāgarāja Mahōtsavam*, (Shree Lakshminarayana Sangeetha Kala Shala, Kanchana S. K., 1968.)
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Language and Literature

COMPARATIVE DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTICS

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I. Dravidian Languages—Affinity and History of Dravidian Studies

THE TERM "DRAVIDIAN" is a common denomination used to designate about 20 languages that bear some similar linguistic features standing in contrast with the Indo-Aryan, Munda and Tibeto-Burman families of languages that are spoken in the Indian sub-continent. Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu are the four major Dravidian languages possessing a vast wealth of written literature. There are a host of spoken languages of this family that are spread out in distant isolated pockets all over the Indian sub-continent and yet, South India forms the nucleus of Dravidian languages. The formation of the four linguistic states in South India is effected on the basis of the heavily concentrated areas of the speakers of the individual languages like: Andhra Pradesh-Telugu speakers, Tamilnadu-Tamil speakers, Kerala-Malayalam speakers and Karnataka-Kannada speakers. The early literary history of Tamil ranges from the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. Next comes Kannada, whose early written record is in the form of an inscription, which belongs to c. 430 A.D. written in the Kannada language and Kannada characters, discovered at the village called Halimiḍi (Hassan District). Written material in the form of epigraphical records are available for Telugu from about 7th century A.D. and that for Malayalam from about 12th century A.D.

The origin of the Dravidian people and their language is shrouded in mystery and various theories have been advanced by various scholars, all of which are hypothetical and inconclusive. There have been attempts to relate the Dravidian languages with the ones spoken outside India and research in this direction is still being carried on by some scholars. Robert Caldwell passionately propounded the theory of Scythian and Dravidian relation, a century ago.¹ The latest attempt to connect the Dravidian with Elamite, an ancient language of West Asia (i.e., to the east of Mesopotamia) is 'Toward Proto-Elamo-Dravidian' by David W. McAlpin (See McAlpin, 1974 Language, 50-1), in which the author has demonstrated on the basis of 57 words (mostly verb stems), that Dravidian and Elamite are cognate languages. Though it is not an exhaustive study, the author makes it clear that the major thesis that Elamite and Dravidian are cognates does not depend on a few etyma but on the mass of data. Mr. Chiekh Tidiane N'Diaye, a researcher from Senegal, West Africa, was working in this direction at Annamalai University. He holds a view that there exists a very close relation between Dravidian and Wolof, a West African language. His observations are interesting and deserve careful consideration from Dravidian scholars.² Prof. D. Javare Gowda, former Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University, on his visit to Ghana for the Commonwealth Vice-Chancellors' conference in 1971, came across with certain linguistic and folklore items of Africa by which he was strongly convinced of a close affinity between African languages and Dravidian, which view comes very close to that of Mr. N'Diaye. (Javare Gowda, 1974, 8-12). However, in

the present state of affairs, one can only hope to see a few interesting developments in the field of Dravidian. A highly scientific investigation, not only in the field of Dravidian linguistics, but in its allied branches, such as ethnology, anthropology etc. also has to be carried out to determine the origin of the Dravidian people, their culture and language.

The Dravidian languages attracted attention from scholars from a very early period. The ancient Indian scholars make a general reference to all Dravidian speakers and languages by the term *dra:viḍa*, though in special sense it means Tamil. The later native scholars had a notion that these languages originated from Sanskrit, since they believed that Sanskrit was the mother of all languages of the world. But a few of the western scholars who were interested in the study of Dravidian languages made certain objective observations, regarding the relationship of the various Indian languages. As early as 1810 A.D. Francis Whyte Ellis of the East India Company, who was working at Madras, noted that Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada were distinct group of languages—not related to Sanskrit and he declared that “neither the Tamil, the Telugu, nor any of their cognate dialects³ are the derivations from the Sanskrit, that the latter, however it may contribute to their polish, is not necessary for its existence; and that they form a distinct family of languages with which the Sanskrit has in later times especially intermixed but with which it has no radical connection.” (N. Venkata Rao, *Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras*, Vol. XII, 1954-55). Later, in the year 1856, Robert Caldwell, laid a firm foundation for the study of Comparative Dravidian, expelling all the unscientific and subjective arguments of the earlier and contemporary scholars of his time. He has demonstrated in his *Comparative Grammar* that non-Sanskritic portion of the Dravidian was very greatly in excess of the Sanskrit, the pronouns and numerals, the verbal and nominal structure ‘were originally and radically different from Sanskrit’ and further, he enumerates about thirteen points discussing the distinction of Dravidian languages in comparison with Sanskrit and other languages. (Caldwell, 1961, 43-51). A few native and foreign scholars accepted Caldwell’s theory on Dravidian and started writing on the subject supplementing his monumental work.⁴ Yet, it appears that Caldwell’s theory of the independent origin of Dravidian was not palatable to some native scholars. “Some accepted them wholesale, while others were too little inclined to investigate such an obtruse matter”. In the early decades of the 20th century, R. Swaminatha Aiyar started giving talks to small audiences under the auspices of the South Indian Teachers’ Union, advancing new theories against Caldwell’s. He intended to bring out these lectures in a book form, which however, could not be accomplished during his lifetime and the same has seen the light of the day at least in 1975.

Swaminatha Aiyar disagrees with Caldwell in many points and attempts to prove that ‘a considerable majority, if not all of the Dravidian grammatical forms have arisen from suffixed elements borrowed from Sanskrit and the Prakrits during the last twentyfive centuries, and that the basic portion of the vocabulary not traceable directly or indirectly to Sanskrit or other Aryan sources, is not very large’

(Swaminatha Aiyar, 1975, 4-5). Robert Caldwell, though had taken note of the other Dravidian languages, his work is really based on the four literary languages—Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu and as such, his *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian languages* may be called *Comparative Grammar of South Dravidian* (T. P. Meenakshisundaran, 1965 a, 14). Jules Block, later in 1946, supplemented Caldwell's work by giving their rightful place to the non-literary languages of North Dravidian in his book *The Structure of Dravidian Languages*. As is natural in any pioneering work to have some inevitable shortfalls here and there, Caldwell's work also may be considered far from being perfect in details, yet, it remains unsurpassed even though a century has passed and there has been the advent of highly specialised techniques of linguistic analyses. His general observations, so ingeniously made a century ago, continue to influence the Dravidian research even to this day.

For a long time, Dravidian linguistics did not make much progress—as there was not much enthusiasm on the part of native scholars nor was there any missionary zeal in the study of languages. Added to this, the traditional scholars of these languages were not familiar with any scientific methodology for linguistic investigations. With the advance of modern structural linguistics, since the twenties of this century and thanks to the rejuvenating efforts of the Western scholars like Professors M. B. Emeneau, and T. Burrow, as well as some prominent Indian linguists, there has been a sudden impetus for the linguistic activities in the Dravidian field. By this time, the Rockefeller Foundation selecting Deccan College Poona, as the Centre, had caused the modern linguistics to set a firm footing in India, by imparting instructions and training in the techniques of modern Linguistics. The University Grants Commission of India upgraded the Department of Linguistics as a Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics at Annamalai University—which was specially concentrating on Comparative Dravidian studies. This attracted many young scholars who did extensive field work on various unknown or, less-known tribal and other undescribed languages and gave descriptions using the modern techniques of linguistic analyses for all such languages.⁵ One by one the other universities of the South also started linguistics as an academic discipline and researches pertaining to the languages of their area in particular and Dravidian in general were being carried out by such institutions also. An all India Dravidian Linguistics Association has been started recently, which also is acting as a catalyser of Dravidian research.

II. Proto Dravidian

As a convenient explanatory formula, scholars reconstruct a hypothetical common parent for all the present Dravidian languages and call it Proto-Dravidian.⁶ The various members of the Dravidian family are further sub-grouped on the basis of certain linguistic features they exhibit. Thus, the Proto-Dravidian divides itself into three main branches, viz; (i) South, (ii) Central and (iii) North Dravidian. The following are the list of the members of the Dravidian family':⁷

- (i) SOUTH DRAVIDIAN: 1. Tamil, 2. Malayalam, 3. Kodagu, 4. Kota, 5. Toda, 6. Kannada and 7. Tulu.

- (ii) CENTRAL DRAVIDIAN: 8. Telugu, 9. Gondi, 10. Konda, 11. Pengo, 12. Manda, 13. Kui, 14. Kuwi, 15. Kolami, 16. Naiki, 17. Parji and 18. Gadba.
 (iii) NORTH DRAVIDIAN: 19. Kurukh, 20. Malto and 21. Brahui.

According to latest studies, Tuḷu, is the first to branch off from the common group of South Dravidian. Formerly, it was believed that Tuḷu exhibited a closer relationship with the CDr languages like Telugu, rather than with SDr., and scholars were hesitant to group it under the latter.⁸ Next is Kannada to break off from Proto-Tamil-Kannada stage and so on, the hierarchical splitting moves from right to left in each family in the above list. From Pengo to Malto, i.e., 11 to 20, they form themselves into pairs of small sub-groups, such as 11 and 12; 13 and 14; and so on (See for details, Subrahmanyam, 1971, 531). In spite of the individual distinctions of each of the languages, the sub-groups have some common characteristics, which distinguish them from their other counter-parts.

(i) SOUTH DRAVIDIAN:

[a] *Phonological Features* (i) Loss of Initial *c—

Examples:

'butter-milk'

Ta. *alai*, Ka. *ale*, Tu. *als*, CDr. *Te calla*

'Number six'

Ta. *Ma*, Ka., [Te] *a'ru*, Ko. *a r*, To. *o r*, Kod. *a ī*, Tu. *a ṃ*, CDr. *Go. sa.ruṇ*

'Salt'

Ta., Ma., Ka., [Te.] Tu., *uppu*, Ko. *To*, *up*, Kod., *uppi*, CDr. *Kol sup*, Pa. *cup*.

(2) Proto-Dravidian *u in word final position splits into u and ī in SDr. except in Standard Kannada:

Examples.

'Scorpion'

Ta. *te.li*, Ma. *te:li*, Ka. *te:lu*, *ce lu*, Kod. *te li*, Tu. *te ḷi*, CDr. *Te te.lu*, NDr. *Malt: te-le* Br. *te.ḷh*

'tooth'

Ta. *pallī* [pal], Ma. *pallī*, To. *pas*, Ko. *pal*, Ka. *pal*, *hallu*, Tu. *paru*, CDr. *Te: pallu*, Kui, *paḍu*, *palu*

'Number two'

Ta. *iraṇṇī*, Ma. *raṇṇī*, To. *e.ḍ*, Ka. *eradu*, Kod. *daṇḍī*, Tu. *raddī*, CDr. *Te. reṇḍu*, Pa. *irḍu*.

P. S. Subrahmanyam has stated that the enunciative vowel (originally occurring only after words ending in a stop), is the back unrounded vowel ɪ, [Ibid. 510] in Ta. Ma. Kod. and Tu. However, ɪ has not attained a phonemic status in Ta. Ma. and standard Kannada and as such, one is not certain of its phonetic nature in PDr.

(3) **Alternation of Mid vowels and High vowels:** The root syllable may contain any one of the five short vowels, viz., *a, i, u, e, o*, if the derivative suffix following the root is either *i*, or, *u*. If the latter is *a*, then, the root vowel will be only, *i, u*, or, *a*, in Ta. and Ma., and *e, o*, or *a* in Te. and Ka. That is to say that in this context, Ta., Ma., *i*-before *-a*, is derived from PDr. **e*; *u*-before *-a*, from PDr. **o*; and Ka., Te., *e*-before *-a*, from PDr. **i*; *o*-before *-a* from PDr. **u*. The criteria set up by Bh. Krishnamurti for determining the PDr. vowels in the context are: (1) establishing of etyma which show the short root vowel followed by no derivative, or, by a derivative not beginning with *a*; (2) establishing of etyma which have a long vowel that has not been reduced by a following derivative suffix beginning with a vowel (See Emeneau, 1970, 31, 32). It has also been stated that the original mid vowels also changed to their corresponding high vowels before the derivative *a*, which is taken to be a case of dissimilation in Ta. and Ma. according to Krishnamurti (See Emeneau, 1970, 32) and it is due to structural pressure according to Subrahmanyam, (Subrahmanyam, 1971, 571), who bases statistical evidence for this observation. There may be differences in reasoning but the change involving the high and mid vowels of the root syllables, remains as the characteristic feature of SDr., and that has been extended to Telugu also, due to its contiguity with Kannada.

PROTO-DRAVIDIAN **e*:

Examples:

Ta. *cirai*, Ma. *cirekhka* 'to shave, scrape, cut with sickle,' To. *keri* 'to scratch', Ka. *kere* 'to shave, scrape, scratch', *kiri*, 'to shave', Tu. *kerepuni* 'to scrape, polish', [*kirepu*-dial] Kol. *kerk-*, Pa. *kir-kirv-kirc-* 'to scratch', Kur. *kherc-* [*khirc-*], 'to rub off, scour', Malt. *qer-* 'to shave', *qere* 'to scrape' **e* is PDr. vowel.

PROTO-DRAVIDIAN **u*:

Examples:

Ta. *kutappu*, *kuttatu*, 'to turn about food in the mouth, munch', Te. *kodupu* 'id', [Criterion 1].

(4) **Retention of **ŋ*, and **ɭ*:** The retroflex nasal and lateral sounds of PDr. are retained only in SDr. languages. A few of the CDr. languages, viz: Konda, Pengo, and Kui, retain the retroflex nasal in a few cases as exceptions. All the other languages of this group as well as that of NDr. do not retain these sounds.

[b] **Morphological:**

(5) **Development of the Three-Way Gender Distinction in Singular:** None of the CDr. and NDr. languages have notation for the feminine singular in 3rd person pronoun, or, the pronominal terminations. In Brahui, no gender is distinguished, but only the numbers. Neither the number, nor the gender is distinguished in Toda, a SDr. language. The gender system of the PDr. is assumed to be like the one that has distinction for Masc. sg., Non-Masc. sg. and Human Plural only. (See Subrahmanyam, 1971, 415). The SDr. later developed the marking of feminine

category and the suffix for the same is said to have been developed from the word *a:l-* 'woman' [ibid.]

(6) *Addition of a Dental [Past Tense Suffix] to the Negative Participle:* The Negative particle **a:* is reconstructed to PDr. But in the SDr. the dental has been added, which has been supposed to be a Past tense suffix. But, this probability has not been definitively substantiated.

(7) *Optional Use of Neuter Plural:* As has been seen in the development of Feminine singular in SDr., so also the development of the optional use of Neuter Plural is a later innovation, not inherent in PDr. Both SDr. and NDr. languages (except Brahui) share this feature.

Regarding the Past tense allomorphs, and those of the Non-Past as well, SDr. languages stand distinct against the CDr. and NDr., where some kind of simplification has taken place. In lexical items also there are a set of words which are met with only in SDr. sub-group and not in others.

Among the SDr., further sub-grouping based on the closeness of linguistic features that each of the languages bear, is done. Thus, one has to assume that a group of languages, in the course of its history, begins to show some developments which gradually become prominent and stand in contrast with the former, thus gaining finally the independent identity. Due to this, in SDr., now we have about seven members and each one of them separated themselves successively from their earlier form, which we designate as their respective Proto-forms.

(ii) CENTRAL DRAVIDIAN

[a] *Phonological:* Some of the phonological features are similar for CDr. and NDr. languages, e.g., the palatalisation of the initial velar stop before front vowels takes place in SDr. and Telugu of the CDr., but in other languages of both the families this change does not take place. The NDr. languages, however, have a fricativised velar sound which has been transcribed as *kh* and *q*.

OTHER CHANGES:

(1) The initial **c-* has a correspondance with *s-* in CDr. and NDr.

Examples: Ta. *i:* 'to give to inferiors, agree', Ka. *i:* 'to give, allow', Te. *iccu-* 'id', Kol. *si-* 'to give', Nk. *si-* Nk (ch) *si-*, Pa. *ci:-*, Ga. *si:-*, Go. *si:-*, *hi:-*, *i-*, Konda *si:-*, Pe., Manda *hi:-*, kui. *si-*, Kuwi. *hi:-*, Kur. *ci?ina-*, Malt. *ciye*.

(2) The retroflex nasal **ɳ* shows a correspondance with *n* in both CDr. and NDr. languages.

Examples: Ta. Ma. Ka. *kaṇ* 'eye', Ko. *kaṇ*, To. *koṇ*, Kod. *kaṇṇi*, Tu. *kaṇṇu*, Te. *kanu*, *kannu*, Kol. *kan*, Nk. *ken*, Pa. *kan*, Ga. *kaṇ/kanu*, Go. *kāṇ*, *kaṇ*, Konda. *kan*, Pe. *kaṇga*, Mand. *kan*, Kui. *kanu*, Kuwi. *kanu*, Kur. *khana*, Malt. *qann*, Br. *khan* [Emeneau, 1970, 8].

(3) The retroflex lateral **ɭ-* shows a correspondance with *l* in CDr. and NDr. languages.

Examples: 'Open space, threshing floor, battle field' etc.

Ta. *kaḷam*, *kaḷan*, Ma. *kaḷam*, Ko. *kaḷm*, To. *koḷn*, Ka. Kod. *kaḷa*, Tu. *kala*, Te. *kalanu*, Kol. *kalave*, Nk. *kalave*, Pa. *kali*, Ga. *kalin*, Go. *kapa*, Konda. *kapan*, Mand. *ka:pa*, Kui. *klai*, Kuwi. *kpa:nu*, Kur. *khall*, Malt. *qalu*, [Ibid, 95].

(4) *Metathesis*: While this feature can sporadically be found in SDr., it is predominant in CDr. languages, including Telugu. Krishnamurti has explained this process as that in a sequence consisting of $C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 \dots$, C_2 and V_1 shift position and as a result, the vowels V_1 and V_2 contract, forming a long vowel if followed by a single consonant, or short one, otherwise. Further observations are that $C_2 = r, r$ or l , if there is C_1 in the word and in case it is not present, then C_2 , in addition to the above, may also be any one of the following: \int, λ , or l .

Examples: Rem. dem. Masc. sg. **avanru*; Te. *vā:ḍu*, Konda. *va:nru* Pl. **avaru*; Te. *va:ru*, Konda Masc. Pl. *va:ru*. [For further details and examples see: Emeneau, 1970, 34 and 35].

[b] *Morphological*:

(1) *Gender Distinction*: All the CDr. languages other than Telugu have only a two-way distinction in gender as, Masc. sg., Masc. Pl.; Non-Masc. sg. and Non-Masc. Pl. In Telugu, the distinction is made between Human Pl. and Non-Hum. Pl., unlike the other CDr. members, wherein, the feminine goes with the Neuter in Plural also. But in Telugu, the feminine and masculine are grouped together in Pl. It must be noted that there is no overt marking for this grouping, viz., the feminine with masculine, except that the nouns denoting females, or the pronoun *a:me*, 'she' [3rd, Pn. Hon] has the finite verb concordance with human plural pronominal termination.

(2) *Female Kinship Term with *-a:l*: Female kinship terms with the suffix *-a:l, occur only in the CDr. languages. Examples: Te. *ko:ḍalu*, daughter-in-law' Te. *cellelu* 'younger sister', Kol. *podol* 'mother-in-law' (Subrahmanyam, 1971, 521). One must also note a few exceptions to this. However sporadic they may be they are found in SDr. such as: Ta: *akka:l*, 'elder sister', *amma:l* 'mother'. On the other hand, Te. as well as a few of the other CDr. languages have these kinship terms without the suffix *-a:l, as, *akka*, and *amma* [DED 24; 154].

Among the other morphological characteristics of CDr. [a] the obligatory use of Neuter Plural, [b] loss of initial **n-* of the second person pronoun, [c] the third person Masc. sg. **avant* in contrast with **avan* of SDr., [d] the generalisation of Non-past tense marker as dental instead of labial in contrast with SDr., which widely uses the labial instead of dental, are noteworthy and have been discussed by, Subrahmanyam. He has listed a few of more than fifty lexical items which are exclusively found only in SDr. sub-group [Subrahmanyam, 1971, 520-21].

(iii) NORTH DRAVIDIAN:

[a] *Phonological*:

(1) Initial velar stop **k-* has a reflexive in the form of a velar fricative before **i* and **ɪ*:. Before all other vowels, the velar is a stop [Note: Palatalization].

Examples: 'eye'

Kur. *xann*, Malt. *qanu*, Br. *xan*, Ta. *kan*
'ear'

Kur. *xebqa*, Malt. *qethwu*, Br. *xaf*, Ka. *kivi*

(2) In opposition to the SDr. palatalization, in the NDr. languages the PDr. initial palatal affricate becomes velarised before *u, *u: and *e, *e:.

Examples: 'to burn'

Kur. Malt. *kuṛ*, Ta. *cuṭu*

'to bear, [a weight, or burden]'

Kur. *kum?*, Malt. *kum*, Br. *kube:n*, Ta. *cūmai*

(b) *Morphological:* The oblique forms of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns, the formation of *-k- Past suffix, the strengthened imperative form, and auxiliary form of the verb 'to go', the developments of new derivative suffixes like *-k-, *-c-, and *-ñc- and a small number of lexical items peculiar to NDr are the certain items listed as characteristic features of NDr (for details see Subrahmanyam, 1971, 526 to 529).

III. Dravidian Phonology

Vowels: All the Dravidian languages have contrasts between short and long vowels. The vowels, reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian are *a, a ; i, i ; u, u ; e, e ; o, and o*.

Consonants: *k, c, ʃ, r, t, p, ṇ, ṇ, n, m, y, r, l, v, l, l*

ʃ, r, r, l, ʃ and *l* do not occur in word initial position and *-p-* does not occur in medial position as single stop. All the plosives have geminated forms which occur intervocally. They also form clusters in intervocalic position with their respective homorganic nasals which precede them. Of the nasals and the *avargi ya* consonants, only *l* and *l*, have the corresponding geminate form viz. *-ll-* and *-ll-*.

There are certain developments in vowels and consonants in the individual languages, as well as a group of languages

Contrasts:

*a - *a.

*kal 'stone' [DED 1091]

Ta. *kal*, [kar-, kan-] Ma. *kal*, *kallu*, Ko. *kal*, To. *kas*,
kal, Ka. *kal*, *kalu*, *kallu*, Kod. *kallī*, Tu. *kallu*, Te. *kallu*,
[kaṇḍu], Pa. *kel*, G. *kand/kandu*, [kandku l], Ko. *kalu*, Br. *khal*

*ka:l 'leg, foot, a quarter etc.' [DED 1238]

Ta. Ma., Ka. *ka:l*, Ko. *ka:l*, To. *ko l*, Ko. *ka l*,
Tu. *ka:ru*, *ka:lu*, Te. *ka.lu*, Kol. *ka:l*, Pa. *ke:l*, [ke.lu],
Ga. *ka:l* [ka:lgil], Go. *konda ka:l*, Kui. *ke.ḍu*, Br. *irkkal*.

Some languages, especially To., show some developments in vowels, which are not easily explainable now. This irregularity is due to its extensive borrowing from

more than two or three neighbouring languages (For details see: Emeneau, 1970, 36, 37). When the descriptions of various languages or, dialects are brought out, it may be noticed that there are instances where, certain sounds split and become phonemes (for voiced and voiceless stops, see below). For example, in Kannada a number of dialects have /ɔ/ in contrast with /a/. This has arisen out of phonetic reasons in the course of the history of the languages and so do not attain a phonemic status in PDr. If such developments are found to occur in other languages or language groups, it may be possible, at least to reconstruct the phonetic feature to the PDr. *[i] referred to earlier, is one such example.

*i - *j:

**tin-* 'eat']DED 2670 for details)]

Ta. *tin*, Ma. *tinnuka*, Ko. *tin*, [tid-], To. *tīn*, [tīd]

tinu, *tinnu*, Kod. *tinn-*, Tu. *tinu*, Te. *tinu*, Kol. *tin*,

Nk. *tīn-*, Pa. *tin*, Ga. *tin*, [tiy-, tin-], G. *tina:na*, [titt-].

Konda. *tin-* [tin-], [tirh-], Ku. *tinba*, [tis-], Kuwi *tissali*.

Kur. *tindna:*, Mal. *tine*

**ti-* 'to be brunt, charred, fire etc.', [DED 2672 for details]

Ta. *ti:*, *ti:y*, Ma. *ti:*, Ko. *ti.y* [ti.cu-], To. *ti.y*, Ka. *ti:*, *si:*,

Tu. *ciñcuni*, *tu:*, *su:*, Te. *ti:ndra*, Br. *ti:n*.

*u - *u:

**cuṭu* 'to brun, to be hot etc. [DED 2183 for details]

Ta. *cuṭu*, Ma. *cuṭuka*, Ko. *tuṭ-* [tuṭ-], To. *tuṭ-* [tuṭ-],

Ka. *sudu*, Kod. *cuḍ*, Tu. *sudupini*, Te. *cūḍu*, Ko. *sud-*, Go.

surra:n, Kuwi. *hu:dali*, Kur. *kuṭna:*, Mal. *kure*.

**cu:l* 'to conspire, deliberate etc.', [DED 2257 for details].

Ta. *cu:l*, Ka. *cu.pu* (?), Gu. *tu:pini*, To. *cu:cu*, Pa. *cu:r-*

Ga. *su:r*, *cu:d*, G. *huṛa:na*, Konda *su:r*, Kui. *su:ra*, Br. *hunning*,

[hur-, hutt-].

*o - *o:

**pokkuḷ* 'navel' [DED 3652 for details].

Ta. *pokkuḷ*, *pokkil*, Ma. *pokkil*, *pokkuḷ*, *po:ṭu*, Ko. *puku*,

To. *piku*, Ka. *pokkuḷ*, *porkuḷ*, Kod. *pokkī*, Tu. *puvaḷu*, *pu:voḷu*.

Te. *pokkili*, *boḍḷu*, Ko. *bogur*, Nk. *hogur*, Pa. *boḍ*, Ga. *tori*,

boḍi, Konda, *boḍu*, Kui, *pu:renji*, *pu:nenji*, Kuwi, *pu:leri*,

pu:leni, Kur. *buṭṭi:*, Br. *pu:ṭ*.

**po-* 'to go' [DED 3734 for details]

Ta. *po*, Ma. *po:ka*, Ko. o.g. Ka. *po:*, *po:gu*, *ho:gu*, Kod. *po:*,

Tu. *po:pini*, Te. *po:vu*, Konda *po:k*.

Voiceless and Voiced Stops in Dravidian: Tamil has only the voiceless stops in the word initial positions and medially, if they occur singly between two vowels, or,

after a nasal, they are pronounced as voiced, while in writing, only one set of symbols, i.e., those for the voiceless stops are made use of. Kannada, Telugu as well as some other Dravidian languages have phonemic distinction between the voiceless and voiced stops and the literary languages have distinct graphic symbols for both the series, since the beginning of their literary history. Caldwell, who assumed that Tamil, being the most ancient one among the Dravidian languages, represents the primitive condition of the Dravidian and formulated his famous theory, 'the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants' [Caldwell, 1961, 138]. According to him a surd [voiceless stop or plosive in modern terms] will always occur in word initial position. In intervocalic position, or after a nasal, the surd will automatically become a sonant, i.e., a voiced stop. Since there is predictability between the two phonetically different sounds, only one set, is all that needed to represent both of them in writing, for the sake of economy of symbols.

Many writers after Caldwell, accepted this theory. But, a few contradictory opinions were also expressed by scholars like Jules Bloch, and Goda Varma, of whom, the former was more expressive in declaring that the "antiquity of the sonorants in Dravidian remains indisputable" [See Burrow 1968, 1]. He even tried to reconstruct the aspirated voiced stops to Dr. [ibid]. Burrow has treated this problem and effectively proved that the occurrences of the voiced stops in the word initial position in Ka. and Te. is only a secondary development [ibid, 2, 17]. He attributes extra-Dravidian origin for these developments in Ka. and Te. and according to him, this [extra-Dravidian influence] is more on the NDr. languages.

While the extra-Dravidian influences exerting their weight, causing certain changes in a language is not ruled out, it cannot be simply extended to all instances. Even within the language or language family, the development may take place, independent of any external influence and such developments as splitting of /p/ into /p/ and /h/ in Kannada, or, the loss of contrast between *r-r*, and *l-l* in it and also in Telugu cannot be either due to extra-Dravidian origin, or, influence. The law of Convertibility of Surds and Sonants, and the reconstruction of voiceless plosives to PDr. implies that the sonants [or, voiced stops] might have been familiar to the primitive speakers of Dravidian, at least in certain fixed environments. These, in the course of time, may have developed contrast and became phonemic, in certain members of the family. However, this need not, or, does not, take place in every member of the language family and thus, Tamil, which may have already been reduced to writing prior to this development, remained unaffected by this, just as, in modern Kannada, certain dialects have developed contrast for pairs of sounds which were once occurring in mutually exclusive positions, [e.g., *a-a*, *ə-ə*, *o-o* in Dharwar Kannada, etc.], while the literary dialect of Kannada remained unaffected by such splitting of vowels.

Though this matter appears to have been tentatively settled, it calls for further investigations and some stray opinions have been expressed here and there against the biased reconstruction done hitherto on the basis of written form used in Ta. [Kushalappa Gowda, 1972b, 83]. Emeneau, in *Dravidian Comparative Phonology*, has listed only the voiceless stops that are reconstructed for PDr. Regarding the

voiced stops, he refers to Burrow's treatment of voiced stops in Ka. and Ta. and says, "Similar treatment is needed for the numerous occurrences in CDr. and NDr. in general. It is to be noted that some onomatopetic formations may have to be reconstructed with initial voiced stops for PDr." [See Emeneau, 1970, 81].

Just like the general rules such as (i) the alternation of mid and high vowels, (ii) metathesis and (iii) the initial voiceless and medial voiced stops, the shortening long vowels or long consonants of the stems, when followed by the derivative suffix or extensional element beginning with a vowel, is another important morphophonemic feature occurring in Dravidian. This feature is more regularly found in verbs and trisyllabic nouns. In disyllabic nouns, however, there are a few instances of this phenomenon. Examples: Go. *vi:t-*, Ta. *vittu* 'to sow'; **ya:n* 'I', **yan-akku* 'to me' etc. [for details see Subrahmanyam, 1975, Indian Linguistics, 36-1].

IV. Morphology : Nouns

The nouns and verbs are the main classes in Dravidian morphology. The noun are inflected to gender, number and case, and the verbs, to tenses and other verbal elements. The finite verbs have reference to the gender-number and person of the subject of the sentence and hence the finite verbs are miniature sentences by themselves. Malayalam is the only exception in the whole of the Dr. family that has no pronominal reference in finite verbs.

The nouns can be classified as inherent human, e.g., *tande* 'father', *ta:y* 'mother', *aṇṇa* 'elder brother', etc., animate, e.g., *na:y* 'dog', *puli* 'tiger', etc., inanimate, *kal* 'stone', *maram* 'tree', etc., count, e.g., *kaṇ* 'eye', *kevi* 'ear' etc., mass. e.g., *ney* 'ghee', *ni:r* 'water', *pa:l* 'milk' etc., place, e.g., *u:r*, 'village', *na:du* 'country' etc., and abstract nouns, e.g., *pempu* 'greatness', *hirime* 'greatness', etc. [For details see Shanmugam, 1972, 387-8].

The combinations of persons and number markers on the one hand, the demonstrative and gender markers on the other, substitute the nouns and so are called 'pronouns'. They are:

Personal Pronouns

	Sg.	Pl.
1st pn.	* <i>ya:-n</i>	* <i>ya:-m</i> [Excl] * <i>na:-m</i> [Incl]
2nd pn.	* <i>ni:-n</i>	* <i>ni:-m</i>
3rd pn.	* <i>ta:-n</i>	* <i>ta:-m</i>

Demonstrative Pronouns

Masc.	* <i>av-an</i> /* <i>iv-an</i>	* <i>av-ar</i> /* <i>iv-ar</i>
Fem.	* <i>av-aḷ</i> /* <i>iv-aḷ</i>	"
Neut.	* <i>a-tu</i> /* <i>i-tu</i>	* <i>av-ai</i> /* <i>iv-ai</i>

The pronouns also are inflected to cases as other nouns.

In contradistinction to Sanskrit which distinguishes three numbers, sg., dual and plural, Dr. has only two, sg. and pl. The SDr. gender system- a five fold division as Masc. Fem. and Neut. in sg., Sup. and Inf. in pl.- is supposed to be a highly developed system among the whole of the Dravidian family. This is reflected in the pronouns and pronominal terminations. The CDr. and NDr. languages have only two genders, Masc and Non-Masc. in sg., Epecene and Neut. in pl. Individual languages vary in the representation of gender in both the demonstrative and pronominal terminations, even in certain dialects and languages of SDr. sub-group, like, Gowda Kannada, Havyaka Kannada dialects etc. and Kota and Kodagu languages. One of the CDr. languages, viz., Pengo, is reported to have a six-fold division, three in sg. [Masc. Fem. and Neut.], three in pl. [Masc. Fem and Neut. Pl., See Shanmugam, 1971, 10]. This trait shows itself in an inferior dialect of Tamil, where Masc. pl., Fem. pl and Neut. pl., are used to refer to inferiors, e.g.,

<i>avanuvo vanta:nuvo</i>	'they [boys] came'
<i>avaḷuvo vanta:ḷuvo</i>	'They [girls] came'
<i>atuvo vantatuvo</i>	'They [group of boys and girls or animals] came'

In a purely informal and more readily acceptable deviation from the High-Tamil norm, the distinction between Masc. and Fem. in kinship terms referring to males and females is obliterated in the pronominal terminations, e.g.,

'father'	<i>appa:</i>	<i>vantīcci</i>	[<i>vantu + viṭṭatu</i>]	'came'
'mother'	<i>amma:</i>	<i>sollīcci</i>	[<i>sollī + viṭṭatu</i>]	'said'
'E. Sister'	<i>akka:</i>	<i>ke:ṭṭīcci</i>	[<i>ke:ṭṭī + viṭṭatu</i>]	'asked'
'E. brother'	<i>aṇṇa:</i>	<i>varṭī</i>		'comes'
'Y. „'	<i>tampi</i>	<i>sollīṭī</i>		'says'
'Y. Sister'	<i>taṅka:</i>	<i>ke:kkṭī</i>		'asks'

In the early stage of Dr. there may not have been any distinction of genders at all, as can be assumed by the use of aorist verb constructions [having verb root + (k)um], which were more frequent in ancient literary languages and later on, the distinction evolved into five-fold system in SDr. as in the present time [T.P. Meenakshisundaran, 1965b, 16-17]. The various systems of gender and number in Dr. has been studied and neatly arranged by Dr. S. V. Shanmugam in his apper 'Gender-Number sub categorisation in Dravidian' [Agesthalingom and Shanmugam (Eds.), 1972, 381-400]

Cases: The relationship of the nouns and verbs occurring in a sentence is referred to by the cases. This deep structure relationship is shown in surface structure by means of the elements known as case suffixes and in a few instances by post positions. Unlike Sanskrit, Dr. has only one set of declension for both Sg. and Pl. nouns. Likewise, the gender distinction also is irrelevant to case inflection in Dr. The case suffixes are added either directly, or after the inflexional increments in sg. nouns and after the pl. suffixes in pl. nouns, e.g., Ta. *kaṇṇ-ai* 'the eye', *maru-tt-ai* 'the tree',

kaṇ-kaḷ-ai 'the eyes', *maram-kal-ai* 'the trees' acc The post-positions referring to the positions like 'above', 'under', 'near' etc occur after the genitive forms of the nouns e.g., *Ka. mara-d-a me:le* 'on the tree', *mara-d-a keḷage* 'under the tree', *mara-d-a hattira* 'near the tree' etc.

The ancient grammarians of the literary Dravidian languages, perhaps following the Sanskrit model, have generally recognised eight cases, including the nominative and vocative, referring to them by ordinal numbers starting from one, upto seven, as: 1st: Nominative, 2nd. Accusative, 3rd. Instrumental, 4th. Dative, 5th: Ablative, 6th: Genitive and 7th: Locative. The nominative does not have any special marker for the case. The genitive and vocative, strictly speaking, are not cases as the former relates only two nouns and the latter is only an interjection for calling attention, thus remaining outside the sentence [Dravidian Case System, Agesthalingom and Kushalappa Gowda (Eds) 1976]

On closer examination, one could see that sometimes, there would be the lacking of correlation between the deep structure relation and surface manifestation of cases. In the situation, where there is one-many, or vice-versa relationships between the case functions of the two levels, the ancient grammarians, betraying an intuitive consciousness of the same, have resorted to listing of various meanings with which a particular case is being used, as well as the interchangeability of cases [Kushalappa Gowda, 1972a, 309-11] The following is the list of case markers occurring in various Dr. languages [collected from Shanmugam, 1971]

	Acc.	Instr.	Soc.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.	Pur.
Ta	-ai	-a l	-o ṭu	-kku	-in	-atu	-il -in		
ma	"	"	-oṭu -o ṭu	"	-il r ntu	-uṭai	-il -kal	Ṽ	
Kot.	-n	-a r	-o r	-k	-iri	-d	-l	Ṽ	-la ry
To	-n ~ -n	-a l -a r -iṭ	-poḷy	"	-sn -nid	-n -d	-s -ts -z	-i, y -a	-key
Kod	-a -na	-konḍi	P P *	-gī -kī	-iṭ, .	-da -ra	-h PP		-a yti
Kan	-a n -am -annu	-im -imda	-oḍane	-[k]ke -[g]ge	im -imda	-a -a	-u -o -alh	-Ṽ	
Tu.	-nṣ -anu	-da -ṭa -aṭa		-kī -gī	-diṭ -ddi	-a	-ṭi -ṭu -du	-Ṽ	
Te.	-n -nu -ni	-nan -n	-to -to ḍa	-ku[n] -ki[n]	-undi -niṇci	-a[du]	-a[n] -andu -ni	-a or Ṽ	

	Acc.	Instr.	Sec.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Vec.	Par.
Go.	-u.n ø	-e: [agga:]		-k -u:n	-na:l -a:l	-na:			
Konda	-hi -h	-an	-vale	-hi -h	-an -aṇḍ	-ti, -di -hi, -a, -i	-to -ro		
Pengo	-aṇ -h	-aṇ	-hoke -hodaṇ		-aṇ	-i	-o -aṇ		
Kui	-i		-ge -ke	-gi -ki	-rai -ti -ki	OBLQ	-a -ni -ṇḍo	ti; ~ di -teru, ~ -ḍeru	
Kuwi	-i	-tole		-ki	ti -ki	-i	-a -o		
Kol.	-n -un	-aḍ -naḍ		-h -uṇ	-tanoṭ -ti	-e -ne	-t -eḥ		
Naiki	-n -un -on	-la	-nokon	-n -un	-la	-ne -ne	-jn -un -en; -n		
Paru	-n -in	-oḍ -noḍ	-oḍ -noḍ	-gi -ug -ṇ, un	-tuṇ -tug	-n -in -i, -to	-i -ne	-ine -ne	
Gadba	-n -in	-na:l	-na:l	-n, -h -uṇ	-peṭtuṇ -tuṇ	-h -h	-tin -tun		
Kuru.	-an -n -in	-tri -tru:		-ge	-ti:	-gahi	-nu -ay -ayo. -o:		
Malt.	-e -en -in, -n	-et, -it -t	-gusan -gane	-e -ke	-nte -inte -te	-ki	-no -eno		
Br.	-e	-aṭ	-to		-a.n	-a	-a:ti -a:i		-aki -kin
Badaga	-a	-enda -do	-o:ḍa -ka:ḍa	-ga	-enda	-a	-o. -o:ga		-gāyi
Koya	-ini -ni; -i	-e -to:ṇṭe	-to:ṇṭe	-k -ki -iki	-kuṇci -nuṇci -ka.si	-a -i -ini			

Symbols: P.P. - Post Position, \bar{v} - long vowel. OBLQ - Oblique form.

Adjectives: Adjectives qualify the nouns. Dr. adjectives do not have gender number concordance with the nouns they qualify, which is obligatory in Sanskrit and other I.A. languages. The bases like *nal* 'good', *per* 'big' etc. can be compounded with following nouns, e.g., *nalgeṣṭadi* 'good friend [female]', *permolē* 'big breast', etc. However, in modern times, the adjectives, relative participles and the genitive forms as well, have an adjectival suffix *-a*, in some of the Dr. language, e.g., *nall-a manitan*

'good man', *periya maram* 'big tree', Ta; *ho:d-a varuṣa* 'last year', *baru-v-a varuṣa* 'coming year', *hu:vin-a parimaḷa* 'the scent of the flower', *marad-a be:ru* 'the root of the tree', Ka. The adjectival bases can also function as nouns by suffixing the gender markers to them. Besides this, any noun preceding another in attributive-head relationship, also functions as a qualifier of the following noun, e.g., *mane ba:gilu* 'the doorway of the house', *hu:do:ḷa* 'flower garden' Ka. The numerals too, qualify the nouns and also form appellative nouns. In numeral + Noun combinations, classifier like *jana/mandi* in Ka., *pe:ru* in Ta., intervenes, when the noun belongs to human class, e.g.,

<i>entu mandi/jana gandasaru</i>	'eight men'	[Ka]
<i>ettu pe:ru a:mpaleṅka</i>	[ḷ]	„ [Ta.]

This feature originated in the eastern languages [Magadhan] first, and then spread over to all other languages of India, crossing the genetic familial boundary, which, along with other features, encompasses India as a linguistic area [Emeneau 1965, 32-33].

Verbs: Structurally the Dr. verbs fall into two groups: Finite and Non-Finite. Finite verbs occur as sentence-closing elements, which constitute: Vb. stem ± Caus [± Tr.] ± Tense + Pt. As has already been noted, in Ma., the finite verb does not carry pronominal terminations. This has caused speculation among some scholars as to, whether this is a loss that has occurred in the course of evolution of Malayalam, or, a trait of PDr. preserved only in it, while all other languages of the family developed the pronominal terminations. On the basis of a few verbs with Pts. in early Malayalam literary texts and inscriptional material and also due to the fact that the frequency of such forms with pronominal terminations gradually decreases "with the passing of times", the scholars have reasonably concluded that the weight of evidence is in favour of reconstructing them [i.e., pronominal terminations] to PDr. [See Subrahmanyam, 1971, 403-5].

There are mainly two tenses, past and non-past. The splitting of the non-past into present and future, is a later development. The present tense construction in many languages of Dr. family can be analysed as a multi-root construction, combining a past participle with the future finite of another root, which is *a:gu-* 'to become' in Old Kannada, e.g., *bandapen* 'I come' < *bandu* + *appen* 'having come + I shall be'. In modern Kannada, the present tense finite verb is formed by *-tt-* [which was used for present continuous form in Old Kannada], adding to it a set of elements that are recognised as a special pronominal terminations. In modern descriptions of Kannada, we can see the three minimum elements, viz; verb root + present tense *-tt-* and the Pts. But, when we go deep into the study of this feature, we could see that even in the present tense construction of Modern Kannada, the structure is similar to that of Old Kannada and the so-called special pronominal terminations of the present tense finite verbs, are only the compressed forms of the finite verb forms [Kushalappa Gowda, 1968]. The modern languages use the present tense verb in future meaning by substituting appropriate time adverbs, [e.g., *na:ḷe* 'tomorrow' *matte* 'afterwards' Ka.] to indicate the future time. In other words, the Fut. tense ceased to be a morpho-

logical construction in finite verb forms in modern languages, even though its relics can be found in literary usages.

The Negative finite verbs do not have tense indications except in certain CDr. languages, where the negation in past is indicated by a separate morphological construction [Subrahmanyam, 1971, 331]. The structure of Neg. finite verbs is: Vb. stem \pm Caus [\pm tr.] + ϕ + Pts., but this type of construction is somewhat obsolete now and instead, verbal nouns consisting of past or future tense markers and Neut. sg. Pt. are tagged with Neg. verb, thus indicating past or, future negatives respectively. Past negative is generally indicated by infinitive + Neg. verb, e.g., *vantatillai* 'did not come', *varuvatillai* 'will not come' Ta; *bandudilla* 'did not come', *baruvudilla* 'will not come'; *varavillai* Ta, *baralilla*, Ka. 'did not come'.

The Non-finite verbs fall into two classes: adverbial and adjectival. The adverbial has two sub-classes: (i) Past adverbial and (ii) Negative adverbial. In both the cases, a finite verb will follow the adverbials, e.g., *vantu po:na:n* 'having come someone went', *vara:mal po:na:n* 'not coming, someone went' Ta; *bandu ho:da* 'having come, someone went', *ba:rade ho:da* 'not coming, someone went' Ka. Both adverbials do not have any overt adverbial markers. The adjectival participles divide themselves into three divisions (i) Past (ii) Future and (iii) Negative, all of which take an adjectival marker overtly, after the corresponding tense and Neg. markers respectively. The adjectival participles are followed by nouns in a sentence.

The infinitives also are non-finite constructions and are followed by finite verbs. In Ta. they also function as verbal nouns, in that, they can be added with case markers. But in Kannada and a few of the other languages and Brahui of NDr. there is no evidence for their use as verbal nouns [for details, see Subrahmanyam, 1971, 452]. They are used to express optative and obligative moods also by making use of certain suffixes, or, free forms [*bar-al-i* 'let some one come', *bar-a be:ku* 'someone should come' Ka]. The imperative does not have any special suffix and the verb root itself is used for 2nd pn. imperative sg.; verb root + 2nd pn pl. Pt., for 2nd pn. pl. or, hon. imperative. The verb roots are divisible into transitives and intransitives. Most of the Dravidian languages do not have overt markers for transitive, while some of them e.g., Ta. Kod., Konda-Kuvi, have a morphophonemic device, where the final nasal + stop of an intransitive root is replaced by a geminate voiceless stop. The causatives, however, have overt markers in all the Dravidian languages and in most of them there is no morphological distinction between the two, i.e., transitive and causative [Ibid., 101].

Notes

1. T. Burrow, in his paper on 'The Body in Dravidian and Uralian' asserts that "A thoroughgoing correspondence between the two groups of languages emerges quite clearly in this respect, a correspondence which is particularly valuable since this part of the vocabulary is classed among the most primitive and essential elements of language" (1968, 71).
2. Happily, Mr. N'Diaye, was able to complete his Ph.D. programme and qualify himself for the degree on the same topic, from Annamalai University.

3. The term dialect is used by early writers in the sense 'language', rather than in the technical sense of modern linguistics.
4. Caldwell in his preface, to the second edition of his book, makes a fervent appeal to 'natives' to apply themselves to the study of philology and archaeology with the same amount of zeal with which the philology and archaeology of Europe were studied by Europeans. 1961, 3rd ed.
5. Tōḍa, by S. Sakthivel, Iruḷa by R. Perialwar, Kōṭa, by G. Subbaiah, Kasaba, by Chidambaramath Pillai; Work is going on Kattunaikkan by S. Natanasabapathy and Jēnukurumbas, by S. Jayapal. R. Balakrishnan has analysed Koḍagu language of Coorg.
6. The reconstruction as is presently done seems to be unsatisfactory, since it is done by mixing up highly developed literary languages with the merely spoken minor and tribal languages, thus resulting in giving only a mixed picture. A kind of controlled reconstruction seems to be more desirable (See Kushalappa Gowda, in Agesthalingom and Shanmugam, (Eds.) *The other side of Comparative Dravidian* 1972, 75-91).
7. A number of languages are recorded in the *Census Report of India*, like Korava, Holiya, Kai-kadi, Vadari, Koracha etc., perhaps due to lack of information during enumeration. They appear to be just named after the sub-communities and require further investigation.

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PRAKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE SOUTH

A. N. UPADHYE

SANSKRIT (SAMSKṚITA), AS THE TERM CONNOTES, is polished or refined of what is natural (*prākṛita*). It indicates a form of language standardised according to the rules of grammar; and any breach of them would not be tolerated in literary expression. As distinguished from Sanskrit, we have the Prakrit languages, spoken by people according to locality and time and not very much governed by strict grammar, mutual understanding being the only criterion of correct speech. These two currents, the standardised Sanskrit and the popular Prakrits, are found in India right from the days of Ṛig-vēda; and some scholars have detected what are known as Prakritisms in the Vedic language.¹ Religious teachers who addressed the public at large with a view to improving its behaviour for the benefit of society as a whole, have always preferred to speak in the popular languages. In this country, it is Mahāvīra and Buddha who preached their doctrines not in Sanskrit but in Māgadhī, the contemporary Prakrit dialect of the area of Magadha where they moved about. It is on this Māgadhī are based (though undergoing changes in due course) the Pāli of the Buddhist holy texts and the Ardhamāgadhī of the Jaina scriptures.

The cultivation of Prakrit in the South is obviously linked, to a great extent, with the prevalence and influence of Jainism and Buddhism in the South, especially in the areas where now Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu are spoken. As the tradition goes, it is Bhadrabāhu, a contemporary of Chandragupta, the Maurya, that came to the South with a good following of monks.² It is but natural that these Jaina monks had their religious recitations and texts in Prakrit. We do not possess any texts of that time at present, but some of them are embedded in their recast versions available now.

The use of Prakrits was not confined only to religious teachers like Mahāvīra and Buddha; but even kings of different dynasties had their inscriptions and grants in Prakrit.³ The earliest inscriptions of South India are, as in the case of North India, the Prakrit inscriptions of the famous Maurya emperor Aśōka of the 3rd century B.C. In the South, his inscriptions have been so far discovered in the Chitradurga and Raichur Districts of Karnataka and in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh. For the next seven centuries, till about the end of the 4th century A.D., almost all the available inscriptions in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh are in Prakrit. The picture is strikingly different in Tamilnadu where early inscriptions in Brāhmī characters, ranging in date from the 2nd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D., have been discovered in the Madurai, Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirappalli, North Arcot and Coimbatore Districts. These inscriptions are in primitive Tamil with the exception of two potsherds from Arikamēdu in Pondicherry which contain the only two known Prakrit writings from the Tamil country. A study of these early South Indian inscriptions reveals the interesting fact that Prakrit received extensive patronage in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh from the Buddhists, while Tamil had register-

ed its early emergence as a written language mainly through the exertions of the Jainas. It must, however, be borne in mind that, until the substitution of Sanskrit as the main epigraphical language in about the 5th century A.D., followers of the Vedic religion had also used Prakrit in Karnataka and Andhra for writing their inscriptions. In view of the foregoing, it is but natural that Tamilnadu and Kerala, which have not so far yielded any Prakrit inscriptions, would be left out in any study relating to the Prakrit inscriptions of South India.

Next in importance to the Asokan inscriptions are the Bhaṭṭiprōlu (Guntur District) casket inscriptions which have long since remained subjects of controversy. While some scholars have argued that they belong to a date earlier than that of the Asokan inscriptions, some others have opined that they were not written earlier than the 1st century B.C. or even 1st century A.D.

It is during the first four centuries of the Christian era that there is a larger incidence of Prakrit inscriptions in South India, particularly in the Andhra country. The Śātavāhana, Chuṭu, Ikshvāku, Ānandagōtra, Mahāmēghavāhana, Śālaṅkāyana, Pallava and Kadamba rulers have left behind a large number of Prakrit inscriptions which throw welcome light not only on the script employed but also on the linguistic features of Prakrit as it was used in the Andhra-Karnataka region in those centuries. Great centres of Buddhism such as Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakōṇḍa and Kēsanupalle in the Guntur, Jaggayyapēṭa and Ghaṇṭasāḷa in the Krishna and Sālihuṇḍam in the Srikakulam Districts of Andhra Pradesh, and Sannati in the Gulbarga District in Karnataka have yielded numerous Prakrit inscriptions, some of them going back to the pre-Christian era but most of them belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era. Besides, Prakrit inscriptions have also been discovered at Myākādōṇi in the Kurnool, Koḍuvali in the East Godavari, Guṇṭupalle and Ēlūru in West Godavari, Dharaṇikōṭa, Gurajāḷa, Mayidavōlu and Koṇḍamuḍi in Guntur and China in Krishna Districts and Banavāsī in North Kanara, Beḷavādigi in Gulbarga, Hirēhaḍagali in Bellary, Maḷavaḷḷi in Shimoga and Chandravaḷḷi in the Chitradurga Districts. While most of these inscriptions are engraved on stone slabs, the Pallavas and the Śālaṅkāyanas have left behind Prakrit inscriptions engraved on copperplates.

Mayūrasāma, the Kadamba ruler of Banavāsī, was the last king to have used, in about the middle of the 4th century A.D., Prakrit as the medium for writing his inscriptions. By the beginning of the 5th century, the Kadambas were in the thick of a powerful movement for the rejuvenation of the Vedic religion which naturally resulted in the replacement of Prakrit by Sanskrit both in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. That this replacement was in the offing is clearly borne out by the influence which Sanskrit starts to cast on the diction of the Prakrit inscriptions of the 3rd century itself. Such influence one clearly notices in the later Prakrit records of the Ikshvākus, Pallavas and the Kadambas. To quote an instance or two, the seal of the Hirēhaḍagali Prakrit charter of Pallava Śivaskandavarma has its legend written in Sanskrit and the Maḷavaḷḷi Prakrit inscription of the Kadambas concludes with a Sanskrit *maṅgalavākya*.

The Prakrit inscriptions have often associations with Jaina monks and are found in the caves, in Tamilnadu, occupied by Jaina monks. They were known by the name *Śramaṇa*, a designation quite common in early Jaina literature. The Jaina monks moved about in the South. Their recitations were in Prakrit, and some of the ascetic manuals which guided their conduct were in Prakrit.

The Nirgrantha Śramaṇas, the naked Jaina monks, who came to the South did not bring with them the entire canonical literature; but they were, however, equipped with the knowledge of ascetic rules and regulations and certain dogmatical discussions preserved in Prakrit, either in verses or *sūtras*. Often depending on their memory, they composed small texts or the *Pāhuḍas*. The earliest known texts in Prakrit are the *Kasāyapāhuḍa* (= *Kāshāyaprābhṛita*) of Guṇadhara and the *Chak-khaṇḍāgama* (= *Shatkhandaḍāgama*) instructed by Dharasēna and committed to writing by Pushpadanta and Bhūtabali; and the works of Yativṛishabha, Kundakunda, Vaṭṭakēra, Śivārya, Siddhasēna and others. All these authors, no doubt belong to the South; and they were writing their works in an area where the spoken languages did not belong to the Āryan group. This had a twofold effect. First, the Prakrit dialect shows some older forms not being affected by the contemporary and changing Indo-Āryan dialects as in the North. Secondly, as contrasted with Sanskrit, the phonetic pattern of Prakrit was such as could lend a good bit of vocabulary to the languages of the South, especially Tamil and Kannada.

By studying the growth of Kannada vocabulary one finds that the Kannada language borrowed Sanskrit words directly or in their changed form. It is the latter tendency that often predominates; and when the Sanskrit words undergo phonetic changes while being admitted into Kannada, the changes are more or less on the same pattern as those in Prakrit. Commentaries were written in Kannada on many Prakrit texts; and this also led to the borrowing of a number of Prakrit words into Kannada.

If the Jaina authors stuck to Prakrit, to begin with, it was natural, because that had become more or less the language of their religion. But even other authors showed interest in the cultivation of Prakrit language for two reasons. First, the *muktaka* poetry illustrated by works like the *Gāthāsaptasatī* or *Gāhākoso*⁴ of Hāla was quite popular in the South; and almost all the writers on *alaṅkāra* had a fancy for quoting Prakrit verses in their compositions. Some of the *alaṅkāras* and *rasas* were illustrated by Prakrit verses. Naturally Sanskrit paṇḍits maintained a good traditional proficiency in Prakrit. From the manuscripts available, it is very clear that the *Gāthāsaptasatī* or *Gāhākoso* of Hāla was quite popular in the South, especially in the Telugu country. Vēmabhūpāla's Sanskrit commentary on a select century of *gāthās* from it further confirms this popularity. Secondly, right from the days of Aśvaghoṣha, it was an accepted convention in the so-called Sanskrit drama, that the superior characters speak in Sanskrit and the inferior ones, including ladies and *vidūshaka*, speak in Prakrit. The dramatic theory gives elaborate rules as to which characters should speak which dialects. These conventions are meticulously observed all along. The manuscripts of the plays of Bhāsa come mainly from the South, and his Prakrits have been carefully studied. Almost all the dramas necessarily contain a good amount

of Prakrit passages in the form of speeches of the characters of the inferior groups. The Sanskrit playwrights in the South could not be an exception. There is a type of drama, called *Saṭṭaka*, which is entirely in Prakrit. This form was also practised in the South as we will see later on. Thus Prakrits were cultivated in the South in the works on *alaṅkāra* and in Sanskrit drama. It seems that it is Vararuchi's *Prākṛita-prakāśa* that was a good manual for most of the authors; and later on, the exhaustive grammar of Trivikrama was used in the South. Some commentaries came to be written on the *sūtras* of Trivikrama, and they formed the basis of the study of Prakrits in the South.

We may take up now a survey of early Prakrit literature in the South as we owe it to the Jaina authors and also to general Sanskrit scholars.

To the early strata of Jaina literature in the South belong two works *Chakṣhaṇḍāgama* (= *Shatkhāṇḍāgama*) and the *Kasāyapāhuda* (= *Kashāyaprabhṛita*). The first work is divided into six sections or *khāṇḍas*.⁵ As the tradition stands, the contents of the first have been inherited from the second Pūrva, Āgrāyaṇīya. Dharaśēnāchārya was staying in the Chandraguphā of Girinagara (Girnār, in Gujarat). He knew all the subjects connected with this text. As the time of his death was nearing, he felt anxious that there might be an end to the scriptural knowledge possessed by him. He got invited, therefore, two versatile pupils, Pushpadanta and Bhūtabali, from the South and gave them the contents. It is they who subsequently reduced their knowledge to writing in the *sūtra* form. Pushpadanta composed the first 177 *sūtras*, all included in the *Shatprarūpaṇā*, and the rest of them were written by Bhūtabali: the total comes to 6,000 *sūtras*. These two authors might be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era. A number of commentaries came to be written on it by authors like Kundakunda, Śyāmakunda, Tumbulūra, Samantabhandra, Bappadēva and Vīrasēna. It is the commentary of Vīrasēna, called *Dhavaḷā*, alone that is available to us. It is quite likely that the earlier commentaries, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, were more or less bodily incorporated by him in his *Dhavaḷā* commentary. It is written in the *maṇi-pravāḷa* style, partly in Prakrit and partly in Sanskrit. It was completed in 816 A.D. during the reign of Jagattuṅga of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. This commentary shows the great learning, vast erudition and systematic exposition of the author. It contains 72,000 *granthas*. The subject matter is the elaborate discussion of the doctrine of *karma* which characterises Jainism.

The *Kasāyapāhuda* belongs more or less to the same period as that of *Chakṣhaṇḍāgama*. Its author is Guṇadhara. The tradition about his predecessors is shrouded in mystery. Unlike the *Shatkhāṇḍāgama*, which is presented in *sūtras*, the *Kashāyaprabhṛita* is composed in *gāthās*, 233 in number. It deals with four *kāshāyas* namely, *krōdha*, *māna*, *māyā* and *lōbha* which lead to Karmic bondage. These four passions are further classified as *rāga* and *dvēsha*: so this text has got another title *pejja-dosa-pāhuda*. On this work also Vīrasēna started writing an elaborate commentary, *Jayadhavaḷā* by name. It was completed by his pupil, Jinasēna, in 837 A.D., during the reign of Amōghavarsha of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. On the whole it contains 60,000 *granthas* of which 20,000 only were Vīrasēna's contribution. Both

Prakrit and Sanskrit are used in this work also. Yativṛishabha and Uchchāraṇāchārya wrote commentaries on the work, but they are not available today.

It is extremely difficult to decide the relative chronology of Kundakunda, Śivārya and Vaṭṭakera. In fact the works of these authors constitute an early stratum of Jaina literature in the South. They inherit much that is ancient; but, at the same time, they carry a stamp of individual authorship.

Kundakunda⁶ occupies a very important position in the tradition of South Indian Jainism. He is mentioned next only to Mahāvīra and Gautama. In the inscriptions he is mentioned as Kṇḍakunda, and there is a place in the Andhra Pradesh which resembles his name. Padmanandi is one of the few names by which he is mentioned. A number of legends are current about him, but they are not contemporary and substantiated by his works. At the end of his *Bārasa-aṇuvekkhā* he gives his name; and the concluding *gāthā* of the *Bōdhapāhuḍa* mentions him as the pupil of Bhadrabāhu. He can be tentatively assigned to the beginning of the Christain era.

All the available works of Kundakunda are in Prakrit. He is said to have written a commentary, *Parikarma* by name, on the *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama*; but it is not available. According to some manuscripts, Kundakunda is the author of the *Mūlāchāra* as well. Prabhāchandra, the author of the *Kriyākālāpa*, states that the *Bhaktis* in Prakrit were composed by Kundakunda. These are texts of traditional contents. Naturally their authorship is attributed to an ancient author like Kundakunda. His eight *pāhudas* are really *prakaraṇas*, i.e. each one covers a definite topic, and the discussion is compact presuming a lot of hereditary knowledge. His *Rayaṇasāra* covers many miscellaneous topics. The *Bārasa-aṇuvekkhā* is a systematic exposition of twelve topics of reflection: perhaps this is the earliest known systematic work on the Anuprākshas, which have become so popular in later literature both in Prakrit, Sanskrit and modern Indian languages. A few *gāthās* from it are quoted by Pūjya-pāda, in the same order, in his commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra*, namely, the *Survārtha-siddhi*. The *Niyamasāra* deals with *darśana*, *Jīāna* and *chūritra* from a distinct point of view; and it contains many other topics full of suggestions. Three works of Kundakunda are considered to be the most important among his contributions. The *Pañchāstikāya* deals with Jaina metaphysics or ontology. It explains the basic constituents of the universe and its functioning and shaping without the intervention of any divine agency. It also gives a detailed exposition of the path leading to liberation. His *Pravachanasāra* deals with the Jaina concepts about knowledge and knowable as well as the instrument of understanding them, namely, *Syād-vāda*, the logic or principle of complementarity. Every object is characterised by origination, destruction and permanence; and it can be studied both with respect to its substance and modifications. The concluding portion of the work gives in short the pattern of the life of a Nirgrantha monk and the 28 *mūlaguṇas* governing it. The *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda deals with the *ātma-tattva*, as a rule, from the realistic point of view. The natural and incidental spiritual states are very well explained in this work with suitable illustrations and similes. This work is very popular with the spiritualists. Some Sanskrit commentaries are available on most of the works of

Kundakunda. On these three works the important commentaries are those by Amṛta-chandra and Jayasēna. The latter has some more *gāthās* in the recension of the text commented upon by him. The Prakrit dialect of Kundakunda's works can be called Jaina Śaurasēnī.

Vaṭṭakera is the author of the *Mūlāchhāra*⁷ which is one of the earliest works dealing with 28 *mūlaguṇas* and other topics connected with the life of Nirgrantha monks. The name of the author is an enigma: may be it is connected with the name of some place near Mercara rather than that in Dharwar District. It gets its title possibly from the first chapter which describes *mūlaguṇas*. It is also mentioned by the name *Āchārāṅga*. It contains twelve *adhikāras* or sections: in fact, it can be looked upon as a compilation of twelve small *prakaraṇas*. The section dealing with *āvaśyakas* has close resemblance with the Nirukti of that name. The text of this work is available in two recensions. There is a Sanskrit commentary on it by Vasunandi. The longer recension is accompanied by a commentary in Kannada.

The *Ārādhanā* of Śivārya⁸ is another important work dealing with the life of a Nirgrantha monk. In it are discussed, in details, the topics of *darśana*, *jñāna*, *chāritra* and *tapas*. In fact, many miscellaneous topics are included in this work, though it is a systematic exposition of forty topics connected with acceptable types of *maraṇa*. Many ideas have their parallels in the Ardhamāgadhī canon. It is a standard work on Samādhi-maraṇa and Sallēkhanā. The author tells us that he studied under Jinanandigaṇi, Sarvaguptagaṇi and Mitranandi. The text is really traditional in contents; and the author or compiler may be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era. It contains certain practices and prescriptions which have an air of antiquity and are not consistent with the present-day tradition. The author perhaps belonged to the Yāpanīya-saṅgha. Aparājītā and Āśādhara have written commentaries on this work in Sanskrit. The Prakrit commentary, once available on it, has not come to light. It is the references to religious heroes mentioned in this *ārādhanā* that have become the basis of the *kathākōśas* or collections of tales compiled in different languages, in later years.

The Jaina authors have taken, especially in the South, special interest in the Karaṇānuyōga branch of literature, i.e. works dealing with cosmography. There is available today a text, in Sanskrit, *Lōkavibhāga*⁹ by name, of Simhasūri. He tells us that this present text is changed over into this language from an earlier work. The original work, possibly in Prakrit, was composed during the 22nd regnal year of Simhavarman of Kāñchī, in the town of Pāṭalaka in the territory of Pāṇḍya or Pāṇa. The date corresponds to Śaka year 380, i.e. 458 A.D.; and this Pāṭalaka stands for Tiruppādirippuliyūr or modern Cuddalore (South Arcot District) in Tamilnadu. The *Lōkavibhāga* in Prakrit must have been an important work, but it is not available today. Its Sanskrit version by Simhasūri seems to be later than 11th century A.D.

There is another important work in Prakrit dealing with Karaṇānuyōga, namely, the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*.¹⁰ It is divided into nine chapters, and the number of *gāthās* is more than 5000. In between the *gāthās* there are some verses in longer metres. It is really an authoritative and exhaustive treatise. It refers to a number of earlier works.

Vīrasēna mentions this work in his *Dhavaḷā* commentary. The name of its author is Yativṛishabha (c. later than 500 A.D.) the same as the one who wrote the *Chūṛṇī* on the *Kasāyapāhuda*. It is quite likely that the present text has received some later additions here and there.

Another work belonging to this category is the *Trilōkasāra* (Bombay 1917) of Nēmichandra Siddhānta Chakravarti. It has got more than one thousand Prakrit *gāthās*. It is divided into six sections depending on the nature of the contents. It is mainly based on the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* and can be assigned to the 10th century A.D.

It has been already seen above that the *sūtras* and *gāthās* of the *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and *Kasāyaprābhṛita* are in Prakrit. The *Dhavaḷā* and *Jayadhavaḷā* are the names of commentaries on these works. Their only manuscripts are preserved in Moodbidri (South Kanara District) written in Old Kannada characters on palm-leaves with ink. These manuscripts are as old as the first quarter of the 12th century A.D. The *Dhavaḷā* is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit. It was completed by Vīrasēna in 816 A.D., in 72,000 *granthas*. The sixth *khaṇḍa*, however, is entirely in Prakrit in 30 to 40,000 *granthas* and is known as *Mahābandha* or *Mahādhavaḷā*. Likewise, the *Jayadhavaḷā* on the *Kasāyapāhuda* is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit. It is a joint work of Vīrasēna and Jinasēna, the latter, the preceptor of Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōghavarsha. It was completed, as noted above, in 837 A.D.

The works noted above, namely, *Dhavaḷā* and *Jayadhavaḷā* and *Mahādhavaḷā*, were too big and difficult for ordinary readers. So their digests were prepared by Nēmichandra Siddhānta Chakravarti for the benefit of Chāmuṇḍarāya, the minister and general of the Gaṅga ruler, Rājamalla or Rāchamalla (974-84 A.D.). This minister had a household name, Gommaṭa; and because the digest was prepared for him, it came to be called *Gommaṭasara*.¹¹ It is he who got carved the colossus of Bāhubali at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa; and it is after him that Bāhubali's statue came to be called Gommaṭcēvara. A short treatise, *Navvasaṃgaha* by name, in 58 Prakrit *gāthās*, is also attributed to this Nēmichandra.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa kings have been great patrons of learning; and naturally many Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannada poets received patronage under them. The poet Pushpadanta who came from outside and stayed at Mānyakhēṭa, the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital, composed three works in Apabhraṃśa: *Mahāpurāṇa* (965 A.D.),¹² *Nāyakaumārachariū*¹³ and *Jasaharachariū*.¹⁴ He received patronage from Bharata and his son Nanna who were great dignitaries under the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The first work gives the traditional biographies of 63 great personalities as in the *Mahāpurāṇa* in Sanskrit by Jinasēna-Guṇabhadra. The two other works give the biographies of Nāgākumāra and Yaśōdhara who have been so popular in Jaina religious literature. It is quite likely that even Svayambhū, the Apabhraṃśa poet, belonged to the South and possibly to the Yāpanīya Saigha. His two works in Apabhraṃśa are well-known: the *Paumachariū*,¹⁵ dealing with Rāma story and the *Riṭṭhaṇmichariū* covering the *Harivaṃśa* episodes. Later on, the Jaina authors wrote a few manual in Prakrit; but they are not of much significance. After Samanatabhadra and Pūjyapāda a new trend was given to the composition of Jaina works, and Sanskrit became more popu-

lar, to be later substituted by Kannada and Tamil in those areas for independent compositions.

There is one more author who needs special mention. Though he is more famous as a Sanskrit poet, his Prakrit treatise, *Sammāṭ-sutta*,¹⁶ is a remarkable work. It deals with the Jaina doctrine of Nayas, concept of Jīva and theory of Anēkānta. Siddhasēna possibly belonged to the South (though he lived in Ujjain for some time) and probably to the Yāpanīya Saṅgha; and he is to be assigned to the 4-5th century A.D. He is held in great esteem by most of the important Jaina authors.

In the South, Jaina authors always felt the need of an exhaustive Prakrit grammar; and this was fulfilled to a very great extent by the *Śabdānuśāsana* of Trivikrama.¹⁷ He has given some details about himself. He hails from a good family of Bāṇa. His parents are Mallinātha and Lakṣmī. He had a learned and gentlemanly brother in Bhāma. Arhanandi Traividya was his teacher. He calls himself a *sukavi*. No poem of his has come to light. The *sūtras* of his grammar, however, when read continuously, are in the form of verses. He is to be assigned to the middle of the 13th century A.D. He refers respectfully to Hēmachandra to whose grammar he is very much indebted. In fact, his grammar can be looked upon as a southern version of Hēmachandra's grammar, so far as the Prakrit section is concerned. Trivikrama's *sūtras* have a different technical terminology. He has three *adhyāyas* (perhaps symbolic of his name *tri-vikrama*), each with four *pādas* and 1036 *sūtras* in all. The commentary also is written by himself; and he covers all the illustrations given by Hēmachandra more strikingly in the Apabhraṃśa section. He adds, however, Sanskrit *chhāyā* for the Apabhraṃśa illustrations, and thus makes his commentary more useful. Subsequent commentators like Simharāja (1300-1400 A.D.), Lakṣmīdhara (1541-1665 A.D.) and Appayya-dīkṣita (1554-1626 A.D.) have rearranged (leaving some of the *sūtras* on the pattern of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, and these gave a greater popularity and currency to Trivikrama's Prakrit grammar in the South. In fact, even outside the circle of Jaina authors, Trivikrama's *sūtras* came to be quoted by commentators.

After the 10th or the 11th century A.D. there are very few Jaina authors who wrote in Prakrit. Either they composed their religious works and *kāvya*s in Sanskrit, or in Kannada, Tamil or (a few) Telugu in the South. There is a period, especially in Karnataka where some outstanding authors like Bālachandra, Kēśavavarṇi etc. wrote Kannada commentaries on the Prakrit works of Kundakunda and Nēmi-chandra. In fact Kēśavavarṇi's Kannada commentary (1359 A.D.) is the earliest known complete commentary on the *Gommaṣasāra*; and it was this that was later on rendered into Sanskrit by one Nēmichandra, a contemporary of Vijayakīrti who was honoured by Malli Bhūpāla and thus flourished at the beginning of the 16th century A.D. This Sanskrit commentary is more popular at present, and the Kannada commentry is still in manuscript. As noted above, there is a Kannada commentry on the *Mūlāchāra* too. Possibly there was an exhaustive Kannada commentary on the (*Bhagavati*) *ārādhana* from which the stories, now grouped under the *Vaḍḍārādhane*¹⁸ in Kannada, are extracted and elaborated by some unknown author.

It is already noted above how Prakrit was studied as a part of general equipment of a Sanskrit scholar. Vararuchi's Prakrit grammar was very popular in the South and Rāma Pāṇivāda (18th century A.D.) wrote a Sanskrit commentary on it, in Kerala. Kṛishṇalīlāsuka (c. 13th century A.D.) wrote *Sirichindhakavvaṃ* in 12 cantos dealing with the life of Kṛishṇa, to illustrate the rules of the Prakrit grammars of Vararuchi and Trivikrama. The *Soricharitta* of Śrīkaṇṭha (15th or 17th century A.D.) is a *Yamaka-kāvya*, the eight *mātrās* in the two metrical feet having identical sound but different sense. By about the middle of the 18th century, Rēma Pāṇivāda wrote in Prakrit two tiny poems, *Kaṃsavaho* and *Ushāñiruddhaṃ*. The first, charming in conception and scholarly in execution, deals with the episode of the slaying of Kamsa by boy Kṛishṇa and the second with the love and marriage of Ushā and Aniruddha. Saṭṭaka, we know, is a play entirely in Prakrit. Rudradāsa who was patronised by the Zamorin of Calicut (17th century A.D.) wrote the *Chandralēkhā* Saṭṭaka which celebrated the wedding of Mānavēda and Chandralēkhā. His style is forceful, often with unweildy compounds. Ghanaśyāma, the great poet attached to the court of Tuḷajāji of Tanjore (middle of the 18th century A.D.) wrote the *Ānandasundarī* Saṭṭaka. These Saṭṭakas imitate the famous Saṭṭaka, the *Karpūramāñjarī* of Rāja-śēkhara. All these compositions belong to the closing period of Prakrit literature. Still due to their poetic merits and stylistic flourish they deserve to be ranked with medieval poems.

Notes and References

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2. B. A. Saletore: *Medieval Jainism*, Bombay 1938.
3. I am thankful to my friend Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Mysore, who placed at my disposal a note on the Prākṛit Inscriptions in the South, and it is incorporated here. See also Prof. A. Chakravarti's *Jain Literature in Tamil* (ed.) K. V. Ramesh, (Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, New Delhi 1974) especially Introduction.
4. For the bibliography about the *Gāhākoso*, vide *Saptaśatīsāra* (ed.) A. N. Upadhye, Shivaji University, Kolhapur 1970.
5. H. L. Jain (ed.): *Saṭṭhaṇḍāgama* with *Dhavaḷā*, 1-16, (Amraoti-Vidisha, 1939-59); *Kasāya-pāhuḷa* with *Jayadhavaḷā*, 1-13 f, (Jaina Sangha, Mathura, 1944 f); *Mahābandha*, 1-7, (Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Varanasi 1947-58).
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16. By A. N. Upadhye, *Siddhasena's Nydyavardra* etc. (Bombay, 1973).
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DEVELOPMENT OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE IN SOUTH INDIA

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

FOR OVER TWO THOUSAND YEARS Sanskrit has been the all-India language of culture. Apart from *belles-lettres*, Sanskrit language is a rich store-house of mythology and legends, spiritual exercises and devotional songs, text-books on the sciences like medicine and engineering as well as fine arts like dance and music. More than all, it is a rich repository of the sacred lore of the land and many schools of philosophy and religion. No less than the Hindus, the Buddhists and Jains have contributed to this mighty stream of Sanskrit learning. Of the number of books that were actually written, we can say that a very small fraction has survived the ravages of time and political upheavals. It was only during the last 100 years that an attempt has been made by the Government to preserve and catalogue the surviving ones. The number of catalogues of such manuscript collections all over India and the West exceeds a hundred and easily the total number of available manuscripts exceeds a lakh. *The New Catalogus Catalogorum*, which is being compiled by the Madras University will give us a full picture of this vast inheritance. But the outstanding classics which have been actually printed and published may not be more than ten thousand. Judging by quantity alone, the share of the South is more than half; because during the dark days of Muslim rule over North India, the South was enjoying a larger measure of peace and prosperity. The Vijayanagara rulers and later the Nāyaks of Tanjore etc, and kings of Andhra, Kerala and Mysore, alongside of several *mathādhipatis*, patronised Sanskrit learning as ever before. While some of the best works of yore have been lost beyond recovery, a good number of those written after 1500 A.D. have been better preserved because of their relatively recent character. Most of them are of religious or sectarian interest and in the nature of imitations modelled after the works of ancient masters or of commentaries on earlier texts. What is attempted herein is a very sketchy survey of the most representative and celebrated works in Sanskrit that were produced in South India which attained country-wide fame and celebrity on account of their undeniable excellence, in the several departments of knowledge as well several *genres* of literature.

Period of the Vēdāṅgas (400–100 B.C.)

Our earliest authors of *Kalpasūtras* (including *Śrauta*, *Grihya*, *Dharma* and *Sulva*) are Bōdhāyana and Āṭvastamba, both attached to the Taittirīya recension of the Kṛishṇa-Yajurveda. Another *Kalpasūtrakāra* of this same *vēda* is Hiraṇyakeśin. All these *sūtrakāras* are said to belong to a period as old as 400 B.C., and in view of the wide currency of these *sūtras* only in the tradition of the ritualists of the south, they are often supposed by scholars to have hailed from the Southern regions of India.

If the name of Piṅgala-Nāga might suggest anything, it is not unlikely that this famous pioneer of Metrics, both Vedic and classical, may have been a southerner. His *Chhandas-sūtra* is the first and last complete treatise explaining the Vedic metres.

Some of the *śrāddhakalpas* and *pitṛi-mēdha-sūtras* containing the rules for the rites connected with the manes come next in order and as their authorship is ascribed to Bōdhāyana, it is quite possible that some of them at least arose in the South.

Some of the pre-Sāyaṇa commentators of the Vedic *Samhitas* and *Brāhmaṇas* viz. Mādhavabhaṭṭa, Mādhava, Venkaṭa-Mādhava, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Bhavasvāmin are admittedly from the south. Their exact dates, however, are not known; but the fact remains that the tradition of Vedic exegesis was current in the south from the earliest times.

Post-Canonical Buddhist Literature

An important place is to be assigned to commentaries in Pali which have made Buddha's readings intelligible to the common people. Among these comes Buddhadatta, a native of Uragapura (modern Uraiyūr) in South India. He was a contemporary of Buddhaghōṣa (5th century A.D.) and among his commentaries, the *Vinayavinichchaya* and the *Uttaravinichchaya* are concerned with *Vinayapiṭaka* while *Abhidharmāvatāra* is on the *Abhidharmapiṭaka*. Another work of his is *Rūpārūpavibhāga* dealing with *rūpa*, *chitta* and *chētasika*.

After Buddhadatta, we must mention Dhammapāla who was born at Bhadratittha in the south-east coast of India. According to Hiuen-Tsang, his native place was Kāñchīpura. He wrote a commentary on the *Chariyāpiṭaka* which is known as *Paramatthadīpani*. He also wrote a commentary called the *Paramatthamañjūsā* on Buddhaghōṣa's *Viśuddhimagga*. These works of Dhammapāla throw a flood of light on the active prevalence of Buddhism in South India.

As late as the 12th century A.D. the *Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha* was written at Kāñchīpura by a Buddhist monk. It is a manual of the Thēravāda school. It deals with *chitta* (mind), *chētasika* (mental properties) and *nibbāna*.

The *Anāgatavaṃsa* composed by Kassapa of the Chōḷa country is an account of the life and career of Metteyya, the future Buddha. It closely follows the manner and style of *Buddhavaṃsa* of the canon.¹

Buddhist Literature

The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa bas-reliefs present in miniature the full story of the *Saundarānanda* of Aśvaghōṣa. The first of these shows the Buddha's conversation with Nanda and Sundari; the second reveals Nanda after the shaving, with a figure holding his head-dress; the third is the visit to Indra's paradise.²

"Nāgārjuna is one of the greatest philosophers the world has so far known. In metaphysical profundity, logical acumen and spiritual insight, he has few equals.

In the Eastern world he exerted a historical influence of such vastness and depth that it can only be said to have been surpassed by that of the Buddha"—so says Dr. K. Sachchidananda Murthy, a modern philosopher of repute.³ He also adds that all the sources—Indian, Chinese and Tibetan—agree that one of the great Sāta-vāhana kings was a friend of Nāgārjuna and that both died about the same time. So his date may be roughly fixed between 100 and 218 A.D. According to Hsien-Tsang, Nāgārjuna lived in Śrīparvata. An epigraph near Jaggayyapēṭa, of about 500 A.D. refers to some disciples of Nāgārjuna. The Prakrit work *Līlāvati-pariṇaya* by Kuṭṭhala mentions that *bhikṣu* Nāgārjuna was king Hāla's (1st century A.D.) teacher and adviser.

His masterpiece in metaphysics is *Mūlamādhyama-kārikā*. Many successors like Chandrakīrti have written voluminous commentaries on it. It is perhaps the earliest work in the *kārikā* form in Sanskrit. His disciple was Āryadēva who worked and died in Andhra because his relics have been found in Guntur District. Āryadēva's principal works are *Chatuḥ-śataka* and *Śata-śāstra*. It is interesting to note that in the *Harshacharitra*, Bāṇa describes Divākaramitra the Buddhist sage as claiming succession from Nāgārjuna himself.

Nāgārjuna is the father of *Mādhyamika* philosophy known also as *Sūnyavāda*. "Nāgārjuna's philosophy avoids the extremes of affirmation and negation—'Is' and 'Is not'. It does not affirm that there is substance or self, nor does it deny them. It is the Middle Approach. It is neither realism nor idealism, and certainly not nihilism" as it has been often caricatured by later writers of the Brahmanical school.⁴

In the history of Buddhist logic, the name of Diñnāga occupies a pre-eminent place. He is the founder of Buddhist logic and has been called the father of Medieval Nyāya as a whole. He lived at the beginning of the 5th century A.D. Born in Kāñchī in a Brāhmaṇa family, he became the first Hīnayāna Buddhist and later devoted himself to the teachings of Mahāyānism. He also toured extensively and defeated a Brāhmaṇa logician, Sudurjaya, at Nālandā.

Diñnāga is credited with a large number of treatises on logic. Most of these are still preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translation. I-tsing says that Diñnāga's treatises on logic were read as text-books at the time of his visit to India. Among the most important works of Diñnāga are the *Pramāṇa-samuchchaya*, his masterpiece *Nyāya-pravēśa*, the *Hṛīchakra-ḍamaru* and *Ālambanaparīkṣhā*. In his works Diñnāga has criticised some of the theories propounded by Vātsyāyana in his *Nyāya-bhāṣya*. It was as a defence of Vātsyāyana's position that Uddyōtakara wrote the *Nyāya-vārttika* later. Thus Diñnāga is an important link between the Buddhist and the orthodox Nyāya systems of India.⁵

Dharmakīrti, the celebrated philosopher, also hailed from Āndhradēśa. In one of his works, *Vādanyāya*, we have unimpeachable reference to Andhra and Dravidian words synonymous with Sanskrit *nāsikā* (nose) and Prakrit *nakka*, namely, *mukku*; (*Vādanyāya*, pp. 103-107). In the same context he also names so many words in Dravida and Andhra languages along with Sanskrit and Prakrit.⁶

Dharmakīrti (7th century A.D.) was a successor of Diñnāga and a logician

of unsurpassed genius. Dr. Stcherbalsky rightly regards him as the Kant of India. Even his Brahmanical adversaries have acknowledged the superiority of his reasoning powers. First he studied under Īśvarasēna, pupil of Diñnāga and then went to Nālandā and studied Vijñānavāda under Dharmapāla there. The *magnum opus* of Dharmakīrti is *Pramāṇa-vārttikā*.⁷ It is such a seminal work that even literary critics like Ānandavardhana and Mahimabhaṭṭa studied it. The other important works of his are *Pramāṇa-viniśchaya*, *Nyāyabindu*, *Hētibindu*, *Vādanyāya*, and *Samānāntarasiddhi*. All these works deal with the Buddhist theory of knowledge and display great erudition and deep thinking. Dharmakīrti's writings mark the highest summit reached in epistemological speculation by later Buddhism. They have also influenced the development of *Nyāya-sāstra* and *Vēdānta-sāstra* in India.⁸

Jaina Literature

Gr̥dhra-Piñchhāchārya, the author of *Tattvārtha-sūtra* possibly lived about 200 A.D. Several commentaries have been written thereon, one being from the pen of the great Pūjyapāda of 500 A.D., and another by Akaṣaṅka (c. 800 A.D.). Sub-commentaries on these by Vidyānanda and others are also extant.

Samantabhadrasvāmi of about 300 A.D. is another revered name. His works include *Āptamīmāṃsa* (*Dēvāgama*) and *Yuktyānusaṣāna*. Vidyānanda has written *Ashṭasāhasrī* on the former and Akaṣaṅka's *Ashṭasāti* together.

The next important writer is Pātrakēsari (c. 550 A.D.) who started the polemics against Diñnāga, the Buddhist logician. Akaṣaṅka's contribution to Jainology is as great as that of Diñnāga himself in Buddhist epistemology. His date is about 700 A.D. and he is the brightest star in Jaina polemics. His logical and epistemological text book is *Nyāya-viniśchaya*.

Like Dharmakīrti who followed Diñnāga in Buddhist thought, Vidyānanda and Vādirājasūri came to perfect the thought ably mooted by Akaṣaṅka in the period 1000-1100 A.D. These logicians confute ably the theories of not only the Buddhist masters of logic but also the reasoning adopted by Hindu dialecticians belonging to the schools of Mīmāṃsa, Vēdānta, Sāṅkhya etc. No history of Indian thought would be complete until these advanced texts are carefully studied. But they have seen publication only recently and still await research. However, even a casual perusal of these is enough to reveal the fact that virtually all these great philosophers hailed from the South.

Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Āgamas

Most of the literature under this head, especially the Śaiva Āgamas and Pāñcharātra as well as Vaikhāṇasa Āgamas of the Vaiṣṇavas (known also as Samhitas) which form the sacred texts of the several schools of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, must have arisen over a course of centuries beginning with the Christian era in the South. The Śaiva Āgamas like *Vātula*, *Kāmika*, *Kāraṇa* and *Suprabhāda* as also Vaiṣṇava Samhitas like that of Atri, Marīchi, Bhṛigu, Paushkara, Sātvata are mostly religious and sectarian in character though they contain occasionally matters

of spiritual and philosophical interest. They were indigenous to the locality and preached sectarian forms of divine worship which were easily within the reach of the common people. Theoretically, they claim the same sanctity as that of the *vēdas* and do not conflict with Vedic religion.

From the Āgamas to the Purāṇas it is but a step; and a large number of sectarian Purāṇas have arisen out of which at least some late ones like the *Bhāgavata* and *Śiva-purāṇa* appear to be of southern descent, though they all come under the eponymous authorship of Vyāsa. These Purāṇas shaped the life of the people by supplying them with myths and legends of gods and great kings of a past age who led exemplary lives and left rich traditions worthy of emulation. A number of Purāṇas contain detailed descriptions of holy centres of pilgrimage in the South. Some of the reasons advanced by scholars in support of the southern origin of the *Bhāgavata* are its silence about Rādhā and its eulogy of the Dravida region between the rivers Kaveri and Tamraparni as the abode of Viṣṇu-bhakti.

Pūrvamīmāṃsa

Kumārilabhaṭṭa is the most outstanding figure in the history of Pūrvamīmāṃsa. He is believed by scholars to be a southerner because he has given many Dravidian words as examples in his *magnum opus*, the *Tantravārttika* [I. 3.5(10)]. His period may be assigned to 600 A.D. He is believed to be the *guru* of Maṇḍanamiśra. He is the father of the Bhāṭṭa school of the Pūrvamīmāṃsa system. He has written very elaborate *vārttikas* on Jaimini's *sūtra* and *Śābarabhāṣya*. The different parts of the *vārttika* are named—*Ślōkavārttika*, *Tantravārttika* and *Ṭup-ṭikā*.

Tradition holds that Prabhākara who founded the rival school of Mīmāṃsa was at first a student of Kumārilabhaṭṭa himself. Prabhākara's commentaries on the *Śābarabhāṣya* are called *Laghvī* and *Brihati*. Umvēka was another disciple of Kumārila. Maṇḍanamiśra is also described as a pupil of Kumārila himself, and as the husband of Kumārila's sister. *Śaṅkura-digvijaya* of Mādhava identifies Maṇḍana further with Surēśvara, the pupil of Āchārya Śaṅkara. But Maṇḍana's *Brahmasiddhi* in Vēdānta differs in some important details from *Naishkarmya-siddhi* of Surēśvara. Surēśvara is also referred to by another name Viśvarūpa. Maṇḍana's Mīmāṃsa works are *Vidhivivēka*, *Vidhyartha*, *Vibhramavivēka*, and *Sphōṭasiddhi* (a work on Bhartṛhari's philosophy of language). Umvēka has written a commentary on the *Ślōkavārttika* of Kumārila. Again, Prabhākara's disciple Śālikanātha has written the most dependable and classical expositions of the Prabhākara school of Mīmāṃsa. The expositions are called *Dīpaśikhā* and *Rijuvimāla*.

Vēdānta

Virtually, all the important schools of Vēdānta, viz. Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaita and Śivādvaita had their origin and vast evolutionary development in the South. It is impossible to summarise this vast literature in the span of an article. Independent volumes have been written on the subject by great writers like S.

Radhakrishnan and S. N. Dasgupta which readers may consult with profit. Only a few names are recorded below.

(i) ADVAITA

Śaṅkarāchārya, the great philosopher, was born at Kālaḍi, Malabar, in 632 A.D. - He gave a final shape to the Upanishadic tradition of Advaita in his *prasthāna-traya-bhāṣyas* which remain philosophical classics even today. He also wrote topical expositions like *Ātmabōdha*, *Daśaslōki*, *Aparōkshāmūhūti*, *Upadēśasūhasri* and *Vivēkachūḍāmaṇi*, which stress the Advaitic way of life leading to *jīvanmukti*.

Surēśvara, the author of *Naishkarmyasiddhi* and *Bṛihadāranyakōpanishadvārtika*, Padmapāda, the author of the *Pañchapādikā*, were his direct disciples. It is to the singular credit of Śaṅkarāchārya that he established seats of religion and learning in the four corners of India, which have remained centres of divinity up to date.

Anubhūtiśvarūpa's *Prakaṣārthavivarāṇa* (c.1000 A.D.) Vimuktātman's *Ishṭasiddhi*, and Sarvajñātman's *Samkshēpa-śārtraka* of the same period are important works, as also Chitsukha's commentaries on Advaitic thought. Ānandagiri (c.1250 A.D.) commented on all the *bhāṣyas* of Śaṅkara.

Mādhava *alias* Vidyāranya, contemporaneous with Vēdāntadēśika, who commanded prestigious allegiance of the Vijayanagara ruler Bukka I, was a great genius and towering personality. He has written extensively on various *sūtras* besides Vēdānta. His *Nyāyamālāvistara* on Purvamīmāṃsa is a celebrated work and a brilliant text book. The *Parāśara-Mādhaviya* is a standard commentary on *Parāśara-smṛiti* and is treated with the respect of a *nibandha* work. His works on Advaita are: *Vaiyāsikīnyāyamālā*; the *Pañchadaśi*; the *Vivarāṇa-pramēyasaṅgraha*, *Anubhūtiprakāśa* and *Jīvanmukti-vivēka*. Each is a masterly exposition, brilliant in style and succinct in arrangement. The *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha* is the work of his brother Sāyaṇa's son Mādhava.

Sadānanda's *Vēdāntasāra* (15th century) and Dharmarājādhvani's *Advaita-paribhāṣā* are standard text books. But the pride of place among expositions of Advaita goes to Appayya-dīkshita's *Siddhānta-lēśa-saṅgraha* and *Vēdānta-kalpataru-parimaḷa*. Appayya-dīkshita's gigantic scholarship and many-sided literary activity has long remained the ideal of the scholar in the south. His life (1552-1624) has been made the subject of biographies in Sanskrit. Appayya-dīkshita was honoured by several princely chiefs of the time and he wrote on other systems of Vēdānta also, especially Śaivism as we will see in another section. He wrote also the *Nyāyarakshamaṇi*, a commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* and *Nyāyamāhārī* on the tenets of the Advaita. The great grammarian Bhaṭṭōji-dīkshita was his disciple and the great poet Nīlakaṇṭha-dīkshita his brother's grandson. It is said that he had many a wordy duel with Advaita scholars and his tracts are more than a hundred. One of them is *Mādhvamukhamardana*. Polemical literature was given an impetus by these tracts which has led to ceaseless literary activity on the part of the different schoolmen belonging to rival systems, both for and against.

(ii) VIŚIṢṬĀDVAITA

This tradition going as far back as Ṭaṅka (Brahmanandin), Dramiḍa, Guhadēva, Bōdhāyana and the Āḷvārs of Tamilnadu, saw its first formulation in Nāthamuni's works (824–924 A.D.)—*Nyāyatattva* and *Yōgarahasya*, now lost. His grandson was Yāmuna who was born in 916 A.D. and who wrote several crucial works which indicated the validity of the *Pāñcharātrāgamas*. He was also a great poet and has composed the *Stōtiraratna* and *Chatuḥślōkī*. Yāmuna's other works are *Siddhitraya* and *Gītārthasaṅgraha*.

Rāmānuja, sister's son of Yāmunamuni was trained by Yādavaprakāśa at Kāñchi and became associated with a *śūdra*, Kāñchīpūrṇa. He had differences of opinion with his teacher and wanted to be taught by Yāmuna who died, however, at Śrīraṅgam by the time he approached him. Rāmānuja became a *sanyāsin* and then Yādavaprakāśa too became his pupil. He had several disciples. His great works are—*Śrībhāshya*, *Vēdāntadīpa*, *Vēdāntasāra* and *Vēdāntasaṅgraha*. Then persecution of Vaishnavites began. The Śaiva king Kulōttuṅga I put out the eyes of Mahāpūrṇa and Kūrēśa (two prominent disciples of Rāmānuja) in 1078–79 when Rāmānuja was forced to take refuge in the Hoysala country. With the help of king Viṣṇuvardhana *alias* Bittidēva he constructed the Viṣṇu temple at Mēlukōṭe where Rāmānuja lived for some years before returning to Śrīraṅgam.

Rāmānujīya literature is very vast and virtually the whole of it was produced in the south. The *Śrībhāshya* was commented upon by Mēghanādāri Sudarśanasūri and others, between 1250 and 1300 A.D. Mēghanādāri's *Nayadyumaṇi* and Sudarśanasūri's *Prapaṇapārijāta* are independent works.

Vēdāntadēśika *alias* Veṅkaṭanātha (c.1269–1369 A.D.) was the great apostle of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy after Rāmānuja. He is the author of more than 120 works in the system of Viśiṣṭādvaita and in epic, devotional and other branches of literature and won the title *Kavitārkikasm'ā*. His Mīmāṃsa works are—*Mīmāṃsūpādukā* and *Sēśvaramīmāṃsa* in prose. He attempts a synthesis between the two schools.

Born at Tūppil, a village near Kāñchīpuram in 1269 A.D., he came to be revered as the incarnation of the Lord's bell. Prof. V. Rangachari has observed: "He was throughout his life a man of great penance and prayer and an extraordinary precacious genius. His works prove how thorough his teachings were, how fertile his intellect was and how exalted his view of life and conduct were. Humble and modest in his deportment, profoundly learned, saintly in his habits, he was the embodiment of all that was good and great, of the divinity in man and man's devotion to the divinity."⁹

Among his independent works on Vēdānta, the most outstanding are: *Tattva-muktākālāpa*, *Śatadīpaṇī*, *Pañcharātraraksha* and *Nyāyaparisuddhi*. His chief commentaries are: *Tātparyachandrikā* on *Gītābhāshya* and *Rahasyaraksha* on Rāmānuja's *Gadyatraya*.

In the 17th century Raṅgarāmānujamuni wrote commentaries on Upanishads.

(iii) DVAITA

The founder of this system was Madhvāchārya, a contemporary of Narasimha III and Ballāja III of the Hoysala dynasty. His teacher was Achyutaprēksha. He challenged the Advaita thesis vigorously and wrote 37 works in which he has utilised the entire sacred literature to prove his Dvaita doctrine. On *Brahmasūtras*, he has written *Bhāshya*, *Anubhāshya*, *Anuvyākhyāna* and *Nyāyavivaraṇa*; on the *Gītā-Bhāshya* and *Tātparya*; and commentaries on all the ten Upanishads. His independent works are: *viṣṇutattvanirṇaya*, *Tattvavivēka*, *Tattvasaṅkhyāna* etc.

The whole of later Dvaita literature, as in the other schools, is concerned with commentaries on these. Of these the most important exponent is Jayatīrtha, the pupil of Akṣhōbhyaṭīrtha who is credited to have defeated Vidyāraṇya in a scholarly debate. Jayatīrtha is placed in the second half of the 14th century and is known as Ṭikāchārya, since he wrote learned commentaries on all the works of Madhvāchārya. Prominent among them are the *Nyāyasudhā*, *Tattvaparakāśikā* and *Pramēyadīpikā* on the three *prasthānas*. He has also two independent works to his credit, the *Pramāṇa-paddhati* and the *Vādāvalī*. The last is a vigorous refutation of Māyāvāda.

Next comes Vyāsayati whose works are equally outstanding. He wrote an independent work *Nyāyāmṛta* criticising Chitsukha. His *Bhāvaparakāśikā* is a commentary on Jayatīrtha's *Prapañchamithyātva-khaṇḍana* and *Tātparyachandrikā*, a commentary on Jayatīrtha's *Tattvaparakāśikā*. Rāghavēndrayati wrote very valuable commentaries on the works of Jayatīrtha and others. His *Bhāvadīpikā* is a commentary on *Tattvaparakāśa* of Jayatīrtha while his *Parimala* is on the *Nyāyasudhā*. He also wrote the *Gītārthasaṅgraha* on the *Gītā*.

Several other great writers of the school include Vādirāja, Vijayīndra and Śrīnivāsaṭīrtha.

(iv) ŚIVĀDVAITA

Śrīkaṇṭhabhāshya on which Appayya-dīkshita wrote the famous *Śivārkaṇḍīpikā* is assigned to 1270 A.D. by C. Hayavadana Rao. According to the same writer, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara who wrote another *bhāshya* on *Vēdāntasūtras* may be identified with Bhāskarabhaṭṭōpādhyāya mentioned in an epigraph at Nandalūr, Cuddapah District and whose date is 1181-83 A.D. *Śrīkarabhāshya* of Śrīpati mentions one Haradattāchārya who is the author of *Chaturvēdatātparyasaṅgraha*. There is a learned commentary on it, *Śrutisūktimālā* by Śivaliṅga-bhūpati, a Redḍi prince ruling over the region of Śrīparvata between 1408 A.D. and 1431 A.D. *Śrīkarabhāshya* quotes Rāmānuja and *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* (circa 1250 A.D.). Śrīpati hailed from the Āndhradēśa and is prior to Śivaliṅga-bhūpati who quotes him.¹⁰ To the same tradition belongs also the *Līṅgadhāraṇachandrikā* of Nandikēśvara, assigned to the 17th century as he cites Appayya-dīkshita.¹¹

Poetics

Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa* (17th century A.D.) is practically the most celebrated

contribution of the south to a systematic and scientific study of literature. For the first time it gives a complete account of all forms of literature—prose, poetry and *chamṇī* and expounds the ten *guṇas*, two styles, and about forty figures of speech. His authority on *alaṅkāras* remains undisputed in all later works and it was so highly esteemed that it was translated into Tibetan, Ceylonese, Tamil, Kannada and other languages within two centuries of its origin. Rudraṭa, the author of the equally famous work, *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra*, has been identified by R. Narasimhachar with an ancestor of Mādirāja of Sugandhavartti (modern Saundatti, Dharwar District) on the basis of an inscriptional evidence tracing the family's ancestry to Rudrabhaṭṭa of Atri-gōtra whose unparalleled poetical powers procured for him from king Kannara (Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II 884–913 A.D.) the gift of 18 villages and who mortgaged one letter of his name for a loan of one thousand gold pieces till he redeemed it and came to be known as Rudraṭa, the *sāmāsiga*.¹² The present *Rudraṭaḷaṅkāra* contains the surname *sāmāja* in one of the verses and the identification is thus further confirmed by this. This fact also helps us in solving the separate authorship of *Śṛiṅgāratilaka*, now ascribed to Rudrabhaṭṭa. Rudraṭa's *alaṅkāra* work marks an improvement on Daṇḍin in several respects. It defines and illustrates as many as four *rītis*, and about sixty figures of speech and like Daṇḍin's work has attained great fame. The *Śṛiṅgāratilaka* is the first work which describes the types of heroes and heroines in love with apt illustrations and which gives an analysis of all the *rasas*.

We have another Rudrabhaṭṭa in the Hoysaḷa period who wrote the yet unpublished *Rasakalikā*. It is modelled after the *Śṛiṅgāratilaka*; but has some novel ideas regarding delineation of *rasas*. These ideas have influenced Vidyānātha, the author of the great text book of poetics, viz. *Pratāparudrayaśōbhūshaṇa*.

The *Pratāparudrayaśōbhūshaṇa* was written to sing the glory of the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra of Warangal (1296–1323 A.D.). It has several novel and interesting features which soon made it a popular and authoritative text book used all over the land. It is the first book on poetics which deals with all forms of literature including drama in all its variety. What is more, all the examples cited are in praise of king Pratāparudra and a whole drama called *Pratāparudrakalyāṇa* is imbedded in it as an illustration of *nāṭaka*. On this we have the commentary *Ratnāpaṇa* written by Kumārasvāmin, the son of the great scholiast Mallinātha. In the south, this new method of writing an *alaṅkāra* text book became a popular tradition among later writers. We have several imitations of it in Dharmasudhi's *Alaṅkāra-ratnākara*, *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi* of Sāyaṇa and *Naṭjarājayaśōbhūshaṇa* of Nṛisimha-kavi which were written in succeeding centuries.

Among commentators, the name of Vidyāchakravartin at the court of Hoysaḷa Ballāja (13th century) is significant because he has given us important commentaries on *Kāvyaṇṇakāśa* and *Alaṅkārasarvasva*. So also is Sāḷuva king Gōpa Tippa's commentary called *Kāmadhēnu* on Vāmana's *Kāvyaḷaṅkārasūtra*.

The Vēlama ruler Siṅgabhūpāla (1386–1412 A.D.) is the author of the voluminous and luminous work, *Rasārṇavasudhākara*. It gives elaborately the whole

of dramatic theory with illustrations culled from masterpieces of Sanskrit literature. It is the first book which so completely covers all aspects of plot, character and styles in dramaturgy. This book is referred to by a large number of commentators. The book is modelled after Śāradātanaya's *Bhāvaprakāśa*. This ruler also patronised Viśvēśvara who wrote *Chamatkārachandrikā*.

Music and Dance

The first great text book of Music known as *Saṅgītaratnākara* was produced by Śārngadēva under the patronage of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa (c. 1200 A.D.) and it was commented upon by the Telugu ruler Siṅgabhūpāla in the 14th century. A little earlier, king Jagadēkamalla II (1138–50 A.D.) had written *Saṅgītachūḍāmaṇi*. Equally important is the *Saṅgītasamayāsūtra*, of the Jaina author Pārśvadēva (13th century).

Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa under Pedakōmaṭivēma, the Redḍi chief of Koṇḍavīḍu produced the *Saṅgītachintāmāṇi*.

The famous Vidyāraṇya is credited with the authorship of *Saṅgītasāra*. Kumbhakarṇa's *Saṅgītarāja* (1440 A.D.) is an epoch-making work in music. In the 16th century Rāmāmātya wrote *Svaramēḷakalānidhi* on *rāgas* and in 1600 Gōvindadīkshita under king Raghunāthanāyaka of Tanjore wrote *Saṅgītasudhā*. The *Bālarāmabhārata* by Bālarāmavarman, king of Travancore (1753–98 A.D.) is on music and dance. Thus the history of Karnatak music is well represented in the different works composed from time to time.

Judging from the name, Nandikēśvara, the author of *Bharatārṇava* and *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, both of which are accreditedly authoritative texts on dance is a South Indian. He is generally regarded as a very early writer, as early as 500 A.D. It gives succinctly lucid instructions on *drishṭis*, *hastas*, *gatis*, and *chāris*.

Jaya who was the commander of the elephant forces of the Kākatīya ruler Gaṇapatidēva (1199–1262 A.D.) was the author of the famous treatise on dance, *Nṛīttaratnāvalī*, now edited by Dr. V. Raghavan. It treats of the subject of dance under two heads—*mārga* and *dēśī*. For *mārga* dance, he cites the classical authority of Bharata, Kōhala, Mataṅga etc. But his treatment of *dēśī* or indigenous regional dance techniques is most illuminating. This Jaya is also said to have written a *Vādyaratnāvalī* and *Gītaratnāvalī*.

Prosody and Lexicography

Besides Piṅgalanāga's *Chhandassūtra*, we have the earliest work on prosody written by king Janāśraya in 600 A.D. It contains detailed rules of almost all metres adopting a new methodology and illustrates different metres from earlier authors. Jayakīrti's *Chhandōnuśāsana* (10th century) is another very important work on metrics, especially because it includes a section on Kannada metres also.

Important works in lexicography are Dhanañjaya's *Nāmamālā* (800 A.D.), Mādhava's *Ēkāksharatnamālā* (14th century A.D.) and Iruṇṇapa-daṇḍanātha's *Nāṇārtharatnamālā* of the same century.

Kāmasāstra

At least two works on sexology are from southern authors, viz. *Ratiratna-pradīpikā* by Immaḍi Praudhadēvarāya (1422–48 A.D.) king of Vijayanagara and *Kandarpachintāmaṇi* of Vīrabhadra (16th century).

Medicine

Nāgārjuna is said to have written *Rasaratnākara* which deals with purification of mercury for medicinal preparations. We know of several text-books like *Mādhva-nidānam* and *Kalyāṇakāraka* on diagnosis of diseases and treatment produced in the south. *Āyurvēdasudhānidhi* is a medical work of Sāyaṇa, not yet published.

Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics

A noteworthy work on Indian mathematics written under the patronage of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarhṣa II (814–78 A.D.) is the Jaina Mahāvīrāchārya's *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha*. It is said to be more lucid than the work of Brahmagupta and deals with geometrical progression.

Kālamūdhava of Vidyāranya is a treatise on time, its nature and its divisions. It is in five chapters. The year, seasons, months and intercalary months are dealt with. It also explains the division of *tithi*, *nakshatra*, *yōga*, *karaṇa*, *saṅkrānti* and eclipses.

Vidyāmādhava (14th century) is the author of *Muhūrtadarpaṇa* which is an exhaustive treatise on astrology based on *hōras*. His son (in the court of Bukka) wrote a commentary on it. It is called *Muhūrtadīpikā*. Another courtier of Vijayanagara, Lolla Lakshmīdhara wrote *Jyōtiṣhadarpaṇa*, an encyclopaedic work on astronomy.

Vyākaraṇa

The Kātantra school of grammar was founded by Sarvavarman in the court of a Sātavāhana king (100 B.C.). It was meant for popular use and carefully avoided the technicalities of the Pāṇinian system. It soon proved very popular and grammars in Prakrit, Tamil and Kannada were written later on its model. It has also attracted a large number of commentators and its use extended up to Kashmir and Bengal.

The *Kātantra-vyākaraṇa* is concise and has only four sections: *sandhi*, *nāma*, *ākhyāta* and *kṛit*. Later sections on *nipāṭu*, *strīpratyaya*, *uṇādi* and *taddhita* appear to have been added. In this grammar we have the use of terms like *svara* and *vyāñjana* in place of Pāṇini's *ach* and *l*. The *vṛitti* on the Kātantra is by Durgasimha (8th century), also a southerner. He also wrote the accessories of it, viz., *Līngānuśāsana*, *Uṇādi-pāṭha* and *Dhātupāṭha*.

The *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa* was propounded by Pūjyapāda *alias* Dēvanandin (5th century A.D.) under the Gaṅga kings. It is a condensation of Pāṇinian rules in a very systematic manner. Maximum economy is obtained here in the

use of words. Even technical terms are shortened. Two commentaries on this are preserved, one by Abhayānandin (750 A.D.) and the other by Sōmadēva a protege of the Śīlāhāra king Bhōja II (13th century).

Grammar of the Śākaṭāyana school known as *Śabdānuśāsana* was written along with its commentary known as *Amōghavṛtti* by the Jaina grammarian Śākaṭāyana in the time of Amōghavarsha I (817–77 A.D.). Besides Pāṇini, he has made use of new material in Chāndra and other schools including Jainēndra. It is widely used by Jains and influenced grammarians of old Kannada, namely, Kēśirāja and Bhaṭṭakajāṇka. There is a *Nyāsa* by Prabhāchandra on the *Amōghavṛtti* and a recast by Abhayachandra (14th century) on the manner of the *Kaumudī*. An abridgement of Śākaṭāyana grammar is *Rūpasiddhi* by Dayāpāla, fellow-student of the great Vādirājasūri (1025 A.D.). These are all widely used by Jains.

Halāyudha's *Kavirahasya* (10th century) gives a list of verbs with meanings in verse.

The re-arrangement of Pāṇinian rules subject-wise to facilitate study was undertaken in the south and resulted in a number of *Kaumudis*. This new method has come to stay in the traditional study of Sanskrit grammar. The first of this type is Viṭṭhalāchārya's *Prakriyā Kaumudī* (c.1450 A.D.). The famous *Siddhānta Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭōjīdīkshita is modelled upon it. Varadarāja's *Laghu* and other *Kaumudis* are only summaries of Bhaṭṭōjī's work. These are all used as elementary text books of Sanskrit grammar even today.

Sāyaṇa has written his famous *Mādhavīyā Dhātuvṛtti* which gives the forms of roots in various tenses and moods together with their derivatives. The Kerala ruler wrote the *Laghu Pāṇinīyam* (19th century) which is the most useful and practical recast for beginners.

Belles-Lettres: Prose

The source-book of most of the later plays and prose-romances was the original *Bṛhatkathā* composed by Guṇādhyā which is now lost. Tradition has it that this Guṇādhyā himself was a court-poet of a Sātavāhana king (c.100 A.D.) and failing in his wager with Sarvavarman of the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*, he wrote his *magnum opus* in Paisāchi Prākṛit. The *Bṛhatkathā*, Judging from its later summaries—one of which is ascribed to the Gaṅga king Durvīṇa himself (but unfortunately lost)—by Kashmirian poets Sōmadēva and Kshēmēndra, is a very remarkable collection of spicy and saucy-tales and fairy-tales. It is a rare and signal monument to the genius of the South in the matter of romantic and didactic tales, with flashes of buoyant and sunny humour. Bāṇa himself has paid a glowing tribute to it in his *Harshacharita*.

The *Avantisundarikathā* discovered and edited only in recent times, records a tradition that its illustrious author Daṇḍin was the great-grandson of one Dāmōdara, an immigrant to the Pallava court of Narasimhavarman from Gujarat, that this Dāmōdara was a great friend of Bhāravi who was honoured in the courts of the Gaṅga king Durvīṇa, the Eastern Chālukya king Viṣṇuvardhana and the Pallava

king Simhavishṇu before he finally settled in Kāñchi. These personal accounts of Daṇḍin and Bhāṇavi are of great historical interest too. The *Avantisundarikathā* includes the introductory story of the ten princes known as the *Daśakumāracharita*.

The *Daśakumāracharita* itself has been hailed as a great work of Sanskrit, prose. In the main narrative, the seven princes, who are the friends and associates of the chief hero, Rājavāhana, recount their adventure in the course of which each carves out his own career and secures a princely spouse. It has been described as a romance of roguery. Its treatment is almost satirical and it throws welcome light on the social customs and superstitions of the times. Daṇḍin's diction is at once sweet and pellucid, avoiding the heavy puns of Bāṇa. His sense of proportion and art of story-telling are highly impressive even to the modern reader. In short, Daṇḍin is master of vigorous and elegant Sanskrit prose. Daṇḍin was honoured in the Pallava court of Narasimhavarman (c. 630–68 A.D.) and his fame has spread all over Karnataka as indicated by a *subhāshita* of Vijayā (c.650), a poetess and queen of Chandrāditya, the eldest son of the mighty Chālukyan emperor Pulakēśin II:

“It is because Daṇḍin had no occasion to see me, of shining dark complexion, that he made the mistake of describing Sarasvatī as all white.”

(The allusion is to the benedictory verse of the *Kāvyaadarśa*). The introductory verse of the *Daśakumāracharita* is copied in a Pallava inscription of the 8th century at Amarāvati.¹³

The Jaina writer Vādībhasimha *alias* Oḍeyadīva (c.900) is well known as the author of two prose works after the manner of Bāṇa, viz. the *Gadyachintāmaṇi* and the *Kshātrachūdāmaṇi*. They deal with the lives of Jaina royal saints and breathe a moral fervour. Their style too is forceful and racy.

One of the Vidyāchakravartin in the Hoysāḷa court wrote the *Gadyakarṇāmṛita*. This prose work describes the war between king Narasimha II and the combined army of the Pāṇḍyas, Magadhas and Pallava.

Chālukya Sōmēśvara III (1127–38 A.D.), son of Vikramāditya VI, has written *Vikramāṅkābhīyudaya*, after the manner of the *Harshacharita* giving a full and detailed historical account of the land and of the Chālukya dynasty.

Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa adorned the court of Vēmanbhūpāla the Redḍi chief of Koṇḍavīḍu. He wrote the *Vēmanbhūpālacharita* after the manner of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*. This is a historical prose romance in four chapters describing the family of this king and their achievements and amusements. The style of the work shows his success in imitating Bāṇa.

Champū

It might be said without exaggeration that the literary *genre* of *champū* came into being and blossomed forth only in the South. Daṇḍin is the first to notice it and the early *champū* full-fledged are all from the South. Trivikrama, the author of the first datable *champū-kāvya*, viz. *Naṭachampū* is also the author of the Bēgumra plates of Indra III dated 915 A.D. Trivikrama's composition in prose and verse,

both highly polished and embellished, runs to seven long chapters. He has made ingenious and romantic innovations of his own in re-telling the Naja story. There are conventional descriptions of nature and the story ends with Damayanti's rejection of the love-suit of the gods.

Another ornate *champū* by the same author is *Madālasā-champū*.

The next great *champū* work is *Yaśastilaka* by Sōmadēva who was patronised by the son of the Chālukya chief Arikēsari II (c.960 A.D.) The story is that of king Yaśōdhara and his countless rebirths because of his sin of violence and also the infidelity of his queen which led to the sin by the superstition of his mother. But the story is the least important part in the book. It is like a literary and cultural encyclopaedia of the knowledge of the times. It throws a flood of light on the social, religious and cultural conditions in unique way and is a very voluminous work studded with pithy sayings and brilliant descriptions. Another Jaina *champū* work is *Jivandhara-champū* (c.1000 A.D.) which does not come up to the level of *Yaśastilaka*.

In later days, several *champūs* were written on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhārata*, *Bhāgavata* and *Purāṇas*. Their number is more than a hundred and the bulk of them are from the South, Andhra, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Kerala equally contributing to their number, showing that after the 13th century it was the most popular literary genre in the South, competing with the art-epic for a major place. As representative and outstanding *champū* works of later times we might mention here only three names—Anantabhaṭṭa's *Bhārata-champū* (c. 12th century), Nīlakaṇṭha-dīkṣita's *Nīlakaṇṭhavijaya* (c. 17th century) and Veṅkaṭādhvarin's *Viśvaguṇādarśa* (17th century). The last mentioned work is full of wit and satire of the religious practices in the South.

Poetry

The *kāvya* style was cultivated in the South from fairly early times as evidenced by inscriptional eulogies like Kubja's Tālagunda inscription (of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman, 5th century A.D.) and Ravikīrti's Aihole inscription (634–35 A.D.). The latter has earned encomiums from scholars not only because of its poetic quality but also for its mention of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi by name. Even much earlier than that, we have the first anthology of Prakrit folk-poetry by the Śātavāhana king Hāla in 700 verses called *Gāhā-sattasaī*. They are mostly love-songs extremely tender and beautiful. The calm and unsophisticated life of the Indian people, especially in the villages, amidst nature, is artfully depicted therein. Sometimes we hear the man's voice, but more often the woman's. The women, old and young, speak to their beloveds and open out their hearts with wit and humour. These lively verses have influenced all later lyric writers including Kālidāsa. A glorious tribute is paid to them by Bāṇa.

Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* is one of the most celebrated *mahākāvya*s in Sanskrit. It marks a new epoch in Sanskrit ornate poetry by giving greater importance to meaning and flawless elegance of diction. It fully adheres to the rôle of the literary

theorists in the matter of set descriptions and the story is rather thin. It is also the first work in which verbal acrostics like *Ēkākshari* (verses formed of words containing a single letter), *gatapratyāgata* (verses reading alike both forwards and backwards) and difficult patterns abound (especially in Canto XI). This is said to have been commented upon by the Gaṅga king Durvīṇa. Bhāravi proved to be a 'poets' poet' in the history of Sanskrit *mahākāvya*s and set the standard once for all for others to follow. As already seen, his date is about 600 A.D.

The Jains also started a new tradition of religious poetry of their own and a number of works were produced. The first of their kind is Jaṭāsīmhanandi's *Varāṅga-charita*. Though a Purāṇa in content, it is a literary poem in style. This Jaina Purāṇa tradition has produced such masterpieces as *Ādipurāṇa* of Jināsēna (9th century), Asaga's *Vardhamānapurāṇa* (10th century), and *Yaśōdharacharita* and *Pārśvanāthacharita* by Vādirāja (c.1020 A.D.). Dhanañjaya's *Dvisandhānakāvya* is a literary exercise wherein the same verses yield two meanings, one of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story and the other of the *Mahābhārata* story. Lately Dr. V. V. Mirashi has shown that its date may be as early as 700 A.D.

King Amōghavarsha I (9th century) is credited with the authorship of *Praśnōttara-ratnamālā*, a choice anthology of memorable epigrams teaching moral lessons.

In the Teḷugu country, we have Agastyapaṇḍita (14th century) celebrated as a poet of several works; but his *Bālābhārata* is published in parts. His disciple Gaṅgādēvi was a great poetess and being a queen of prince Kampaṇa of Vijayanagara she has written a lovely historical poem *Madhurāvijaya*, eulogising the prince's victory over the Muslim invaders of Madurā.

This was preceded by the example of Bilhaṇa, perhaps the greatest writer of a historical epic in India. Bilhaṇa was a court poet of the Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI and his epic in his honour runs to 18 cantos. It holds the attention of the historian and the literary critic alike even today. It also gives a detailed biography of the author himself and his native land, viz. Kashmir. Bilhaṇa's style approaches the perfection of Kālidāsa himself and is replete with classical imagery. The same Bilhaṇa is also responsible for one of the choicest lyrical gems, viz. *Chaura-pāñchāśikā* an anthology of love-lyrics. In sensuous strains it pours forth a lover's recollections of the pleasures in the company of his beloved.

Vēdāntadēśika's *Yūdavābhīyudaya* is an elegant epic commented upon by Appayya-dīkshita himself. His *Hamsasandēśa*, though closely following Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*, has an original religious fervour all its own. Another interesting imitation of the *Mēghadūta* is the *Kōkilasandēśa* by Uddaṇḍa (15th century).

Kṛishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagara is himself credited with the authorship of several poems like *Madālasacharita*. *Rukmiṇīsavijaya* of Vādirāja is very popular (15th century) while Nīlakaṇṭhadīkshita's (17th century) *Gaṅgāvatarāṇa* and *Śivalīlāṇava* contain beauties typical of a genius. *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* and *Sumadhvavijaya* are *mahākāvya*s treating Śaṅkarāchārya and Madhvāchārya as heroes of many a miracle and philosophical debate. They are written respectively by Mādhava, son of Sāyaṇa, and Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita and are very popular with religious adherents.

King Kulaśekhara's *Mukundamālā* is a famous religious lyric belonging to the *stōtra* class. Its verses are cited in the anthology *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* compiled in Bengal in 1200 A.D. The author is said to be a Keralite chief and the hymn overflows with the sentiment of Kṛishṇabhakti. Its devotional fervour and lilt of language have made it very popular. So also is *Kṛishṇakarṇāmrīta* by Līlāsuka or Bilvamaṅgala who belonged to Kerala. It has attracted more than a dozen commentaries and is extremely popular throughout India. Another celebrated author from Kerala who is highly esteemed far and wide is Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. His *Nārāyaṇīyam* (1600 A.D.) is a brilliant summary in 1036 verses of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and is in the form of an address to Vishnu. It has been regarded as one of the best devotional poems in Sanskrit literature. The *Kavikarṇarasāyanam* of Shaḍaksharadēva was written in about 1700 and it is in the great *mahākāvya* tradition.

Under the Nāyaka chiefs of Tañjavūr, Madurā, Vellore, Penukoṇḍa and Giṅḡee (1500–1700), we see a number of eminent Sanskrit poets and philosophers. It looks almost like the golden age of Sanskrit revival. A number of *dīkshitas* like Appayya, Nīlakaṇṭha, Gōvinda, Yajñanārāyaṇa, Veṅkaṭēśa, Samarapuṅgava, Ratnakhēṭṭe, Śrīnivāsa and Rājachūdāmaṇi belong to this period. Their greatness and literary accomplishments are worthy of a volume each. They are historically important also as they adhere to the maxim—

granthāḍau svēṣṭādaivaṃ cha gurūṇapi kavīnapi |
pūrvikān svaṃ cha rājānaṃ dēśaṃ kālāṃ cha kīrtayēt || 14

Drama

There are as many as ten types of drama mentioned by Bhāṛata. Almost all these have some representation in the works of southern playwrights. Mahēndravikramavarman (580–630 A.D.) the Pallava king, wrote the first comic satire in Sanskrit known as *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* and took for himself the title of *Mattavilāsa* as testified by various epigraphs. Another drama, possibly of his authorship is *Bhagavadajjukīya*, sometimes also ascribed to Bōdhāyana. Both these are light plays satirizing the religious fakes of the time such as Śaivas, Kāpālikas, Buddhists as well as courtesans. Both these plays have proved very popular on the Sanskrit stage of Kerala where the professional actors have their own stage versions of these.

Śaktibhadra's *Āścharyachūdāmaṇi* (8th century A.D.) is a very interesting Rāma play where the *rasa* of *adbhuta* is beautifully blended with that of *vīra*. He introduces bold changes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* story and makes the plot quite novel and full of suspense as well as comic confusion. Śaktibhadra expressly says that he is a southerner and his play bears almost all the characteristics of the so-called *Āhāsa* plays. It is also very popular on the Kerala stage.

Two other equally beautiful dramas are from the pen of King Kulaśekhara (c.900 A.D.) of Kerala. They are *Tapatīsaṃharaṇa* and *Subhadraśādhanañjaya* with commentaries by a contemporary courtier. One interesting feature of the plays is the fact that Kulaśekhara alludes to the theory of *dhvani* propounded lately by Ānandavardhana of Kashmir.

In the court of the Kākatīyas, plays like *Pratāparudrakalyāṇa* by Vidyānātha, *Saugandhikā-haraṇa* by Viśvanātha, *Kādambarīkalyāṇa* by Narasimha were produced and enacted. The *Pārvatīpariṇaya* of Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa is a very interesting play. Siṅga-bhūpala II (1386–1412) wrote *Kuvalayāvali*, a love play. Uddaṇḍa of Tamilnadu (15th century) is the author of *Mallikāmāruta* which is modelled after Bhavabhūti's *prakaraṇa*, viz. *Mālatīmādhava*.

Pradhāna Veṅkappayya, minister of Mysore (1763–80 A.D.) has left behind number of dramas like 1. *Kānavilāsabhāṇa*, 2. *Kukshimbhari-prahasana*, 3. *Mahēndravijayaḍima*, 4. *Vīrarāghavavyāyōga*, 5. *Lakṣmīsvayamvara-samavakāra*, 6. *Vibudhādānava*, 7. *Sītakālyāṇavīthi*, 8. *Rukmiṇīmādhavanūmāṅka* and 9. *Ūrvaśīsūrvabhāumathāmyiga*. They are yet to be published.

The Manuscript catalogues show that hundreds of *bhāṇas* and *prahasanas* were written by southerners in the centuries that followed 1500. They are all mostly pedantic and artificial exercises in the imitation of earlier classics.

Sanskrit Encyclopaedias

The only two encyclopaedias attempted in ancient India were both from Karnataka. Sōmēśvara III (1127–38 A.D.) wrote the *Abhilashitārtha-chintāmaṇi* or *Mānasōllāsa* and assumed the significant title *Sarvajña*. It is like a universal encyclopaedia of all the arts and sciences known in his time. It is the first book which does full justice to the Dravidian element in Indian culture in all technical sciences and arts such as sculpture, iconography, music, painting, sports and games besides such subjects as cookery, rattle-drum, cock-fight, snake-charms, augury, horticulture, folk-tunes etc. It consists of one hundred chapters. The first twenty explain universal ethics and royal duties. The second twenty deal with politics and administration. The third twenty are devoted to the arts and enjoyments. The fourth is concerned with skills and other practical interests of secular life. The book is throughout written in the easy *ślōka* metre.

The second of its kind is Keṇadi Basavappanāyaka's (1696–1714 A.D.) *Śivatattvaratnākara*. The work consists of 108 chapters and gives the essence of all sciences of knowledge coming within the purview of the *vēdas* and *āgamas*. There is interesting material here to historians too, as it gives accounts of the biography of Basavēśvara and of Vidyāraṇya. It also deals with every topic covered in *Mānasōllāsa*; but makes the information up-to-date.

Exegesis

Sāyaṇa heads the list of commentators in so far as every major work in the vast library of the *vēdas* was for the first-time given a masterly exposition by him and his proteges. Among the services rendered by the Vijayanagara empire ranks highest this fillip it gave to consolidation of Vedic learning. But for Sāyaṇa, the world would be ignorant of the traditional meaning of the Vedic words of revelation.

Practically in every department of philosophy, poetics and *dharmaśāstra*, not to speak of *kāvya*, the tradition of writing commentaries became very common

among the scholars of the South and we have literally some thousands of these in our Manuscript Libraries. Here we might mention at random only Viśvarūpa's (c.800 A.D.) *Bālakrīdā* on *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* and Vijñānēśvara's commentary on the same known as *Mitākshara*. These became authoritative text books for settling disputes in Hindu law for several centuries.

Preservation of Manuscript

In respect of preservation of some of the most important works in Sanskrit, lost in North India, the South deserves respect. We might cite here the instances only of the most important works like Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and Bhāmaha's *Kāvya-lankāra* which have attracted world-wide attention. Similarly, the most important canonical works of the Jainas, viz. the commentaries called *Dhavaḷa* and *Jayadhavaḷa* on the *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama* has been preserved only in the Jaina *matha* at Mūḍabidre (South Kanara District). All these works have seen light of day only in the present century.

Conclusion

In the above rapid survey, we have practically ignored the bulk of writing from 1500–1800, which is quantitatively very large and in point of scholarship very rich. Yet the conclusion stands out that the contribution of the South has been in all fields and has extended uniformly over the centuries. It has been solid and conspicuous in the departments of religion and philosophy, and signal and unique in *champū* and encyclopaedia works. It has been remarkable and outstanding in the field of Vedic exegesis, *dharmaśāstra*, historical poetry and music. And it has been of no mean order in the matter of other sciences and arts. It has been responsible for its own systems of grammar too. Thus no student of Sanskrit learning can ignore the major contribution made by the South.

Notes and References

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DEVELOPMENT OF CLASSICAL TAMIL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

M. ARUNACHALAM

Introduction

Unlike most modern languages of the world, which are relatively of recent origin, Tamil can claim the oldest classicism, along with Sanskrit in India, and Greek and Latin in Europe; and again, unlike these ancient languages which had ceased to be spoken long ago, the Tamil language yet continues as a modern spoken language also. The modern Tamil language is in no way different from the classical one of two thousand years ago. The grammar, the sound arrangement and syntax are almost the same; except for the inevitable changes necessitated by the passage of twenty centuries, the basic structure of the language has not changed. This is the one unique feature which places the Tamil language in a distinct class by itself, apart from all other languages, ancient and modern.

The sources for a study of the language have naturally the literature as the primary one—literature which includes also grammatical treatises, the early lexicons the later commentaries. Inscriptions of Tamilnadu and inscriptions in other languages also are a secondary source of help. Then come the foreign notices of the Tamil country, its people and places, its language and, lastly, the dialects of Tamil as they are spoken in the various regions and among the various classes of society, particularly the lower classes and the forgotten tribes, where civilization had not percolated and where primitive traits of speech and habit are still partially preserved. A study of the sister languages of Tamil also throws considerable light on the history and growth of the Tamil language.

The Dravidian Group of Languages

Tamil is considered to belong to a distinct group of languages now called Dravidian, which is thought to be different from all the other language groups of the world. Bishop Caldwell wrote his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* in 1856; here he writes in particular about the four developed languages; Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. Even earlier than his writing, many other members of the Dravidian group had been recognised—Coorg and Tulu, Toda, Brahui, Gondi and Kui, Kolami, Malto and many others have since been recognised. The 1961 census gives the following for the population of the more important languages; Telugu 38 millions, Tamil 31, Kannada 17, Malayalam 17, Tulu 9 lakhs, Kurukh 11, Kui 5 and Gondi 15; others are much less; Kudagu 80 thousands, Kolami 50, Malto 20, Parji 20 thousands; Kora and Toda were 900 only. In all, more than 120 millions of people speak the various Dravidian languages. Besides, quite a large number of persons of Tamil origin and speaking the Tamil languages live outside India, in Ceylon, Malasia, South Africa and Fiji.

A classification of the Dravidian group has also been made as the North, the Central and the South Dravidian. The North means the Brahui language in Balu-

chistan, and Kurukh and Malto. The Central means the various small pockets in Central India and adjacent areas which speak the different Dravidian languages other than the major four; it is interesting to note that all these exist only on the geographically higher reaches—plateaus and hills; this has naturally given rise to the theory that when the Aryan proliferation came about, the older Dravidians were pushed out from the fertile plains and they had sought refuge in the hills. The last is the southern area of the peninsula, where the extreme south and east are occupied by Tamil; Malayalam occupies the west; north of it and the western centre are occupied by Kannada, while the eastern centre and the north of Tamil are occupied by Telugu. Naturally each language has one or two others on its border, which is generally bilingual.

Antiquity of Tamil

Of the four main languages, the Tamil language is agreed to be the oldest, the first to be evolved as a fully developed language out of a proto-Dravidian. Writers seek to derive the word Tamil from *Dravida* and *vice versa*; but it has to be conceded that the two are independent words whose origins are not known. The two languages Telugu and Kannada took shape as two distinct languages from the proto-Dravidian sometime in the first millennium after Christ, while Malayalam is considered to have branched off directly from Tamil by the early centuries of the second millenium after Christ. Literature in Tamil is available definitely from the beginning of the Christian era, whereas it is available in the other languages only from a much later period; *Tolkāppiyam* is the earliest book available in the Tamil language and it is claimed to belong to about 500 B.C.

THE LANGUAGE

The vowels and the consonants in the Tamil language are always arranged separately. The vowels are twelve, *a, i, u, e* and *o*, their short and long forms with the two diphthongs *ai* and *au*, (although *Tolkāppiyar* does not consider these two as diphthongs). The short *e* and *o* are peculiar to Tamil and the Dravidian group; Sanskrit does not have them. The consonants in Tamil are eighteen and they are classed into three groups of six each—the hard or stops, soft or nasal and medial. The six nasals correspond to the six hard consonants. The hard consonants are pronounced as surds in the initial position, and in the medial when they are doubled; they are pronounced as sonants when preceded by a nasal. The hard consonants are *ka, cha, ṭa, ta, pa* and *ṛa*. Of these the retroflex *ṭa* is peculiar to the Dravidian group of languages and has since gone into the other languages including Sanskrit; in English it takes the alveolar form. The hard consonant *ṛa* is different from the medial *ra*, and along with its nasal, is peculiar to Tamil and some other Dravidian languages. The nasals are *ṇ, ṅ, ṇ, ṇ* and *ṇ*; the medials are *ya, ra, la, va, ṭa* and *ṭa*. Of these the sound *ṭa* is peculiar to Tamil and a few other Dravidian languages like Malayalam. The sound occurs in the very name of the language Tamil. Tamil does not have the sibilants *śa, sha*, and *sa*.

Again, there are rules in grammar which define the positions in which the various letters can occur in the Tamil words. For example, the letters *k*, *t*, *n*, *p* and *m* in combination with all the twelve vowels can occur initially. But *ch* cannot occur with *a*, *ai* and *au* in the initial position. *ñ* can occur only with *a*, *e* and *o*. *Y* can occur only with *a*. *V* cannot occur with *u*, *ū* and *o*, *ō*. The other consonants cannot occur in the first position in any combination. There are similar rules for the middle and end positions and also for consonant clusters.

Tamil has its own numbers which are generally considered to be indigenous to it.

Words are of four classes—the noun, verb, adjectival and adverbial root, and particle (indeclinable). Nouns take the classifications *tiṇai*, gender, number and person, and verbs gender, number, person, tense and mood. *Tiṇai* is a peculiar Tamil classification where the humans, angels etc. are classified as *uyar tiṇai* and all the others as *ahṛiṇai* (i.e. the humans and the non-humans). Among numbers, Tamil has only the singular and the plural; it has no dual. The words of the Tamil language are generally developed from a root which is always a verb.

Syntax in the Tamil language has continued almost unchanged. The structure here is in the order of the subject, the object and similar matter, and lastly the predicate. This feature is not found outside the Dravidian group. However this has been influencing all the Indian languages beginning from Sanskrit. This element is responsible for the fact that the most ancient classics in Tamil are yet intelligible to the intelligent reader, for, the classic also appears quite modern.

Development

The development of the Tamil language can be noticed in three definite phases a) the period of the *Tolkāppiyam*; b) the period of the Śaṅgam poetry; and c) the Modern period. This may not be the same as the period division we adopt under Literature.

The Sanskrit language had begun to influence Tamil even before the days of Tolkāppiyānar. Tamil also had then contributed to the vocabulary of Sanskrit. As Sanskrit was not a spoken tongue even then, the absorption of Tamil words into Sanskrit is very much less than the absorption of Sanskrit words into Tamil, a spoken tongue, which is only natural.

A number of short cave inscriptions found in the southern districts of Tamilnadu, viz. the Pāṇḍya country, have been considered to belong to the 3-2nd centuries B.C. on palaeographical grounds. This script is a variety of the Brahmi but the language is Tamil. It has the short *e* and *o* peculiar to the South Dravidian and the alveolar nasal *n*; *l* is present. The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are absent. The inscriptions are found to contain Tamil as well as Prakrit.

During the period of *Tolkāppiyam*, we are led to believe that only two tenses were known to literary writing—the past tense and the other which we can call the non-past, which later came to be developed as the two tenses, the present and the future.

The nominal cases were classified into the usual eight on the basis of form, meaning and number. For example, the second case is so called on the basis of it being the second in a series of one to eight. It is also described as the *ai-veṟṟumai* (the *ai*-case), where *ai* is the second case sign, denoting the object; it is also called the accusative because it denotes the object; here the basis is the meaning. So with the other cases.

Coming to case signs, the third case seems to have had only the sign *āl* (or *ān*) in the pre-*Tolkāppiyam* period. These changes by the days of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Nannūl*, and other concepts also enter the third case. Similar changes occur in the concept of the fifth and the sixth cases also. In the modern period, we find a number of postpositions, such as *koṇṭu*, *paṟṟi*, and *uḍaiya* which function as cases.

According to Dr. T. P. Minakshisundaram, *Tolkāppiyam* belongs to a pre-Śaṅgam period. The special features of this period are: 1. The descriptions in the use of the roots *va*, *ta*, *cel* and *kodu*. 2. The description of the restrictive uses of the various particles of comparison. 3. The restriction of the *viyankōl* to the third person. 4. The use with reference to certain proper names and titles.

The rules given by *Tolkāppiyānar* on certain uses such as the four given above are no longer valid in the Śaṅgam period. These uses cannot be later developments either. Therefore *Tolkāppiyam* must be considered to belong to pre-Śaṅgam period.

By the Śaṅgam age we mean a period of about 500 years about the middle of the third century B.C. to the middle of the 3rd century A.D. A general characteristic of the language of the period was the shortness of all words. Rarely do we come across words having more than three syllables; the general rule is only two.

The language is essentially the same as in the earlier age. Vowel clusters are avoided and the glides *v* and *y* become more frequent. Words now come to be used having the initial *cha*, and *hā* and in combination with other vowels also, which were banned in *Tolkāppiyam*. The change was taken due to the influence of Sanskrit. Earlier case-signs and others ending in *n* now tend to have the *l* ending: *ān-āl*, *in-il*; *veṇ-veḷ*.

In the interests of greater accuracy of meaning and connotation, what was a simple verb in the earlier ages, now begins to take on many auxiliaries. This is natural to the growth of thought and the development of precision in any language. Such familiar auxiliaries are *kol*, *vidu*, *iru*, *aku*, *oṭṭu*, *mudī*, *koḍu*, *māṭṭu*; *eḷundu-koṇṭān*, *eḷundu viṭṭān*, *eḷundirundān*, *eḷalām* (*eḷalāhum*), *eḷaṭṭum* (*eḷutal-oṭṭum*). Sometimes two auxiliaries are also added as in *eḷundukoṇḍirundān*.

The difference between the alveolar *n* and the dental *ṇ* had fully disappeared. In the spoken language, the dental *ṇ* has ceased to exist; it exists only in modern Malayalam. In the written language of course, the dental *ṇ* continues to occur in the positions as prescribed in *Tolkāppiyam* and the later grammar books.

The palatal nasal *ṇ* has already taken the alveolar from *aṇṇai*—*ṇannai*. Occasionally the retroflex lateral *ḷ* changes into its front counterpart *l* (as in *ālṇār-ālṇār*). But of course in many regions *l* does not appear to be pronounced properly at all.

The spoken tongue has many peculiarities. We find many differences in the use of the first person plural. This has two forms, now *nām* and *nāṅgaḷ*. Of the two, *nām* today is used in Tamilnadu to include the person spoken to; it is called an inclusive plural, where it includes in its connotation the second person as well as the first person. The form *nāṅgaḷ* signifies only the first person and is an exclusive plural. (However, in Jaffna, *nāṅgaḷ* is used as an inclusive plural also, to include the person spoken to). Apart from these accepted standards, there is a particular spoken-form where the term *nām* is applied to the second person in an honorific capacity. Its use is also found in *Kaṁṭarāmāyaṇam* (9th century); here it is a special term signifying only the second person singular.

Another feature of the spoken language of the modern period is the use of the reflexive pronoun. This, in singular (*tān*) and plural (*tām* and *tāṅgaḷ*) always refers to the third person. But for some centuries, this has been used in an honorific capacity to apply to the second person (both the singular and the plural applying only to one person).

The passive voice in the form we know today is of quite recent origin and that too only in the spoken tongue. The passive voice postulates an earlier active voice with a transitive verb, with two nouns one being the subject and the other the object. In the passive, the object becomes the subject, the predicate takes the auxiliary verb *paṭu* as a suffix, and what was the subject in the active-voiced sentence now occurs here as a noun with the third case; the case-sign *āl* invariably occurs with the word. Passive voice thus is something unusual and new, but certainly a native development.

Many changes have taken place in the case-signs of this period. The instrumental case had always the only sign *āl* (also in the earlier form *ān*). But now another sign *oḍu* and its equivalent *ōḍu* and *udan* are enumerated as the instrumental case-signs. It can however be clearly seen that the two signs *āl* and *oḍu* have altogether different connotations and deserve to be classed as two distinct cases, what are now called the instrumental and the sociative cases.

The fifth case-sign which was formerly only *in* (*il*) seems now to have lost its value. An auxiliary verb *irundu* was attached to the sign *il* and today it stands as *ilirundu* (what was static now begins to connote motion). In the same manner the sixth case has also undergone a change. It was only *atu* (for a singular noun which follows) and *a* (for a plural noun which follows). Even here the position is unusual; the case-sign changing into singular or plural to correspond to the noun which follows seems to be an unnatural position: hence even in the early stages, the sixth case was thought to have only a predicative value: *ena-kaihaḷ* (my hands) actually is something like *kaihaḷ ena* (the hands are mine). This again undergoes a further change in this period. The case-sign becomes *uḷaiya* which is directly a possessive case.

The suffix *kaḷ* was used in the early periods only for the *ahriṇai* (non-human) nouns to denote the plural; rarely for the *uṇar tiṇai* (human). But now it is used as a suffix for the nouns and the verbs also in the *uṇar tiṇai* to denote the plural.

In the earlier periods, words were not long. However, with the help of auxiliary verbs, number signs and elaborate case-signs and postpositions, words have now a tendency to be long.

Sanskrit constructions have come to stay. These are of two types. The first where the object is used directly as a subject-personal noun and the verb becomes an adjective; the following instance is in *Kuṛaḷ* itself; *aḷum-kēṭan*: one for whom evil has become rarified. In the next ages, it is very familiar, as *vinaikkēṭan* in *Tiruvāchakam*. The second is an involved construction: "which person has the highest attributes that person" (the first verse in *Tiruvāymoḷi*).

Tolkappiyanar ruled that letters peculiar to Sanskrit may be omitted or altered when adopting a word into Tamil. Accordingly, consonant clusters in Sanskrit were resolved in Tamil by the introduction of openthetic vowels *i* and *u*. But later, during the period of the Pallava and the Chōḷa monarchies, Sanskrit words were incorporated into Tamil poetry, with the clusters unchanged: examples are words like *Indra*, *Chandra*, *Vākya* etc. Oṭṭakkūttar (12th century) was the writer who gave great currency to the consonant clusters; but Aruṇagirināthar (14-15 centuries) made the greatest use of such words; this was necessary for these poets, because they were writing poetry in *chandam*, the classical rhythmic pattern of verse; in a still later period (18th century beginning) even Tāyumānavar makes use of them, although he does not write in *chandam*.

During this period, Tamilization of Sanskrit words was going on apace. Later grammatical books no doubt made rules on the subject, since earlier literary works were adopting a uniform system of Tamilization. For example, the letters *r* and *l* and their full series cannot occur in the initial position in the Tamil forms. Hence ways were invented to Tamilize them. A vowel was introduced to accord with the first letter of the Sanskrit words; this was generally *i*, *u* and *a*: examples *irāman*, *urōman*, *araiganāthar* etc.

Vocabulary

Tamil vocabulary has certainly been enriched by the import of a good number of Sanskrit words from the beginning of known history. A few Tamil grammatical treatises written in the 11th and the 17th centuries lay down rules for adapting Sanskrit words and grammar to Tamil. The 14-15th centuries saw the impact of the Muslim culture in Tamilnadu. Naturally many words had been absorbed into the Tamil language from the languages of the Muslims, Arabic and Persian. Words like *ṣoppi*, *salām*, *ṣabāsh*, *ghulām* had been used by even classic writers of the 14-15th centuries. From the 17th century the impact of the West had been introducing many words from the European languages into the spoken and the written language of Tamil. *Paraṅgi* (foreigner), *biraṅgi* (cannon), *pēnā* (pen), *kaṭutāchi* (paper) and many others had been taken over from the Portuguese. *Kāhitai* (paper) and *tuṭṭu* (coin) have been taken from the Dutch. *Pōṭṭal* (bottle), *lāndar* (lantern) and *rōṇḍu* (night patrol) are from the French. Words from the English are innumerable. With the rapid advance of science in modern days, hundreds of terms, technical and

scientific, have entered and continue to enter the literary language. The spoken Tamil contains them even in larger numbers.

LITERATURE

Introduction

Tamil is one of the great classical languages of the world. In the words of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Tamil is perhaps the only example of an ancient classical language which continues as a spoken tongue for more than 2500 years, without undergoing any change in its basic structure". The earliest available book in Tamil is *Tolkāppiyam*. Without entering into any controversy, we may affirm that it was much earlier than the so-called Śaṅgam period of literature. There is every reason to believe that *Tolkāppiyam* belonged to the period around 500 B.C. Being a grammatical treatise, it must have been preceded by quite a large volume of literary composition. The many literary conventions we find in this book indicate a vast extent of earlier varied literature in the language. These indicate that there must have been a rich body of literature in the Tamil language for earlier than 1000 B.C. But all this literature is not extant today. *Kaḷaviyal urai* (8th century A.D.) says that all this perished when the land was deluged by the sea.

The analogy of Yāska's *Nirukta* in the Sanskrit language also points to a very early literature. He composed his book on the meanings of many words in the *vēdas* which did not have any currency in the classical Sanskrit of his day. *Tolkāppiyar* gives the word meanings of certain words and defines some other words in the chapters on *Uri-iyal*, *Iḍal-iyal* and *Marapu-iyal*. His book is a grammatical treatise and not a lexicon. Where was the need for word meanings in a treatise on grammar? *Tolkāppiyar* seems to have felt, like Yāska, that a large number of words in the literature of an ancient past had gone out of use and been forgotten. He tries to recapture their sense and define them for posterity. This also leads us to believe that an earlier literature had been in existence long before the days of *Tolkāppiyar*. Abhinava Das Gupta and some others claim that the *vēdas* could have been composed some 25,000 years ago. On a similar reasoning, we may also state that the early Tamil literature might have been composed 25,000 years ago. Unfortunately, no fragment of it remains today except the definitions in *Tolkāppiyam*.

Many claim that South India had been the cradle of human race and that the peninsular India in the south is today substantially the same as it existed before the beginnings of life. Tamil is considered to be the first language that branched off from a proto-Dravidian language. Excavations at Mohenjodāro and other places point out to the great culture of the Dravidian peoples some 5000 years ago.

The Pre-Śaṅgam Period

Tamil literary convention states emphatically that there was a large stretch of land beyond Cape Camorin a long time ago and that it was swallowed up by the sea in two successive deluges. It is stated that there were two academies in that

land successively patronized by the Pāṇdyas and that a number of books on grammar, literature, music and drama were published there. Many books are mentioned by name, and a few lines from one of them are also cited. The second verse of the Śaṅgam anthology on heroic poetry named *Puṇṇānūṣu* is said to have been composed by a poet of the second academy. But no other poem or book of those academies is available today. Tolkāppiyar himself is said to have been a member of the second academy. This academy was held in the city of Kapāṭapuram, referred to also by Vālmīki in his *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Attention may be invited to a classification of Tamil as *Muttamil-iyal*, *iṣai*, and *nāṭakam*, meaning poetry, music and dance. Agattiya, the president of the first academy, is said to have written books on all the three divisions and there was said to be one Tamil *Bharatam* on dance. But these are only names mentioned in a later day. However one thing is certain, and that is that there was quite a large volume of Tamil literature before the birth of the Christian era; there were a number of poets and patrons, and the language and the literature were indeed far developed in all the three divisions. However, we find no literature on music and dance anywhere in all later literature, Dance seems to have completely disappeared from later writing while music had a fresh lease of life during the *bhakti* period, through the songs of Jñānasambandher. Later, Aruṇagirināthar in the 15th century and the three Tamil musical composers of the 18th century helped to re-introduce music on the map of Tamil literature.

Tolkāppiyam

This is the first Tamil book now available and it is a grammatical treatise. It was written by Tolkāppiyar, a disciple of Agattiya who himself is said to have written a grammar in his own name. The treatise divided into three books of nine chapters each, obviously planned to be so symmetrical was published in the court of a Pāṇdyā, presided over by Atankōṭṭāsan. The first book deals with orthography and phonology, the second with etymology and syntax, and the third with poetic themes, prosody and literary conventions.

Five chapters of the third book deal with *aham* or romantic poetry, one with *puṇam* or heroic poetry, and one each on similes, prosody and literary conventions. The *aham* chapters deal with seven love aspects or *tiṇai* including the five regional aspects. The very elaborate treatment is not a rule of conduct for life, but is merely a poetic convention for poets to follow. *Puṇam* deals with war and peace. The chapter on prosody deals extensively with sentiments and figures of speech, and paves the way for future elaborate treatises on poetics and rhetoric. The thoughts of Tolkāppiyar on language and life would have been obscure for us, but for the very learned and painstaking expositions of later great commentators, born out of reverence and sympathetic understanding.

The classification of all poetic themes as *aham* and *puṇam*, love themes and war themes, is a definite contribution of Tamil culture to thought on the subject. Naturally this arose at a period when population was very small, people lived together in

isolated areas in small tribal clusters, and chivalry, which was only love and war, was held in the highest esteem.

In the days of *Tolkāppiyam* Sanskrit was not a spoken language; hence much of Tamil could not infiltrate into Sanskrit, while Sanskrit could infiltrate into Tamil. The protagonists of the two languages would be well advised to bear this in mind.

The Śaṅgam Age (300 B.C. to 300 A.D.)

Iraiyanār kaḷaviyal mentions in detail all matters connected with the Śaṅgam and laments the fact that much of the literature had been lost. *Adiyārkkunallār* repeats the whole story and makes the same lament. One of the books held by *Nallār* as an authority in his day and later considered lost along with the others has now been recovered and published in 1973 (*Pañchamarapu*). Hence there is no need to doubt the veracity of the statements of the commentators and dismiss all Śaṅgam literature as fondly memorized legends. The *Kaḷabhras* are known to have started a Śaṅgam in *Madurāi* under one *Vajranandi*; it was merely a Jain religious Śaṅgam, intended presumably to obliterate the fragrant memory of the earlier non-religious Tamil literary Śaṅgam there.

Tolkāppiyam in our view belongs to a pre-Śaṅgam period. Literary tradition says that the third Śaṅgam was located in the present city of *Madurāi* under the patronage of the *Pāṇḍya* rulers where 49 men of letters wrote their books and verses. A vast quantity of that writing is now available. From linguistic, traditional and historical grounds there is reason to believe that this Śaṅgam or academy of scholars did really function between the period 300 B.C. to 200 A.D. The poems of the period mention the three dynasties, *Chēra*, *Chōḷa*, and *Pāṇḍya* but not the *Pallava*. This is a definite pointer regarding age. The available songs of the period had been composed only as occasional verses, later collected together into nine anthologies. The number of poets are many more than 49. Of the nine, *Pattuppāṭṭu* is a compilation of ten very long verses. The others are collections of short verses, and these are given a group name as *Eṭṭuttōhai*, the Eight Collections. Here again five are on the subject of *aham* themes, two are on *puram* themes and one is a musical composition. Commentaries of varying importance have been written in the later centuries on all the books except two.

During this period, there is no devotional poetry as such. The lyrical verses in *Śilappadikāram* are some examples of such poetry. There is no religious literature. *Tiru-Muruhaṟṟupadai*, the first of *Pattuppāṭṭu* is now considered a devotional poem by *bhaktas* of *Muruga*; it is indeed a very difficult blank verse, but yet hundreds of the devotees know it by heart. Minor poems, other than the five *aṟṟupadai* poems in *Pattuppāṭṭu*, have not been written; and also no commentaries. These arise in large numbers in the next periods. Excepting the musical verses which constitute the whole of *Paripādul*, we have no other books on music or drama, in this period.

The ten songs (*Pattuppāṭṭu*—the ten Idylls) are in the *āsiriyam* metre and vary in length from 103 to 782 lines. Of the ten, five are on the *aṟṟupadai* theme and the

other five on *aham* themes on *kuṟiñji*, *mullai*, *marutam*, *neidal* and *pālai* and a *puṇam* theme on *kāñji*. *Aṟṟuppaḍai* is the direction given by a poet to another indigent poet to the presence of a patron from whom he has received many rich presents. The first poem among the ten is *Tiru-Muruhāṟṟuppaḍai* by Nakkīrar, addressed to lord Muruga. It may be considered also as an invocatory verse to the group of ten songs. Nakkīrar has also sung *Neḷunal-vāḍai* which is a *neidal* poem depicting the pangs of separation of the lady-love who prays for the speedy return of her lover, Pāṇḍyan Neḍuñjeliyan who is at the battle front. Rudrañkannār has sung here two poems, one *Perumbān-aṟṟuppaḍai* directing a bard to Iṇḍiraiyan the ruler of Kāñchi, and two, *Paṭṭinappālai* in praise of Karikāla Chōḷa for which poem he received much gold as a present. Nattattanār wrote *Sīru-pān-aṟṟuppaḍai* on Nalliyakkōḍan, a petty chief. The *pāṇa* with the smaller *yāl* is directed to the patron. *Mul-laippāṭṭu* by Nappudanār the smallest poem in the group is on the *aham* theme. The lady here lives separated from her lord who is in the battle front. Elders console her, the war is over and her husband returns home. *Maduraik-kāñji* the longest in the group was sung by Māṅguḍi Marudan to instruct the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjeliyan on the transience of life. This is a *puṇam* theme. The poem employs many lines in the *vañji* metre. *Kuṟiñji-pāṭṭu* is by Kapilar intended to teach the Ārya prince Bṛihatta the beauties of Tamil love-poetry. While saying that the heroine gathered flowers, the author reels off an interesting list of one hundred flowers, which is a glowing tribute to his observation of nature and his knowledge of the botanical science. We understand that Bṛihatta mastered Tamil love-poetry so well, that later he was himself able to compose a song on the subject. The last is *Malaipaḍukaḍām* which term is onomatopoeic of the sound on the hills. It is by Perum Kauśīkar on a patron by name Nannan. It is also known as *Kūttar-aṟṟuppaḍai*, since it deals with the life of the Kūttar, or wandering minstrels. A carefree life and enjoyment of the good things thereof, love of nature, generosity and giving, which are the keynote of the life of those days, find real and artistic expression in these songs.

Eṭṭuttōhai

This is a group of eight books each of which is a compilation of many songs on different subjects by different authors. An invocatory verse to each group seems to have been sung by poet Perundēvanār of a later day. Each is said to have been compiled by a particular poet for a particular chief.

Kuruntōhai has 401 short verses, on love themes. *Naraiṇai* has now 399 verses, each between 9 and 12 lines. *Ahanānūru* (also called *Neduntōhai*) has, as its name indicates, 400 verses, each being between 13 and 31 lines. *Ainṟumūru* with 500 verses is divided into five large sections on the five *tiṇais*, each *tiṇai* being divided into ten chapters of ten verses each. Each decade is given a name after animals and common objects such as the elephant, the crab, the buffalo etc. abstract thoughts like yearning, the city of Toṇḍi and the utterances of the characters. There is a touch of folklore in the headings. The decade arrangement has been copied in *Kuṟai* of

the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava hymns. Each verse is very short, between 3 and 6 lines; even of this, the last line is a refrain. Hence the author has very little space for writing his thoughts. All the above four books are in the *āsiriyam* metre.

Kalittōhai also on the love theme is in *kalippā*, on the five *tiṇais*, with a different number of verses in each *tiṇai*. Five different authors are supposed to have sung them. This is the only book in the *kalippā* metre in the Tamil language. Most of the verses have a fine dramatic setting and a quaint musical quality also. The change of moods, the play of emotions and the delineation of character are very well expressed in the *kali* verses.

Puṇanūru and *Padiṟuppaṭṭu* both on *puram* themes are again in the *āsiriyam* metre. The first is a collection of 400 verses which contain many historical references on contemporary chiefs, princes and poets and also some valuable observations on life. It is a mirror of the life and culture of Tamilnadu in the contemporary period. Of all the *Eṭṭuttōhai* collection this is probably the most valuable. *Padiṟuppaṭṭu* contains ten decades sung by ten poets on ten Chēra rulers; its verses are more terse than all the others. The poem has great value on account of its historical references. The first and the tenth decades are not available.

Paripādal is the last collection of musical compositions by different poets, said to contain 70 verses, of which only 22 are available today. Each has its musical mode and the name of the musician who wrote the notation also noted in the colophon. But the tradition of *paripādal* poetry and music has been totally lost. The poems are in praise of Muruga, Viṣṇu, the city of Madurai and the river Vaigai. It is luxurious poetry. Enjoyment of life at its fullest is here; but yet the ideals of human endeavour are held high indeed. One verse says: My Lord, I do not pray for wealth or gold or the pleasures of life; grant me compassion, love and charity.

Tirukkuraḷ

Tirukkuraḷ (*Kuraḷ*) is acclaimed as the greatest Tamil classic. It expresses the most profound thoughts on the most baffling problems of life; yet it has the greatest economy of words and a perfection of style. *Kuraḷ* means short; each verse in the book is written as a couplet, where the first line has four feet and the second only three; *Kuraḷ* is a variant of the *veṇbā*. The *veṇbā* metre has a rigid sequence of arrangement of the syllables. Even under this handicap and the shortness of size, the author has produced a classical masterpiece which has been inimitable in all history. The book is divided into 133 chapters or decades, each containing ten verses. The chapters are arranged in three books, in the manner of all Tamil books, specifying virtue, wealth and pleasure. The three books are known as *Aṟattuppāl*, *Poruttuppāl* and *Kamattuppāl* (*paḷ* is part).

Nothing about the author his name, his place, his class in society, his religion, his age, his profession in life—is certain today. Yet, that he towers far above the tallest of the Tamil writers of any time is certain. That is because, the relevance of his book is not only to Tamilnadu, not only to the Hindu fold, but to the whole

world of humanity, speaking various languages, professing different faiths and living in different climes. Though the charter was drawn up by a man, it applies with equal force to woman also. In a society ridden by caste, he draws up a testament for a casteless society. The whole book is a charter for human conduct having the same force even today, eighteen centuries after it was written; it will continue to have the same force to the end of time.

For an understanding in the right historical perspective, we would place him at the latter half of the 2nd century A.D., after all the Śaṅgam poetry was written and just earlier than *Śilappadikāram* which we would place in the first half of the 3rd century.

Śilappadikāram

Śilappadikāram, the story of the anklet, is hailed as the first epic poem in the Tamil language. It is in the *āsiriyam* metre, the metre in which most of the Śaṅgam poetry was written. The occurrence of the story is placed in the three cities Puhār (Kāverippattinam), Madurai and Vaṇṇi, which were the capitals of the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Chēras. Accordingly it is divided into the three respective cantos. Kaṇṇaki, the daughter of a rich merchant in Puhār is married to Kōvalan, the son of another rich merchant there; the story of these two is *Śilappadikāram*.

The poem contains 30 chapters almost all in *āsiriyam* except the musical pieces which are in *kalippā*. The pieces might have been taken by the author from folk-song prevalent in his day. The story is a real tragedy. But in keeping with Indian tradition, the third canto had been added, deifying Kaṇṇaki. This canto *Vaṇṇikāṇḍam* makes fiction look like history. Kaṇṇaki has now become a historical figure, to suit the political passions of the later half of the 20th century. Māri, Sellī, Draupadi and many other petty *dēvatas* have now been merged with the story of Kaṇṇaki to evolve a new Kaṇṇaki cult.

Ignoring this attempt at a new cult, we may say that the poem is a great poem. The author Iḷaṅgo is said to be a brother of Chēran Śeṅkuṭṭuvan. He showers praises on the three Tamil kings and their kingdoms equally. He is here made to say that Sāttanār the author of *Maṇimēkhalai* was his contemporary, that he learnt the Kaṇṇaki story from him and wrote the epic at his request. This story will lead to many anachronisms and may not be true. *Śilappadikāram* in our opinion was written earlier than the Kaḷabhra interregnum i.e. in the first half of the 3rd century A.D., while *Maṇimēkhalai* was written after the interregnum, by the latter half of the 6th century A.D. It is not correct to say that the two books were contemporary epics.

The Age of the Hymns (300-900 A.D.)

Introduction

The Śaṅgam age is followed by an age of hymn-singing in the Tamil language in both the Śaiva and the Vaishṇava religions, extending over a period of about six centuries, from the fourth to the ninth. Each age is not a clear-cut one but it gradually merges into the next and there is a certain amount of overlapping. Hymn-

singing has been the predominant feature of the period and it has proceeded in the two religions all through the centuries.

Epic Poetry

Two long narrative poems on the epic model have been composed during this period. One is *Maṇimēkhalai* written by the Buddhist Sāttanār, while the other is *Peruṅkatai* written by a Jaina prince. *Maṇimēkhalai* is said to be a sequel to the earlier poem *Śilappadikāram*, and the two are considered to be twin epics. A critical appraisal of the two epics *Maṇimēkhalai* and *Śilappadikāram* will show that this may not be correct after all. The goals of life in the Tamil as well as the Indian tradition are the four—*aram*, *poruḷ*, *inbam* and *vīdu* (virtue, wealth, love and release). *Śilappadikāram* is said to deal with the first three, while *Maṇimēkhalai* is said to deal with the last. This is a fond idea of the Tamils but not correct. The former deals with *vīdu* also; its author was wrongly considered to be a Jaina. On the other hand, *Maṇimēkhalai* deals with the Buddhist philosophy and so the two cannot be taken together. *Śilappadikāram* has an extremely tolerant attitude towards all the religions Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Kaumāra and Jaina but *Maṇimēkhalai* is wholly intolerant of other religions; there is downright condemnation of Jainism here. We find this epic has been conceived and finished by the author only for expounding the Buddhist philosophy and way of life. In this the author has no doubt achieved considerable success. But as an epic it is far below any standards. It has 30 chapters like the *Śilappadikāram*, all in the *āsiriyam* metre, without any relieving change. The story is about *Maṇimēkhalai* the daughter of Kōvalan through Mādhavi. Mādhavi who is grieved at the tragic death of her lover, decides that her daughter *Maṇimēkhalai* should not lead the life of a courtesan as she had herself done. Stories of rebirth, love, jealousy, vengeance and intrigues play their part in the epic. Finally *Maṇimēkhalai* the heroine examines all the systems of philosophy and ends up by herself becoming a Buddhist.

Though this poem fails as an epic, it has occasional good poetry. Even apart from this, it upholds virtue at all levels. The glory of chastity, justice as the king's most important virtue, feeding of the hungry, the upholding of righteousness and non-attachment are some of the eternal virtues which are nobly championed in this classical poem. *Maṇimēkhalai* is an original Tamil story. It is the only book on Buddhism in the language.

Not so with *Peruṅkatai*. The author, Koṅgu Vēḷir, adapted this story from the original in the *Paiśāchi* language (not extant now). The story is that of the prince Udayana celebrated in Sanskrit lore and literature. He courts and marries several princesses in turn and ultimately after a full life, renounces the world. This poem portrays the luxury, affluence and richness of life at the royal and high levels. Although there is some story interest here, there is no unity of plot or construction. His book has been a brilliant portrayal of life in the Tamil country in the period and also of enumerative detail. The author who lived in a corner of the Tamil country probably toured the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa territories. The richness of life,

the abundance of the necessities for life, the glamour of the city, the beauty and culture of the men and women, their arts like music, dancing and painting, and their games and recreation, the rivers and the river culture—all these which he saw made such a deep impression on his mind that he has recorded them in minute details. On this account it is a valuable poem.

Ethical Poetry

Eighteen books beginning with *Kuraḷ* all in *vaṇḃā* metre, have been grouped together as the *Kīḷak-kaṇakku*, a name used only in the later centuries. The *Kuraḷ* metre is itself a variant of the *veṇḃā*. The author of *Kuraḷ* had mastered the metre so well and had utilized it so effectively to express eternal truths on life that later writers did not dare to go near it. Of the 17 other books, ten besides *Kuraḷ* deal with ethics. *Nālaḍi* is deservedly the most famous among these. It is said to be a collection of 400 separate verses sung by different Jain monks. They deal with the subjects of virtue, wealth and love. In *Paḷamoḷi Nānūḷu* a book of 400 verses, the last line of each verse has a short crisp and telling proverb which is current even today. The other lines tell an anecdote to illustrate the proverb. It contains some amount of good poetry also.

The next are a group of four books of about 100 verses each *Tirikaḍukam*, *Nānmaṇikkaḍigai*, *Sirupaṇḥamūlam* and *Elādi* wherein each verse makes a definite number of observations on life and conduct. Of these the first two seem to have good poetic expression while the other two are mere enumerations. *Innā Nāḷpatu* in 40 verses mentions some bitter truths, while *Iniya Nāḷpatu* mentions sweet truths. *Mudumoliḷ-kāṇchi*, the only book not in the *veṇḃā* metre, contains 10 verses, each verse having 10 observations on life. *Āchārak-kōvai* strikes a different note. It lays down a semi-spiritual course calculated to inculcate good manners and good conduct in life. The author seems to have gathered his thoughts from life in general and may be from the Upanishads and the Āgamas, but not from the Smṛitis as considered by some critics.

We may venture a guess about these poems. Four of these are by Jains while the other six are by Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. Literature during the earlier period centered round Madurai but that kingdom had been under the yoke of an alien clan who had virtually suppressed the rule of law. This was probably the reason for so many books to be written with a view to emphasize the basic ethical thoughts.

The Śaiva Hymns

The evolution of the Śaiva hymns and the Vaiṣṇava hymns through almost all the centuries of this period will justify the name given to this period as the Age of the Hymns. Even during the Kaḷabhra interregnum at Madurai, these two religions produced hymn singers in their respective religions, but they were all outside Pāṇḍināḍ. In the Śaiva religion, Tirumūlar and Karaikkālamāyār were born in the Chōḷanāḍ. Tirumūlar, author of *Tirumantram* the 10th book of the Śaiva canon was a mystic, a *yōgi*, poet and *siddha*. In all his 3000 tellings and sometimes

obscure verses, he develops the four paths of Śaivism—the servant, the son, the comrade and the disciple (*dāsa*, *satputra*, *saha* and *sanmārgi*), the *yōgas* and the Śākta cult, and expounds many personal spiritual experiences. He was the first to use the term *Śaiva-siddhānta* and he preached the gospel, “Love is God”. Kāraikkālam-maiyār, the mother from Kāraikkāl who has sung three poems with 143 verses, included in the 11th Book, probably lived at the same time. In two decads she praises the dance of Śiva. She had invented the new forms *antādi*, where the end of the first verse is used to begin the next verse, and the *Iraṭṭai maṇi mālai*, a poem of 20 verses, *veṇbā* and *kalitturai* alternating. She preaches the highest philosophy that everything is god and that everything is governed by god.

The main canon-singers or *āchāryas* in Śaivism are the next four. Jñānasambandha, the child saint, was given the milk of Supreme Wisdom in his infancy and thereafter he toured the whole of Tamil country singing His praise in temples, in sweet musical verses, accompanied on the instrument *yāl* by Nīlakaṇṭha. He has sung over 4200 verses which show his brilliance in music and scholarship.

Saint Appar was his senior contemporary. Sambandha the Brahmin called this *vēlāya* saint Appar (father) and he came to be called Appar ever since. He has sung more than 3000 verses in the Śaiva canon. Early in life he went over to Jainism but returned to Śaivism, when his sister interceded with lord Śiva. He came to be called Tiru-nāvukkarasu, the Prince of Song. Mahēndra Pallava, the Jaina emperor of the early 7th century who was his persecutor was himself converted by Appar. His song reaches to the masses, being simple, sweet and full of fervour and surrender, coming straight from the heart. He is the propagator of the gospel, ‘subjects to none are we’ and ‘my duty is to serve.’

Saint Sundara who probably lived a generation after Appar was considered the comrade of god, and also the Insolent Devotee. The legend is that he married two wives with god’s help and that when he broke his promise to the second, he lost his eyesight. His prayers to god were of no avail. The incidents in his life show that god is the Eternal Law and even a friend of god cannot take liberties with that Law. He has sung over 1000 verses of good lyrical poetry.

Saint Māṇikkavāchaka the fourth *āchārya* is the author of the famous *Tiruvāchakam*. He was a minister under Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya II. Śiva Himself comes down on earth in the form of a preceptor to wean away this saint from the worldly life. Māṇikkavāchaka goes through many trials and tribulations, all of which he pours forth in his songs. His songs are soul-stirring poetry; he effaces himself and makes a complete surrender to god. There are of course moments of blissful union and joy, and dark moments of separation and despair. Whatever be the emotion, it is all poetry of beauty and sweetness, artlessly but soulfully expressed. The saint has chosen many popular folk-songs and play motifs for some of his songs. In every one of them, we see the personality of the author in supreme enjoyment, artless abandon or even desperate longing. He does not employ any great poetic imagery for artistic effect. The very intimate personal experience creates its own artistic

effect. *Māṇikkavāchaka* is certainly the culmination of the supreme lyrical writing of the *bhakti* movement in Śaivism.

Chēramān Perumāḷ, a ruling prince of the Chēra country was a friend of Sundara whose three songs are collected into the 11th Book of the Śaiva canon. He has introduced two new forms of Tamil poetics namely *mummaṇik-kōvai* and *ulā*. The first is a poem of thirty verses with three different metres coming one after the other. The *ulā* is a long lyrical poem in the *kalivenḇā* metre where young women in the traditional seven ages look at Śiva going in procession along the street and fall in love with Him. This implies that all the souls are the *nāyakti* who naturally look up to god who is the supreme *nāyaka*. The *ulā* poem has been copied in the later history by many poets and here the aspect of god has been substituted by other chiefs.

The Vaishṇava Hymns

The entire Vaishṇava canon has been composed during this period. The First three Āḷvārs, Pōygai, Bhūtān and Pey all hailed from the Pallava territory, from Kāñchi, Mallai and Mayilai, met one night at Tirukkōvalūr and sang the first three *antādi* poems of 100 *veṇḇās* each on Viṣṇu. They all show a generally tolerant view of other religions also. Tiruppaṇāḷvār from Śrīraṅgam is a Harijan; his song of 10 verses in praise of the form of the lord of the place is part of the daily prayer-book of the Vaishṇavas. It is a love poem of surrender with considerable warmth of feeling. Next comes Tirummaḷisai, the āḷvār from Maḷisai, who has sung two poems, *Nānmukhaṇ Tiru-antādi* with 100 *veṇḇās* and *Tiruchchanda viruttam* with 120 *viruttam* in a set pattern of rhythm. The poems are philosophical in nature and embody considerable anti-Śaiva tirade in them.

Next comes Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi, the dust of the feet of the *bhaktas*, with two poems, *Tiruppaḷḷeḷuchchi* and *Tirumālai*. The first is intended to rouse lord Viṣṇu from his sleep in the early morning and obtain His grace. It is a fine lyrical poem which has since been copied by many. *Tirumālai* means the holy garland. It is also a fine poem of intense devotion. Yet it reveals a high degree of violent bigotry and intolerance.

Kulaśēkhara, a Chēra prince of the west coast, has sung 105 verses called *Perumāl Tirumoli*. They express his passionate adoration of Viṣṇu in the form of Rāma; the god, as a child, attracts him most. His lullaby song on Rāma is a famous one and the first of this kind. His songs on *Tiruveṇkaṭam* and *Vittuvakkōḍu* are unsurpassed in emotional fervour and supplication.

Periyāḷvār, from Śrīvilhuputtūr was a preceptor to the Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha of the late 8th century. He always placed himself in the position of the mother of god and so his name, Periya (the elder) Āḷvār. His *Pallāṇḍu* poem is the fore-runner of many similar poems in the language. His pen-pictures of the childhood of Kṛishṇa are most beautiful. The beginnings of the later Pñḷait-Tamil poem are discernible in his songs.

Periyālvār the unmarried man, found Āṇḍaḷ as a baby in his garden and adopted her as his daughter. She is the only woman poet among the Ālvārs. When she grew up she considered herself as a bride of Kṛishṇa and refused to marry any mortal. Her supreme love was made known by the lord himself and her story ends with her union with the Divine Lover. She has sung two poems *Tiruppāvai* and *Nāchchiyār Tirumōḷi*. The first poem has the greatest religious significance among the Vaishṇavas. All her songs are a passionate (longing of the love-sick damsel pining for the love of her lover). To her Kṛishṇa is not only the Supreme Transcendental Being, but also a playmate and comrade. One of the songs in her *Tirumōḷi* narrating her dream wedding with Kṛishṇa is a beautiful lyric which has secured an important place in the wedding functions of the Vaishṇavas.

Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, chief of a small tract in the Kaveri delta has sung more than 1000 verses collected together into the 2nd Book of the Vaishṇava canon. He is said to belong to robber clan and a colourful story narrates how he received the *mantra* from Nārāyaṇa Himself, when he way laid Him. He was undoubtedly an erudite scholar who made new experiments in poetry. He utilized many themes from folklore of such as *sāḷal*, *uṇḷi* etc. in his poems, themes later adopted by Māṇik-kaṇvāchakar also. His songs are all set to wonderful music and songs on the childhood of Kṛishṇa are most endearing.

Nammālvār, considered to be the greatest of the Ālvārs, hails from the extreme south. His songs numbering more than 1100 verses have been collected into the 4th Book and are known as *Tiruvāymōḷi* and are considered also as *Sāmaṇvēda*. The Vaishṇava religion has grown from his date, early 9th century, to the present and Nammālvār's songs have been the seed of all this religion. He has also sung a whole poem of love poetry, the *Tiruviruttam*. Most of his songs are philosophical but yet there are many which have a lyrical equality tinged with emotion pouring forth the yearning of an anguished heart for the grace of god. Through the centuries Vaishṇavism has come to mean Nammālvār.

Madhurakavi an aged Brahmin discovered Nammālvār and has sung a short lyric on him. He has not sung any verses on lord Viṣṇu, but his devotion to Nammālvār has raised him also to the level of an ālvār.

The Vaishṇava hymns have been compiled by Nāthamuni in the 9th century into four books and are called the Divine Four Thousand. These are considered the Tamil *vēda*.

Romantic and Heroic Poetry

There are six books in the *Kīḷk-kaṇakku* fully answering to the classification of *aham* themes or romantic poetry. They are *Aintiṇai* 50 and *Tiṇaimōḷi* 50, each with 10 verses to each of the five *tiṇais*, *Kainṇilai* with 12 verses to each, *Aintiṇai* 70 with 14 verses, *Tiṇaimālai* 150 with 30 verses to each and *Kār* 40 describing the reaction of the love-lorn girl on the advent of the rains. These poems are mere imitative verses of the Śaṅgam poetry. Probably the literary conventions of the earlier period had all died out, but yet some writers had attempted to recapture

the spirit of that poetry, without much success. Of the six, only *Tiṇaiṁṭalai* 150 may be said to have any poetry.

Kaḷavaḷi 40 a heroic poem, is the last of the 18 *Kīḷk-kaṇakkut* to be noticed here, it describes the battle field where Kōchcheṅgaṇan vanquished the Chēra ruler. In all its verses he describes only the battlefield. Though the resulting monotony cannot be avoided, the poem has some merits to recommend it. It deals with a pitched battle, and not with the virtue of giving or similar ethical themes. Thus it is a unique poem. Considerable poetry of a heroic nature can be seen in the epic *Perunkaṭhai*.

Minor Poems

Many types of minor poems have been mentioned under the heads, the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava canons. Here we are concerned with two more new poems. *Pāṇḍik-kōvai* is a poem composed on the love theme in praise of the Pāṇḍya king Nedumāraṇ. Though only about 360 verses of this have been collected from commentaries, this poem is the first to string together the various love themes of the Śaṅgam-age into a connected narrative. The unknown author has here invented a new pattern which has caught the imagination of later writers and we find more than a hundred poems of the *kōvai* type written till this date. Being a narrative in praise of a particular person it cannot but be monotonous. This apart, the *Pāṇḍik-kōvai*, is valuable for the amount of historical information it furnishes on the battles of the Pāṇḍya.

Muttoḷḷāyiram today only about 110 verses of a book of about 900 verses sung in praise of the three ruling monarchs of the day, is a work of extraordinary poetic beauty and charm, couched in arresting words.

Music and Dance

The 8th century witnessed a revival in the production of books on these subjects, but even they have been lost except one *Pañchamarapu* of the end of the 9th century. Had it not been for Jñānasambandha and his tours, singing the *Tēvāram* in all the temples with a pair of cymbals in his hands to the accompaniment of the instrument *yāl*, no ancient music would have reached us.

Grammatical Writing

The 8th century witnessed a great revival of grammatical writing; books on rhetoric, prosody, poetics, music and drama, and on many sections of *poruḷ* were written then for the first time. Besides, schools other than the *Tolkāppiyam* school such as *Avinayam* and *Indrakāḷiyam*, came into existence then. But all of them were short-lived. In the few centuries they all faded, for an unknown reason; only *Iraiyanār Kaḷaviyal* and some small fragments as citations have survived.

The Age of the Chōḷa Emperors (850-1300 A.D.)

The Chōḷa monarchs made temple building so much their hobby and the fulcrum of public activity that the Tamils had come to be known throughout the world

as a race of temple builders. New life was given to both the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava canons; temple worship gave a fresh importance to the Āgamas. There was a large volume of writing on all the aspects of literature and grammar. New patterns in literary composition came to be experimented upon. Epic poetry was written on a large scale. The greatest patronage in all history was now extended to music and dance. The king Gaṇḍarāditta composed a hymn set to music on Naṭarāja, which was later included in the Śaiva canon. Kulōttuṅga I is said to have composed musical pieces which his queen, *Elīśaivallabhi* (one who had mastered the seven notes), sang. There have been eminent queens and women members of the royal family such as Sembiyan-mādēvi and Kundavai who were all patrons of art and letters. However one feature is note-worthy. Apart from the compilation of the Vaiṣṇava canon by Nāthamuni which took place in the unsettled days of Vijayā'aya and Āditya, and the compilation of the Śaiva canon which took place in the glorious days of Rājārāja, no great writing seems to have been produced in the glorious days of the first line of the Chōḷas upto the end of the 11th century. The second line beginning from Kulōttuṅga I from 1070 A.D. saw the writing of the largest volume of literature on all fields.

Epic Poetry

The Chōḷa period is the most productive in the field of epic poetry. We find about a dozen large books of an epic character written during this period. The *āsiriyam* metre of the early epics has been replaced by the *viruttam* metre, which had come to stay. The period opens with the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kambar and almost ends with the *Periyapurāṇam* of Śēkkiḷār.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kambar was modelled on the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki in Sanskrit. Kambar chose it only for the potentialities for epic creation which it offered. Kambar did not merely portray Rāma as others before him had done but elevated him to the level of the high ideal hero he had in mind. He was a supreme artist who desired to mould things according to his ideals; the critic can only assess how far the artist has succeeded in his creation. For aught we know, Kambar might have been a staunch Śaiva; that does not preclude him from making a great classic of the story of Rāma and if need be, even from portraying Rāma as the Supreme Being of all religion. As one critic has remarked, Kambar had made three major currents of influence—the spirit of sheer aesthetic enjoyment of the Śaṅgam period, the spirit of the ennobling ethics in *Kuraḷ*, and the *bhakti* spirit of devout worship fostered by a religion in the shadow of Sanskritism before him—flow into one broad stream.

It is not right to say that he copied or adapted anything from anyone. He had a great legacy not only in art and letters but also in culture and philosophy which he used, a better form to a better purpose. His epic, with all the characters and outline of Vālmīki, is yet different in plot, in construction, in space, in human relationship and in accepted values and ideals. It is a poem for all time.

The next four large narrative poems are all Jaina epics. *Vaḷaiyāpati* is a good

poem of considerable lyrical beauty but is not extant. *Chintāmaṇi* and *Chūlāmaṇi* are two epics depicting the lives of princes. The former deals with the life of prince Jivaka son of Sachchanda, the king who is treacherously killed in a battle by his minister. Jivaka grows up, has many love affairs, wins back his kingdom and finally in the true Jaina fashion, renounces the world. The versification of the author is not very happy. Coming long after the Śaiva and the Vaishṇava canons, it betrays his ignorance of the canons.

Chūlāmaṇi by Tōlamōḷidēvar, follows closely on the model of *Chintāmaṇi*. Yet its language is more flowing and elegant, and its observations on life are deeper and more ethical. *Nīlakēśi* is the next book. The story of *Nīlakēśi* is certainly funny. *Nīlakēśi*, a woman who takes cudgels against Kundalakēśi, a Buddhist woman preacher, who goes on meeting the various leaders in the Buddhist hierarchy, one after another, and finally ends up meeting the Buddha himself. *Yasōdhara-kāvyaṃ* is a short work written with the avowed purpose of proving that women and music are hindrances to man's spiritual progress. The story is a very impossible one dealing only with birth and re-birth. The heroine here murders her husband and her mother-in-law. Themes like this are not met with anywhere in Tamil literature. *Kundalakēśi* was a Buddhist epic work of some poetic merit but is no longer available.

Periyapurāṇam of Śēkkiḷār is included as Book 12 in the Śaiva canon. Though claimed to be an epic, this cannot be called one. Its one keynote is *bhakti*. The author, a minister of the Chōḷa king, wrote it with the avowed goal of weaning him away from his study of the sensuous *Chintāmaṇi*. He unfolds a spiritual democracy transcending time and space, and comprising within its fold men and women, high and low, educated and unlettered, from the princes down to the lowest class. But he shows them all to be equal in the devotion and service to god and the godly men. Most of the saints have to pass through an ordeal where their devotion is put to the severest test, but everyone of them emerges victorious. The language is always easy, elegant, fluent, charged with emotion and leisurely descriptive. There is another *purāṇa* during this period dealing with the sports of lord Śiva performed at Madurai. It is called *Tiruvilaiyādal-purāṇa* written by Nambi; it is different from the more popular book of the same name written in the 18th century.

Two other books in the *veṇbā* metre, may be noted here. *Bhārata-veṇbā* of Perundēvanār was written in the days of the great Nandivarman Pallava III. It is an early attempt at telling the story of the *Mahābhārata* in the Tamil language afresh. The second is that it uses a large amount of prose which is a form of Sanskritized Tamil interspersed with its *veṇbā* verses, in good Tamil. Besides this is probably the first work to use prose and is called a *champi-kāvya*. Such works are rare in the Tamil language.

The other epic type poem to use the *veṇbā* metre is *Nalāṇḍi* of Puhaḷēndi. This short poem of about 450 verses tells the story of prince Nāḷa. The language is simple, eminently readable and also elegant. It is an immensely popular book.

Ethical Poetry

During the present period ethical writing takes a shorter and crisper form of expression. Two such collections of Avvaiyār, known as *Āṭṭisūṭi* and *Konṭai-vendān*, state the eternal truths and the perennial wisdom of the ages in the most critic, language. They are so simple and real, so artistic and homely, that they have all passed into the folklore of the people. *Āṭṭisūṭi* consists of 108 lines arranged in an alphabetical order, each line having only two feet. Here the author lists all rules for an upright and useful life in society. *Konṭai-vendān* consists of 91 single lines of four feet each, having an internal melodious rhyme. It is amazing how Avvai often comprises in a single phrase or line what *Kuraḷ* says in a verse of two lines.

Two other Jaina ethical books of the period are noteworthy. *Aruṅkalach-cheppu* with 180 short verses in the *Kuraḷ-venḇā* metre, lays down elaborate codes of conduct for the Jaina house-holder. *Aṇaṇich-charam*, in 226 *venḇās* is of a more general nature, written in a simple and telling language. Its author evidently realised that Jaina influence among the people was on the wane and so wrote his book on a non-sectarian plane, so that it might have a wider range of appeal.

Romantic Poetry

Romantic poetry had now taken the form of stereotyped narrative poetry called *kōvai*. *Ambikāpati kōvai* has a unique place in the history of literature in that it dispenses with the patron to be celebrated in the poem. It has only the hero and the heroine who are part of the story. To this extent it relieves the reader of some part of the monotony, although the routine form of the *kōvai* is there. The other two poems are those that celebrate the patrons Vāṇan of Taṇjai and the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga III. Both are historical figures. *Kulōttuṅga Chōḷan kōvai* is important for the amount of historical material which it contains. Besides, we learn that the monarch was himself a good scholar who could pick out flaws in poetic compositions read before him, and could correct them. Another important romantic poem of the period, *Kallāḍam* written in a style reminiscent of the Śaṅgam poetry, is so terse that a later day proverb says 'don't pick up a word quarrel with one who has mastered *Kallāḍam*'. Here Śiva, lord of Madurai, takes the place of the usual patron of the poem. All other types of poems like the *Bharaṇi* and *Kalambakam* do also contain many verses and couplets which are romantic poetry.

Heroic Poetry

In an age when a great empire held sway even over vast territories across the seas, we can certainly expect heroic poetry of a high order. We have *Kaliṅgattup-paraṇi* a poem sung on a real expedition of the forces of Kulōttuṅga I against the Kalinga country, the bloody battle and the return of the victorious forces. Against this background the opening section inviting young damsels to open the gates is in a very romantic and amorous setting. The poem no doubt inspired a degree of patriotic fervour among the people. For this single poem of about 600 couplets

(1200 lines) the author Jayarīkoṇḍār has been hailed as an emperor among poets (*kavich-chakravartti*).

There have been a few followers on this model; but books like *Oṭṭakkūttar's Dakkayāgap-parani* celebrate only legendary battles and though their poetic merit has not been negligible, they have not gained any importance.

Nandik-kalambakam which preceded the *Bharani* by two centuries and a half, was the first poem of its kind, incorporating therein in about 100 verses all the themes of love and war, and employing all the types of metre evolved till that day. Nandi was the last great Pallava emperor and this poem by an unknown author celebrates his battles; in this respect it is valuable as a historical work.

Devotional Poetry

The growth and development of devotional poetry during this period is the natural outcome of the songs of the Ālvār and Nāyanmār of the earlier period and the ushering in of peace and prosperity during the Chōla rule. In Śaivism, the whole of the Ninth canon (*Tiru-Isaippā*) was written under the patronage of the Chōla monarch Gaṇḍarāditta and his queen Sembiyanmādēvi. We find here a *Tirup-Pallāṇḍu* on the model of Periyālvār's poem. Sendanār, the author of *Tirup-Pallāṇḍu* and three other poems in the *Tiru-Isaippā* group, was a Harijan, like Tiruppāṇālvār in the Vaiṣṇava tradition. Paṭṭinattar and Nambiyāṇḍār Nambi have written good lyrical poetry in profusion; several later poets assuming the names of Kapilar. Bharanar and Kallāḍar have written good devotional poems and these have all been grouped under the 11th Book. Their poetry is graphically descriptive. *Periyapurāṇam*, written on the epic style, is also an intensely devotional long poem; it was added as the 12th Book.

Minor Poems

We apply the term minor poems or *prabandha*, here to the whole range of shorter poems, which are neither epics nor ethical poetry, but panegyric in nature. Such poems have risen up in great profusion. All the poems spoken of under the heads romantic poetry and heroic poetry are in a sense minor poems. Very late treatises say that they are 96 in number and prescribe rules for their composition but the most important minor poems had been written before the rules were framed. The Chōla age has seen many first books under *prabandhas* such as the *Bharani*, *piḷḷait-Tamiḷ* etc. Oṭṭakkūttar a great poet under three Chōla monarchs wrote a *ulā prabandham* on each of them and also a *piḷḷait-Tamiḷ* on Kuḷōttuṅga II, besides *Dakkayāgap-parani* celebrating Rājārāja II. All his poems are of great historical value. The *piḷḷait-Tamiḷ* poem was probably evolved by the author out of the songs of Periyālvār in the Vaiṣṇava canon. *Śaṅkara-chōlan ulā* contains much historical material; *Tillai-ulā* is also valuable as it throws considerable light on the temple observances. Both are anonymous. A legendary *Bharani* poem, called *Hiraṇyavataip-parani* on the model of *Dakkayāgap-parani* was also written during this period.

Poems praising the deity enshrined in temples, of the nature of the decades or *padikams* in the Śaiva and Vaishṇava canon begin to be composed in this period. *Sirāmalai antādi* has the unique distinction of having been engraved on rock (in the 10th century) while no manuscript of the text is available anywhere. *Antādi* writing had been the fashion then: *Puhalūr antādi*, *Sarasvatī antādi*, *Śaṭakōpar antādi* and *Rāmānuja-nuṟṟantādi* are other important poems. *Rāmānuja-nuṟṟantādi* had gained entry into the Vaishṇava canon also.

Commentary Writing

Writing of elaborate commentaries on literary works and grammatical works is an important feature of Tamil literary history, as it is in Sanskrit. Towards the latter part of the Chōḷa supremacy, the erudite, among the people attempted to introduce the classical literature to the average people by their expository writing. The Jaina writer Ḹampūraṇar wrote his first simple gloss on the whole of *Tolkappiyam*. He was followed by Sēnavaraiyaḷ Daivachchūlayār and Kallāḍar who wrote on the 2nd Book only and Pērāśiriyar who wrote his commentary on the 3rd Book (*Poruḷ*) of *Tolkappiyam*. Nachchinārk-kiniyar the greatest commentator of all time is the only person who wrote, after Ḹampūraṇar, on all the three Books of *Tolkappiyam*. There have been besides many more commentaries of less known grammatical treatises.

Kuraḷ has been the subject of expository writing by many writers Maṇakkudavār, Paṇṇerumāl, Kālūgar and Parimelalagar. Parimelalagar is of course the best.

One of the greatest commentaries of all time is the one on *Śilappadikāram* by Adiyarkku Nallār. He has taken enormous pains to understand and then expound the details of music and dance given by Ḹaṅgō-aḍigaḷ; he reveals to us a glorious vista of an earlier period, probably a thousand years before him when music and dance flourished in all their splendour. Of minor importance are the commentary on *Tiruk-kōvaiyār* by another Pērāśiriyar and the several minor glosses on some of the *Eṭṭut-tūhai* and 18 *Kiḷ-kaṇakku*.

Scientific Writing

Siddhar-ārūdam is a book on toxicology and the serpent lore, while *Jinēndra-mālai* and *Uḷḷamudaiyan* are books on astrology. These are fairly lengthy treatises and have been printed with a gloss. Interpretation of dreams belongs to the science dealing with the future; *Kanā-nīl* deals with this subject. We learn from the remarks of commentators that books had been written on painting, mathematics, jewellery, prevention of stealing, weaponry, omens, geology and foretelling. None of these are available today.

Prosody and Rhetoric

Amitasāgarar wrote two books on prosody *Yāpparuṅgalam* and its *Kārihai*, in the *āśiriyam* and the *kāṭṭaḷaik-kalitturai* metres respectively. Both have commentaries written by disciples of the author. With the passage of time, the 1st Book

has become obsolete; but the other is the most popular book among students of prosody. But *Yāpparuṅḡalam* and its commentary are important in the history of literature for the light they throw on the various trends on grammar and prosody that existed after the date of *Tolkāppiyam*.

Pāṭṭiyal, a new division that branched off from prosody deals with rules for poetic composition, the various types of poems and their form and subject. *Panniru-Pāṭṭiyal* is an anthology of about 360 verses or aphorisms and it is the first work in Tamil today to define the nature of scores of minor poems. Another book *Vāch-chaṇḍi mālai* was written by the author of *Nēmināṭam* in the *veṇḇā* metre on the same subject. In the later periods, many other books have been written on *pāṭṭiyal*.

In Tamil, rhetoric was adopted as the fifth division of grammar. A Tamil Daṇḍi wrote his book *Alaṅkāraṁ* (called in Tamil *Aṇi*) in the 12th century. This is the most popular book on this subject.

The concept of *Pañchalakṣhaṇa* seems to have been in vogue in Tamil literature even a century earlier than Daṇḍi. Buddhāmitra, a Buddha chief wrote *Vīraśōḷiyam* a treatise on the five divisions of Tamil grammar. From that time, this division of grammar namely *Aṇi*, came to be called the *Alaṅkāra-śāstra*. *Vīraśōḷiyam* is an attempt to state Sanskrit rules of grammar as adapted to the Tamil rules. It never did have any currency. One gifted grammarian named Divākara wrote the first lexicographical work in his name of the 9th century, called *Divākaram*. It was just a development of some word meanings indicated in a few chapters of *Tolkāppiyam*. Divākara explains about 10,000 words in 12 sections. This is the first book of this kind in the language and it has given rise to scores of similar books in the later centuries. Piṅgaḷar said to be a son (or, disciple) of Divākara elaborated the original into a bigger volume named *Piṅgaḷam*. These two books are important today for the study of linguistics and semantics.

The Age of Religious Revival (1150–1800 A D.)

Introduction

The glorious Chōḷa period is followed by one of complete political decadence. External powers like the Hoysaḷas had been already causing trouble during the last years of the Chōḷa rule. But the Muslim invasion created complete dread and despair in the land. Into this atmosphere, the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava leaders tried to spread peace and comfort. More than politics, the element of religion came to have a great hold on the people who rallied round temples and religious institutions in their thousands. Philosophic and religious writing proceeded apace and these helped to keep writers engaged throughout the period.

Religious institutions have not been mere centres giving a heaven of refuge for recluses. They have fostered the growth of secular literature also in quantity and in depth. St. Kumāragurupara, Śivaprakāśasvāmi, Paṇikkāsu and many others have enriched the language with their minor poems and didactic writing. Other writers like Śivajñānasvāmi and Svāmināthadēśika have contributed both secular writing and grammatical treatises.

Poems like the later *kuṇavañji*, where the heroine is the *kuṇatti* of the gipsy tribe, were certainly due to the influence of the Nāyak rulers at Madurai, who were an alien clan in the Tamilnadu; the induction of the *kuṇatti* into the otherwise orthodox Tamil poetry was probably due to them. This also points to a social upheaval in the land, which caused writers to re-examine the very foundations of writing. Poetry is now sought to be the subject not merely of the classes, but of the masses also; this will account for a large crop of ballads which came to be written from the beginning of the 16th century.

Though we have included the 18th century within the fourth period, it deserves a separate classification and treatment. The Tamil language has been maintaining its status as a classical tongue for nearly two thousand years. Even amidst the vicissitudes of political adversity, religious persecution, and overwhelming foreign linguistic influences both ancient and modern, it has not been thrown off balance nor has it lost its basic structure. Without losing its individuality, classic-charm or elegance, it has now become a modern language full of vigour and vitality. The 18th century is the ground on which this transition from the classic to the modern has been achieved. With this view a separate note on this century is given in this section.

Epic Poetry

The great books of an epic character during this period are *Villi-Bkārataṁ* and *Kandapurāṇam*. Villiputturār, a gifted poet wrote the *Malāṅkārata* in Tamil in 4330 *viruttam* verses. He has made many characters live in the minds of even the unlettered by a deft touch of his pen. He stops with the 10th canto; in later years one Nallāp-piḷḷai added 10,000 verses more and made it a complete work to correspond with the Sanskrit original in 18 cantos. *Kandapurāṇam* by Kachchiyappa Śivāchārya is a more ambitious work, in 10,000 verses, where Muruga is the hero. The author has modelled his book on Kambar, not only in size and versification, but also in character, incidents and dramatic scenes. He has incorporated into the book a large amount of the *Śaiva-siddhānta* school of philosophy. It is used today for long and continuous religious discourses extending over weeks and months.

Adhivīrārāma, a descendant of the Pāṇḍya family of Madura, settled in Śaṅkarankōyil at Tenkāśi wrote *Naiḍatam* an adaptation of the Sanskrit *Naishadhiyam*. Along with the *Hariśchandrapurāṇa* (a minor epic) it had a good popularity till the first quarter of the present century. *Purūṇava-charitai* is also a good poem done in the Pāṇḍya court, now obscure but worthy of greater attention. *Kāḍambari*, a long epic type poem, an elaboration of the Sanskrit prose work of the same name, is more obscure.

Purāṇa Literature

Purāṇas easily fall into five different categories—the *Mahāpurāṇa*, the epic *purāṇa*, the biographical *purāṇa*, the *sthalapurāṇa* glorifying a particular shrine and the religious *purāṇa*.

It is remarkable that such Sanskrit *Mahāpurāṇas* as *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Līṅgapurāṇa*

and *Vāyu-saṁhita* have been rendered into Tamil as very long poems by the Pāṇḍya brothers, Adhivīrarāma Pāṇḍya and his elder brother Varaguṇarāma Pāṇḍya of Tenkāśi in middle of 16th century. *Machcha-purāṇa* has been rendered into a long poem by a great warrior, Vaḍamalaiyappa in the early years of the 18th century.

Of the epic *purāṇas* besides *Kandapurāṇa* mentioned earlier, two *Bhāgavata purāṇas* have been adapted from Sanskrit to expound the life and exploits of Kṛṣṇa. *Mērumantarapurāṇa* is a Jaina *purāṇa*.

The first *sthalapurāṇa* was by one Nambi detailing the sports of Śiva in the city of Madurai. Another *purāṇa* written on the same subject in the early 18th century called *Tiruvilaiyāl-purāṇa* by Parañjyōti Munivar is the most famous. It is written in an elegant and simple style; it is also good poetry, and even within a space of two centuries it has become a great classic, ranking with the best pieces of earlier literature.

The religious *purāṇas* were intended to expound some aspect of service to god and godly men, the merits accruing there from and the sin of slighting godly men or religious regulations. There are many such Śaiva books, like *Brahmōttara kāṇḍam*.

There seems to have been no limit to the size of a *purāṇa*; a *sthalapurāṇa* is of 200 verses, while some others go upto 6500 and 9000. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇas* are of 9000 and 5000 verses. Generally, these books are on a set pattern and high poetry cannot be expected of most of them. Yet they have served the purpose of giving the religious minded people a metrical composition which they could learn by heart and fondly cherish and remember.

Ethical Poetry

Prince Adhivīrarāma Pāṇḍya wrote his *Veṇṇ-vēṇkai* in a form of gnomic poetry giving crisp observations on life and conduct. A new type of writing which embodies a *Kural* maxim as the last two lines of a *veṇbā* giving an illustrative anecdote in the first two lines came to be written in the 16th century. Similar *Kural* illustrative poems continued to be written in large numbers in the succeeding years.

The impulse to write ethical verse had been one which could not be resisted by monks. Kumāraguruparasvāmi of the Śaiva school and Śivaprakāśasvāmi of the Viraśaiva school have both written ethical poems called *Nīti-neṇṇi-viḷakkam* and *Nannēṇi* respectively. These have been popular and had been the subject of study by pupils in the high school classes. Many *śatakams* were written during this period. The *śatakam* is a poem of 100 verses in the longer *viruttam* metre with a refrain praising some local deity in the second half of the last line and containing in the other lines wise observations on life and conduct. These poems have had immense popularity till the present day. A beginner in literary studies was first introduced to the *śatakam*. The *śatakam* also served as a miniature literary encyclopaedia.

Minor Poems

During this period we have a spate of minor poems as we had never before. There have been many good poets, who could have risen to great heights, but the

political climate was not conducive to the evolution of such greatness. Irattaiyar who has sung two *kalambakam* poems and a *ulā*, Kālamēgham who has sung a *ulā* and a *maḍal*, Śaiva Ellappa Nāvalar who has sung many *purāṇas* and *prabandhas*, Piḷḷaiipperumāḷayyaṅgār who had sung the 8 poems called *Aṣṭa-prabandham*, and the Śaiva St. Kumāragurupara, all belong to the galaxy of eminent poets of this period. These lived at different periods. The greatest of these was Kumāragurupara. He was not only a genius but also a profoundly god-inspired poet who had made a surrender of himself to god. Some of the most melodious, luxuriously descriptive and lyrical poems in the language have been written by him. He will be remembered in history as the one person who took the religion, culture and literature of Tamilnadu right up to the Ganges in the north, built a monastery in Banares and propagated the Śaiva faith there.

All minor poems of the period contain no doubt devotional songs. But the life and writings of St. Aruṇagirinātha are important in the period. There is no household in Tamilnadu which does not know a few of his songs. All his songs are on Muruga and most of them are in *chandam*, a set mechanical rhythmic pattern. He was a master in Sanskrit also, and Tamil and Sanskrit vie with one another in running to him for expression. Nowhere has any poet in the wide range of the last 2000 years succeeded in the harmonious blending of the vocabulary of the two languages. His major work is *Tirup-puhāḷ* in praise of the lord Muruga, of which about 1300 verses are available. His other two important songs are *Kandar-alai-kāram* and *Kandar-anubhūti*. The first is always in the nature of a challenge to Death himself, born out of a divine ecstasy, while the other is a simple and ecstatic expression of his spiritual experience.

Other devotional poetry has been written in bulk during this period. Varatūṅgarāma Pāṇḍya, elder brother of Adhivārāma has sung three *antādi* poems on lord Śiva enshrined in a place in the south called Karuvai. The fact that one of the poems had been termed the *kuṭṭi* (miniature) *Tiruvāchakam*, speaks volumes for its supremely devotional nature. Chidambarasvami of Tiruppōrūr has sung a volume of devotional poems on Muruga at that place which have considerable lyrical quality. Many others like Śivaprakāśasvami have sung equally good devotional poems.

Siddha Poetry

The *siddhas* are a group of mystic poets who have sung some valuable poems in this period. They attach all importance to the worship of the god within the heart. The *siddhas* are not atheists. Śiva-vākkiyar, probably the greatest of the *siddha* poets, is considered an iconoclast. All the *siddhas* believed in the oneness of all creation and preached a philosophy of love and service, and of an inward contemplation. Śiva-vākkiyar is a shining example of this faith. His verses have always the force of a sobriest thrust.

With the religious revival brought about by the affluence resulting from the expansion of the Chōla empire from the days of Rājarāja, all religions in the land

seem to have been activated. The credit goes to Śaivism for bringing about original philosophical writing in the period in the Tamil language. Uyya-vandar I wrote down his spiritual experiences in the form of 45 short lyrical verses called *Tiru-Unniyār*, modelled on a play of girls named *Undi*. The verses are in three, lines, giving out in ecstatic language the joyful experience of the writer. His disciple's disciple, having his own name, wrote a metrical commentary on it in 100 *venbās* known as *Tirukkaḷirup-paḍiyār*. The two are considered to be the first *Śaiva-siddhānta-śāstras*. *Jhānāṃpitam* was another valuable book, in the *āsiriyam* metre reminiscent of Śaṅgam poetry.

By about the same period or a little later, came Meykaṇḍār, the first preceptor in the line of *Śaiva-siddhānta-āchāryas*, and the founder of the modern *Śaiva-siddhānta* school. He codified the philosophic thoughts contained in the Śaiva canon into the 12 famous aphorisms known as *Śivajhāna-bōdham* and added 81 illustrative *venbās*. This small book has been the fountain head of all philosophic thought in *Śaiva-siddhānta* ever since. Aruḷanandi, his disciple, wrote a large metrical commentary on it called *Śivajhāna-siddhiyār* in two parts of about 300 *viruttam* verses each; his disciple's disciple, saint Umāpatiśivam wrote besides other books, two books *Śivaprakāśam* and *Tiru-Aruḷ-payan*, all of which together constitute the source books of this system of philosophy.

Books have been growing on this subject and the thought has been developed through the succeeding centuries through such books as *Tattvaparakāśam* and *Śivaneri-prakāśam*. The unique character of these is that the whole thought was evolved and books written from Tamil sources without adapting any text from Sanskrit. In this aspect, it is a distinct contribution of the Tamil people and their culture. Maraijñānasambandha, Kamalai-Jñānaprakāśa, his disciple Gurmjñānasambandha founder of the Dharmapuram Maṭha, and Śivāgrayōgi founder of the Sūryanārakōyil Maṭha are some of the important Śaiva exegetic writers of the period.

Vaiṣṇava writers all wrote in Sanskrit and a fully Sanskritised unnatural Tamil. This kind of writing was growing to the end of the period. During the days of Vēdāntadēśika, Vaiṣṇavism separated into two distinct camps, the Northern and the Southern, the north taking after him and the south taking after Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya. Maṇavālamāmuni was the most illustrious preceptor of the southern school. Vēdāntadēśika has written 20 short poems in the Tamil language on Viśiṣṭādvaita. Both he and Maṇavālamāmuni are the only two *āchāryas* who have written poems in the Tamil language also.

Śaṅkara's Advaita philosophy was culled from Sanskrit sources and later Bhaṭṭanār's Tamil *Gūṇa* and Tattuvārāya's compositions are the bulwork of *Śaṅkara-vēdānta* (13th and the 15th centuries). Tattuvārāyar was a prolific writer who wrote many works, philosophical and literary, on the Vēdānta philosophy. His complete works include *Pāḍutugal* a book of devotional poems, *Ajñāvataip-parani*, *Mōhāvataip-parani*, and *Śaśivārṇa-bōdham*, three Vēdānta works, and *Peruntirattu*, a large anthology of poems on this philosophy.

The Vīraśaiva school of Basava began to take root here from the 16th,

century. Rēvaṇasiddha, was the first writer to write on Vīraśaivism. His *Śivajñāna-dīpam* is a valuable original book which follows the *Śaiva-siddhānta* line closely and finally ends with a Vīraśaiva finish. There have been some unimportant later books, which have a general Śāṅkara-Advaita leaning.

Commentary Writing

Nāchchinārkkiniyār the greatest commentator of all times lived in the 14th century. He has written on *Pattup-pāṭṭu*, *Kalittōhai* and *Chintāmaṇi*. It is still amazing how this lone Brahmin of Madurai was able to get into the spirit of the Śāṅgama poetry, of the very poignant and tender moods of the love poetry of *Kalittōhai* and of the Jaina epic narration of *Chintāmaṇi*. Today his writing is still a wonder, which not only interprets for us the classics of a period sometimes two millennia earlier, and opens for us magic windows into a range of literature and grammar, culture and life, of an ancient past.

There have been innumerable writers in exegetical writing who invented a new style or language for themselves now called the *maṇipravāḷa* (a combination of gem and coral). This was a style which followed the spoken language of the Vaishṇava Brahmin school, which was a mixture of some Tamil and more Sanskrit. Here not only Sanskrit words but phrases, verbal and nominal inflexions were just transposed from Sanskrit.

Grammatical Writing

This continues to be an important section of literary production in this period also. The branch of the lexicon has grown through the centuries and other metres than the *āsiriyam* have been employed. The important lexicons or *nighaṇṭus* are *Urich-chōl*, *Gayātaram*, *Chūdāmaṇi*, and *Aharādi nighaṇṭu*. *Aharādi* is a term which we now use for a dictionary. It simply means an alphabetical order. Rēvaṇasiddha, a Vīraśaiva poet of the 16th century, first used this term *aharādi* to denote the lexicon and the term had since stuck. *Paṭṭiyal* (prosody and poetics) has grown through many books. The chief development is in the field of rhetoric (*alaṅkāra*). The poet Kuruhaipperumāl-kavirāyar wrote *Māraṇ-alaṅkāram*, which is an advance on the earlier classical writing *Daṇḍi-alaṅkāram*. Here, for all the examples required to illustrate the various figures of speech, the devout Vaishṇava author has composed new verses in praise of Nammālvār. His devotion to this Ālvār makes him write other grammatical treatises like *Māraṇ-ahapporuḷ* and *Māraṇ-pūpāvinam* and provide new verses in praise of Māraṇ (Nammālvār) composed by him for the purpose. This feature has also been adopted by saint Kumāragurupara of the next century who wrote a good manual on poetics, and coined new illustrative verses for the purpose, in praise of lord Natarāja at Chidambaram.

The Eighteenth Century—A Period of Transition

The course of literary history changes completely with the birth of the 18th century. Foreign impact was violently felt in the political, economic, religious

and cultural fields and these have affected literary production. The one important thing which was a real source of benefit was the introduction of printing and its wide spreading. Writers took advantage of this and for the first time prose was attempted on a large scale. Supradīpa-kavirāyar, the blind poet who was the teacher of Beschi the Italian missionary, helped him to write the four-divisioned dictionary; he also helped him with *Tembāvaṇi*, a large ambitious Christian work on the model of the older epics.

Tāṇḍavarāyar wrote his *Kaivalya Navantīam*, which is an excellent work on Advaita philosophy even today. A large *Vīraśaiva purāṇa*, by name *Basavapurāṇa*, on the model of *Periya purāṇam* came to be written now. Śivajñānasvāmi and many similar writers have made substantial contributions in expository writing in the fields of grammar and religion; they have also produced many *purāṇas* and *prabandhas*.

There was then sporadic opposition to the foreign powers the Muslim and the British, voiced in innumerable ballads. They have all grown round Dēsiṅguvarājan, Khānsāhib, Kaṭṭabomman and the Śivagaṅgā Brothers. These ballads are a unique feature of the poetry of this century.

In addition to this unique line of novel writing in this century, there have been three other branches which are important even today. The first is the poetry of Tāyumānavar a minister under the Nāyaks at Tiruchchi who gave up that life to become a spiritual seeker. He has sung his experiences and yearnings in a volume of one thousand verses in various metres. His supreme philosophy has become the household philosophy of not only the classes but more of the masses also. His is a perennial philosophy which will live to the end of time. Ramalinga and Bharati of the modern day drew their inspiration from him.

The second feature is the evolution of popular operas or musical and dramatic minor poems, such as the *Kuṟavaṇji*, the *Paḷḷu* and the *Nonḍi-nāṭakam*. The first deals with the life of the hill tracts, the second deals with the pastoral regions. The third is a dramatic and autobiographical monologue in music about a scoundrel who reforms in the end. All these are new patterns of themes and compositions of the period. *Kuṟālak-kuṟavaṇji*, *Mukkūḍal-paḷḷu*, and *Tiruk-kachchūr nonḍi-nāṭakam* are examples.

The third feature is equally important. For the first time three great poets who were contemporaries and lived in c. 1750 A.D. composed poems which we call *kīrttanam* today. The first *kīrttanam* in the Tamil language was sung at the time of the re-consecration of the Subrahmanya image in the Tiruchchandūr temple in 1654 A.D. Muttuttāṇḍavar wrote many musical pieces on Natarāja at Chidambaram and lived a full life of spiritual dedication and service. His songs are used today for classical Bharatanāṭya performances. The heart-melting power of his songs cannot be met with anywhere else. Marimuttāpillai and Aruṇāchala-kavirāyar were both eminent men of letters, who had written many books in the same period. But they are remembered today only for their musical pieces. Pillai has written more than a score of *padams* or love-theme *kīrttanams* on Natarāja. Kavirāyar has written

the large *Rāmanāṭaka* in *kīrttana* form which has been the delight of the masses to this day. These composers were the forerunners of the famous saint-singer Tyāgarājasvāmi who lived a century later.

Such is the picture of the achievements of the eighteenth century in the history of Tamil literature. It served as a kind of base for the transition of the classical poetry of an earlier era into the literature of the modern era.

MODERN TAMIL LITERATURE

M. VARADARAJAN

TAMIL LITERATURE IS TWENTYFIVE CENTURIES OLD and has been adapting itself to changing conditions always holding up the mirror to nature and society. The ancient bards called Śaṅgam Poets or the poets of the Tamil Academy, wielded great influence over their rulers as well as their countrymen. The literary traditions cherished by them are no longer in vogue, but had laid the foundations of imagination and inspiration for successive generations of writers. It was during the eleventh and twelfth centuries that Tamil began to modify its literature to a certain extent on the model of Sanskrit literature, but even then its independence was not lost. During the last hundred years, it has borrowed freely many of the western forms and themes. The essays, the novels, the dramas and the short stories now so prevalent and so popular testify to this.

The later half of the nineteenth century has a distinct character in the development of Tamil literature. It was the age of enlightenment, an age of fusion of different ideals and ideas, an age of different cultures coming together when, on account of the growing facilities of transport, communication and printing, literature began to diffuse knowledge among a growing public and consequently became more and more clear and pellucid. There were disagreement and discord among different schools of writers mostly on social and political grounds. But literature had a harmonious growth and development and kept a sort of general unity without any break whatsoever.

Poetical Works

Many of the versifiers of that period are now mere names to the modern readers and the names of their works are remembered only by the learned. Those versifiers blindly followed the old traditions without modifying them by their own personal contributions as required by the trends of the age. Many *sthālapurāṇams* (epics based on the legends of the deities of many shrines) were composed; many were the scattered poems and works written in honour of some patrons on some special occasions; there were also some scholarly works of art written in imitation of the early poetical compositions. Most of them have fallen into oblivion. There was a time when verse was used as an aid to memory by the specialists who wanted to spread abstract doctrines and, so everything, not only imaginative and emotional themes, was written in verse. But after the advent of the printing machines and the new technique of publication of books, prose came to serve that purpose and verse came to be used as a vehicle for poetical expressions of passionate lyrical moods and imaginative ecstasies. Readers do not appreciate mechanical writings in verse form and when in need of information and instruction from the learned they are quite content with prose works written by them. It is, therefore, quite natural that versifiers have no appeal to the readers when they are not imaginative and inspiring.

Ramalingaswamigal, Vedanayagam Pillai and Krishna Pillai of the last century were not mere versifiers but inspired poets. Ramalingaswamigal (1823-74 A.D.), an ardent devotee and a venerable saint, preached universalism and compassion through thousands of his soul-stirring and heart-melting songs written in an easy and flowing style. He adopted the metre of many folk songs and easily appealed to the people. His poems are rich and varied though restricted to the two themes of ardent devotion and universal love. In his writings we perceive the turn that poetry had from a terse and pedantic style to a moving and simple one. The collection of all his songs goes by the name of *Arutpa*, meaning 'Poems of Divine Grace'. We find in them not only his craving for divine grace but also his tenderness and sympathy which made him weep for the sorrows and the sufferings of human beings and all creatures.

Meenakshisundaram Pillai (1815-1876) was a prolific writer of the age. He wrote sixteen *purāṇams* and thirty two other literary works. He was a literary school by himself and had a number of disciples who also enriched Tamil literature through their poetical and prose works.

Vedanayagam Pillai (1826-1889) was one of his disciples. His *Peṇmathimālai*, *Nṭinūl* and *Sarvasamaya Kīrttanai* are all original works. The songs in these works are free from obscurity and contain excellent maxims calculated to instil sound principles in the minds of young men and women.

Rakshaṇya Yātrikam by H. A. Krishna Pillai (1827-1900) is a Tamil epic of the period. It is Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* rendered into 3000 Tamil stanzas. His another work *Rakshaṇya Manōharam* consists of devotional songs. There are also some autobiographical details in them.

Murugadasaswami *alias* Dandapaniswami (1840-99) wrote in verse the biographies of a host of Tamil poets and the work goes by the name *Pulavar Purāṇam*. It is a repository of many legends connected with those poets. His other poetic works *Tiruvaraṅga-Tiruvāyiram* and *Tirumaga! Antāti* are not popular.

V. O. Chidambaram Pillai (1872-1931), a great patriot and a valiant fighter for freedom wrote many verses. He rendered memorable service to Tamil by editing *Tolkāppiyam* with Iḷampūranar's commentary and *Tirukkural* with his critical notes.

Vellakkal Subramania Mudaliar (1857-1946) translated *Paradise Lost* into Tamil verse. His other poetical works are *Kōmbi Viruttam*, *Nellai-chilcdai Veṇbā* and *Agaligali Veṇbā*. With his knowledge of English language and literature, he was able to give pleasing forms to his works. His critical presentation of selected poems of Kamba Ramayanam is much appreciated.

While most of the versifiers remained content with the effate diction then current and adhered to the classical style in spite of the unique example set up by the devotional poet Ramalingaswamigal, it was poet Subramania Bharati (1882-1921) who ploughed new furrows and opened up new vistas in Tamil poetry. He was mainly a poet, though his contribution to prose are also of importance. His ardent love of his country and its people made him realise the value of appealing to the readers through the medium of an easy and inspiring style. His was an age of national

struggle and social revolution. His intimate association with the pioneer leaders of the movement for freedom enabled him to understand and feel modern problems themselves. Besides many patriotic songs full of fire and fervour, he has left us many hymns and lyrics and two minor epics. As editor of a patriotic journal, he had written numerous articles on valuable themes. The spirit and style of these essays are still found to be inspiring and appealing. He was the first among the learned scholars to contribute to children's literature. His *Pāppāp-pāṭṭu* is very popular among the school children. *Pudiya Āttichchūdi* consists of maxims written in imitation of those of the ancient poetess Avvaiyār, but are full of original and revolutionary ideas. His small epic *Pāñchāli Sabadam* deals with a single episode in the *Mahābhārata*. Herein he gives vent to many of his passionate feelings and integrates the forces of the present days with the history of the past. His *Kaṇṇan Pāṭṭu* and *Kuyil Pāṭṭu* (song of the Koel) are very popular. His poems as well as his essays are all rich in sense and substance, imagination and instruction, with unsurpassed loveliness and perfect rhythm. To him, the art of poetry was the best means of serving and saving the world. He set an illustrious example and formed a taste for new adventures in poetry, for freedom and daring, untrammelled by the prevailing conventions. Through such writings he laid the foundation for the renaissance of Tamil literature. His influence in the field of poetry was felt to be so keen and so intense that the greatest among the succeeding poets called himself as the servant or student of Bharati (*Bhāratidāsan*) while another called himself *Bālu Bhārati* or the younger Bharati.

The canvas of Tamil poetry of the past three decades is vast and the hues are of appreciable variety. Among the many poets, four poets of great talents and wisdom have to be mentioned here, viz., Kavimani Desiga Vinayagam Pillai, Bharatidasan S. D. S. Yogi, and Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai. Like Bharati, their great predecessor, they have torn asunder the thick veil of pedantry and tried to make direct appeal to the hearts of the people through their simple but powerful style. Proud of their rich and ancient heritage, they created works which had their roots in that past tradition and yet blossomed flowers of new fragrance and colour. They ceased to be stereotyped and imitative. Each of them had been original and had new visions. They experimented new techniques and created immortal works.

Of them, Desiga Vinayagam Pillai (1876-1954), known as *Kavimani* or gem of poets, rendered many English works in Tamil verse form and through his art of translation gave them new life. To the Tamil readers, they are like original creative works. His *Omar Khayyam* and *Āsiya Jōthi* (translation of *Light of Asia* by Edwin Arnold) are widely read and appreciated. In the latter, the teachings of Buddha find artistic expression through his poetry. His free and lucid renderings of Omar Khayyam's poems have undergone subtle changes and breathe the atmosphere of the mystic poetry of the Tamil Siddhars. He was a balanced poet of keen insight and his *kṛttanas* remind us of the great devotional hymns of the Ālvārs and Nāyanamārs. He has written many simple stanzas for the young, some of them being translations of English poems. Children love his wonderful songs on the bicycles,

the wall-clock and the dolls' marriage and remember the great poet with great admiration. His poems are fine examples of artistic finish.

Kanakasubburattinam who always called himself as *Bhāratidāsan* (1891–1964) and who was cheered by the people as *Puraṭchik Kavijñar* or Revolutionary Poet, was a poet of great enthusiasm, fire and fury. He was a man of strong passions revealing his heart without scruple or reticence. He never tolerated the caste-system or the religious superstitions. He always raised his strong voice for equality and freedom for all the people. There were none higher or low in birth or in profession. He was a strong fighter against all restrictions and impediments coming in the way of love. He was very proud of the culture and literature of his ancestors, especially those of the Tamils of the pre-Christian era called Śaṅgam age. It is a wonder that genuine poetry is found even in his works written for propaganda. The poetic fervour in him was so intense. The stanzas in *Aḷagin Chirippu* (The Laughter of Beauty) are gems of great artistic vision. *Kudumba Vilakku* is a portrayal of an ideal family life. *Pāṇḍiyan Parisu* is an epic written in a powerful style. He was the first to start and run a magazine in verse. A long poem *Kuriñji Tiṭṭu* was published by him in 1959. *Tēnaruvi* is a collection of his poems written during the period. He was a fearless fighter against all evils in the society and expressed many controversial views frankly and boldly, sometimes rudely also. His works reveal an alert and agile genies.

Suddhanandha Bharati is a Tamil poet who is well versed in many languages and many fields of knowledge. His contributions are enormous. Many of his songs are set to music and rendered in many musical performances and in the radio programmes. He has also written several dramas, some in verse form. He is also a good critic and a prose writer. His songs on patriotism and religious devotion are appreciable. *Bhārataśakti Mahā Kāvyaṁ* is his masterpiece.

Kottamangalam Subbu was a popular writer composing songs on the lines of folk songs. There was not a single major event in Tamilnadu or in India which had not inspired him to write poetry and contribute it to a popular magazine. He himself read his songs which appealed to great gatherings on festival occasions.

Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai was the poet-laureate of the State Government for several years. Though all his writings cannot be ranked with good poetry, some of his contributions, especially those on Gandhian movements and teachings, are of great value. He is a poet of Gandhian ideals. His tastes are refined. He has also written some critical works in prose. Yet he is known more for his works on Gandhiji and his teachings than for anything else. He is a painter and a philosopher and his poetry is full of matured ideas and practical wisdom.

S. D. S. Yogi called himself *Bāla Bhārati*. He was an inspired and gifted poet and reminded us of Kambar in his style and diction. Like Bharati, he worshipped Śakti and saw her beauty in all things around. He had also translated Omar Khayyam's work into Tamil. His poetic rendering of the Biblical story of Mary Magdalene is unique in its form and treatment alike. His *Agaligai* is also one of the important poetical works.

Nanal and Somu are poets of this age with great visions and elegant forms. Both are ardent admirers of ancient classics as well as of modern creative writings. They have their inspiration from Bharati and Tagore and other modern poets of great stature. The atmosphere they create in their poetry is always ennobling and inspiring. They are also seasoned prose-writers and balanced literary critics.

Suddhanandha Bharati, Thooran, Thuraivan, Vanidasan, Kambadasan, Tamil Oli, Kuyilan, N. S. Chidambaram, Tamil Alagan, Karunanidi Surada, Palaniyappan, Tamil Annal, Saalai Ilanthiraiyan, Mudiysaran, Kannadasan, K. V. Jagannadhan, Thiriloga Seetharam, Reddiyar, Thangavelan and Vela Vendan are all modern poets with appreciable poetic talents and have to their credit a good number of works on social themes and beauty of nature. Ala Valliyappa, Ulaganathan and some others have written juvenile poetry and their works are popular with the school-going children.

There are some who venture to write in blank verse. Tamil poetry which has a partiality for rhymes and alliterations has not accepted blank verse wholeheartedly. Some of the modern poets are experimenting on new forms and themes, while a few are careful in preserving the traditional forms. Some are keen on making their poems vehicles of social protest and socialistic trends, while others write religious songs. On the whole there are many good poetical works which are capable of surviving the times.

With all their talents for creative work, many of the modern poets have to remain obscure. But for the few magazines that occasionally publish their writings, they would not have been known to the reading public. Some of them have been inspired by the spirit of novelty and rebellion against the established social conventions and to a great extent they are hostile to traditions with regard to both form and content in ancient poetry. Yet it is a pity their gifts have not attracted adequate attention, because prose has gained ascendancy and most of the readers are quite content with prose works. Those who write songs for cinemas are popular but their popularity is shortlived and their place in the field of creative art is not assured.

Prose

The early prose writers were pedantic and their prose was almost like verse with rhyme and alliteration too. In early centuries, when everything was written in verse form, commentators were the only prose writers and therefore, in Tamil, prose is called *urai nadai*, i.e., the style of the commentary. It was in the last century, especially in the later half of it, the necessity for prose was clearly felt and prose writing became quite common through magazines, translations, religious works and text-books. From the early thirties of this century, there arose prose works on a broader basis to cater to the needs of a reading public which widened year by year. Literature no longer remained restricted to the aristocrats and the intellectuals. Prose developed fast and suited the needs of all, especially the middle class. Prose style became more and more freed from complicated syntax and from pedantry and eccentricity. Clarity and logical precision have become the characteristics of

good prose and prose has become the vehicle of accurate expression of science, politics, and other subjects.

Arumuga Navalar (1822-76) who came from Ceylon and rendered valuable service to Tamilnadu was the pioneer to give Tamil prose an easy and simple form. He rendered the Śaiva epic *Periyapurāṇam* into prose and wrote many treatises in prose on religious themes. He was the first to write text books in Tamil prose.

Vedanayagam Pillai (1824-89) wrote his novels in easy prose style. C. W. Damodaram Pillai (1832-90) edited *Tolkappiyam*, *Virachōḷiyam* and *Chūdāmaṇi* with critical notes written in good prose. V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri (1871-1903) wrote *Mathivāṇan*, a fiction, in pedantic prose. His *Tamil Mozhi Varalāru* is a pioneer work on the history of the Tamil language as well as a model of affected, old prose style.

Not only poetry but also prose made a rapid progress in the writings of the great poet Subramania Bharati. His essays on various themes are at once inspiring and instructive. His short stories are also examples of his prose style. *Gūṇaratham* is a work of art in prose revealing his high imaginative faculty.

Dr. Swaminatha Iyer wrote many works in lucid and simple prose. The biography of his master Minakshisundaram Pillai and also his autobiography are his outstanding works. To him goes the credit of having unearthed many classics. He edited and published them each with his enlightening preface and valuable index, concordance etc. All his prefaces are models of standard prose. He also enriched Tamil prose by writing many critical essays and interesting anecdotes in his career of long and patient work of searching for and editing ancient literary works.

Swami Vedachalam *alias* Maraimalai Adigal was the advocate of purism in Tamil prose. Though a scholar in Sanskrit literature also, he did not tolerate the mixture of Sanskrit words in Tamil prose. His enthusiasm for Tamil knew no bounds. With his sound knowledge of English language and literature and with his critical faculty, he strove hard to raise the reputation of ancient Tamil classics. In all his writings, he commanded a clear-cut, pleasant and frank style even when he was expressing his hot emotions. His critical works on the saint Māṇikkavāchagar and the Sanskrit Drama *Śākuntalā* are examples of his pure prose-style. His drama *Ambigāpati-Amarāvati* is a fine piece of art which combines in itself all his literary talents.

T. Chelvakesavaraya Mudaliyar's prose works on Kamban and Tiruvalluvar deserve mention. His prose is interspersed with numerous proverbs.

Thiru.Vi.Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar's writings reveal an energetic and ennobling personality. He gave a freshness and charm to Tamil Prose by infusing it with literary flavour and enlivening it with his intense feelings. His autobiography (*Vāzhk-katik-kurippugaḷ*) is unique in many respects. It retraces the history of the country from the beginning of this century and makes many movements and agitations live again in the memory of the readers. He was an editor, a politician and an orator of a high standard. Some of his prose works, especially the collections of speeches delivered at various conferences testify to his balanced outlook of life and his rare

gift of insight combined with sympathy and imagination. His *Peṇṇin Perumai* (on the greatness of woman) and his elaborate commentary on the first few chapters of *Tirukkuraḷ* are his masterpieces.

Rajaji (C. Rajagopalachari) is well-known for his simple and lucid style. His themes are many and varied. He is a teacher by nature and is very original in all his writings. He is entirely clear-sighted and astonishingly logical in his critical essays as well as his speeches. His writings on the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are very popular. He has introduced Socrates and Marcus Aelius to Tamilians through his prose works.

Many of the modern writers began their career as journalists and slowly and steadily established themselves as essayists, novelists and short story writers. Among them, the name of Kalki (R. Krishnamurti) stands unique. His writings are noted for delicacy and variety, clarity and vivacity. His style renounced all artifice and rejected all ornament, content to be precise and persuasive; though sometimes colloquial, it combined polish with veiled satire and abounded in phrases which have acquired currency. It successfully served him as the handmaid of the various causes he pleaded for in his life.

Literary criticism is a branch that is making rapid progress at present. Critics often transcend their limits and indulge in individual and personal criticisms exhibiting their own tastes and preferences of temperament, but they exercise a very great influence on the minds of the readers and thus contribute much to the development of literature. Their writings, therefore, deserve an important place among the prose writers of the age.

Maraimalai Adigal and V. V. S. Iyer were forerunners in this field. The latter attempted a criticism of *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam* and it was a success. T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar, well-known as T. K. C., came to the front and reigned supreme with his fervour for poetry, more for its form than for its contents. He enjoyed poetry and its beauty and invited others to taste among all possible joys those which he himself considered most pleasant. R. P. Sethu Pillai's critical writings on *Śilappadikāram* and *Tirukkuraḷ* are valuable contributions. His prose works are many, mostly on literary themes and all of them are much appreciated for his ornate and poetical style.

Critical works have been written on some of the ancient classics as well as some of the mediaeval literary works. K. V. Jagannadhan, R. S. Desigan, A. M. Paramasivam, T. P. Meenakshisundaram, A. Srinivasa Raghavan, A. S. Ganasambandan, C. Balasubramanian, V. Sp. Manikkam and M. Varadarajan have richly contributed to this field. Marghabandu Sarma, P. Gurusamy, M. P. Sivagnanam, N. Sanjivi and many others have written critical works on the Tamil epic *Śilappadikāram*. Saalai Ilantiraiyan's critical assessment of Bharatidasan's poetry is a valuable work. Saalai Ilantiraiyan Veerasami, Elimutalvan and Vimalanandam are promising writers of critical works.

S. Vaiyapuri Pillai's works are of an appreciable critical standard. He is more

R. P. Sethu Pillai wrote in an ornate style. Like Thiru. Vi. Kalyanasundarar he cultivated in his readers a taste for standards in literature and life. The critical articles of Akilan, Suki, Saalai Ilantiraiyan and P. C. Ganesan are interesting.

There are many writers who have specialised some fields. Somu A. K. Chettiyar and S. M. Lakshmana Chettiyar have written travel literature. The latter's works on this subject are many. He is a keen critic of modern prose and his critical survey of prose writers is his master piece. There are a good number of works on various subjects, history, science, psychology, poultry, gardening, agriculture, tailoring, politics, ec-onomics, cooperation, health, education etc.

Autobiographies are very few. There is no appreciable contribution to this field. It may be due to the innate quality of reticence and modesty on the part of those who could write. The works of Dr. Srinaminatha Iyer and Thiru. Vi.Kalyanasundarar are unique, each excelling in its own artistic presentation.

The novel was inaugurated in Tamil by Vedanayagam Pillai eighty years ago. His *Prathāba Mudaliār Charitram* (1876) and *Suguṇa Sundari* are still popular. He carefully analysed the emotions and portrayed the different characters. His novels reveal his rich experience of life. A. Madhaviah's *Padmāvathi* (1898) and B. R. Rajam Iyer's *Kamalāmbāi* (1896) contain vivid descriptions and brilliant character-sketches. Saravana Pillai's *Mahanāṅgi* and Sarasalochana Chettiar's *Sarasāṅgi* are also worth mentioning. Arni Kuppasami Mudaliar, Vadivoor Duraisami Iyengar and V. M. Mahanayagi flooded the market with novels. Many of them are detectives.

During the first and second decades of the present century, most of the Tamil novels had mainly an entertainment value. The detectives and mediocre novels of the westerners were adapted and sold like hot cakes. Most of them have now been forgotten. Translations of English novels together with the translations of

Bengali novels especially those of Bankim Chandra, Sarat Chandra and Tagore served to elevate the taste of readers for a better stuff. R. Krishnamurti (Kalki) (1899–1954) was a popular journalist and a successful novelist and by his art of telling stories in a very interesting manner he captivated the minds of readers. He serialised many of his novels in two of the weeklies in Tamil, in the post-independence period as well as in the pre-independence days. He was the foremost among the novelists till the year of his death (1954). Some of his historical novels appealed to the readers not only by their entertainment but also by the cultural background of Tamilnadu of the days of Pallava and Chōla kings. Some of his social novels delineate characters who took part in the freedom movement and he has depicted several scenes of the struggle for independence with his own personal experiences. His *Sivagāmiyin Sabadam* is appreciated as an epic in prose, and his *Alai Ōsai* won the national award. Some of his novels were dramatised and also filmed.

Anuthama, Saraswathi Ammal, Vasumathi Ramaswami, Lakshmi and Rajam Krishnan are some of the modern women novelists who have depicted domestic situations and created unforgettable characters. Rajam Krishnan has very successfully utilised in her stories her experience with the life of the workers in the hydro-electrical projects in Nilagiri Hills. Her novels as well as her short stories are realistic and are written in a lucid and simple direct language.

Akilan, Janakiraman, Varadarajan, Ganesan, Subramanian, Mayaxi, Parthasarathi, Narana Doraikkannan, Chidambara Subramanian Ka.Na. Subramaniam, Chandilyan, Rajavelu, Jagachirpiyan, Kovi Manisekaran and 'Arvi' are some of the important modern novelists. Many of them are still active in the field, and are enriching Tamil literature with their creations.

The novels of Akilan, Varadarajan and Parthasarathi grip the imagination of the readers who identify themselves with the characters in those works and laugh and shed tears with them. Their treatment of love has a modern stamp and yet cling to the traditional notions of chastity. Arvi and Janakiraman ably delineate the different aspects of Tamil society. Chandilyan, Jagachirpiyan and Kovi Manisekaran are well known for depicting historical background in their novels. Janakiraman freely uses the colloquial dialect of Tanjavur District in the conversations of his characters.

The output of novels during the last twenty years is greater than any other literary production of the past, and some of them have a high literary value. The conflicts of modern life, the strain and stress of the present age of machines, and the problems of married life in a society ridden with castes and creeds are the important themes dealt with by modern novels. Some of them are pleasantly and enchantingly told.

V. V. S. Iyer, a great patriot and literary critic inaugurated the literary form of short stories in Tamil. *Maṅgayarkkarasiyin Kādal Mudaliya Kathaiḡal* is a collection of short stories by him. Madhaviah, the editor of a literary magazine, contributed to this species of literature by writing many good stories called *Kuchikar Kuṭṭikkathaiḡal*.

Of all the fields of literature, the short story is the most popular literary form and may be said to have the most rapid and admirable growth in Tamil. It is so vast and varied that it is almost impossible to give a short account of it here. The skill with which it is created and the perfection in technique that it achieves in the hands of some of the modern writers are appreciable.

Pudumaippittan was the foremost among the short story writers. He was a talented artist with a keen sense of humour and a desire for satire. He wrote more than a hundred short stories. Ku. Pa. Rajagopalan also gave us some very good stories on many lofty themes woven round some realistic characters. B. S. Ramaiah has been contributing richly to this field of literature. He has handled many situations very powerfully in his usual flowing style. These writers have established short story on firm foundations by their rich contribution. Rajaji's short stories are distinguished by realistic imagination. Most of his characters are simple and poor people with regard for traditional morals. Kalki, the famous novelist, also has some stories to his credit. They deal with modern social problems and are very interesting. The domestic problems in villages dealt with by C. S. Chellappa captivate the readers' minds. Janakiraman gives us real men and women and his stories are noted for his humour and irony. L. S. Ramamritham is well-known for his symbolism and mystic style. Ragunathan, Vindhan and Vallikkannan depict many a problems in modern society with courage and conviction. T. N. Kumarasamy, K. Chandrasekaran, T. J. R., Mayavi, Vindhan, Somu, Arvi and Allagirisami are reputed for their artistic skill. K. V. Jagannadhan and Akilan have short stories on valuable cultural themes. Jayakanthan is a very successful short story writer dealing with many aspects of life in the nook and corner of the society, especially the life of the downtrodden and the neglected, revealing the baser as well as the finer instincts of men.

There are a number of women writers who have enriched this field, and among them may be mentioned Guhapriya, Kumudhini, Komagal, Saraswathi Ammal, Anuthama, and Rajam Krishnan. Their stories are full of delicacy and feminine touch. Motherly affection has been ably pictured by them. R. Chudamani has a characteristic way of dealing with men and women with their problems in modern life.

Translations of novels and short stories from other languages, especially from Bengali, Hindi and Marathi, are widely read in Tamil. The services of Ka. Sri. Sri. Tha. Na. Subramaniam, Tha. Na. Kumarasani and A. K. Jayaraman are much appreciated by the Tamil readers.

Drama

Drama as a fine art, flourished in Tamilnadu and degenerated long before it had its perfection in Europe. There was a time in the early history of Tamilnadu when the theatre had a prosperous growth under the patronage of the Tamil kings. But during the last six or seven centuries, the learned held aloof from the theatre and regarded it as profane and immoral. The actors commanded no respect from the public, the literate and the illiterate. The poets and the eminent scholars restricted

themselves to classical literature while only the mediocre writers supported the tradition of drama. During the later part of the last century, contact with the westerners inspired talented men and induced and enabled them to revive the theatre and raise it to its own prestige and to write plays on western lines.

Four names dominate in this pioneer task of revival of Tamil drama, Sankaradas Swamigal, Sambanda Mudaliar, Sundaram Pillai and Suryanarayana Sastriar. Sankaradas Swamigal was an ascetic and travelled throughout the country, organising dramatic associations, encouraging professional artists and writing many dramas interspersed with songs expressing ardent feelings, noble ideas and high ideals. Sambandha Mudaliar devoted much of his time in an association of amateur actors and strove hard to bring glory to the stage as well as to the actors by developing the art of drama on the western lines. He has written about 85 plays, some of which are very popular on the stage though not so much appreciated in the libraries. *Sabapathy* is his masterpiece, full of humour and life. His *Manōharan* is also one of the best dramas. Under his able guidance and care, the histrionic art has developed to a high order. His dramas are in colloquial Tamil and offer entertainment through his realism and humour.

Sundaram Pillai's *Manōmaniya* has become a classic. He wrote it on the model of Shakespeare's dramas and opened a new type of Tamil literature. It is more suited for reading than for staging. Yet it has been adapted and staged frequently.

Suryanarayana Sastriar, a critic and a poet, realised the decadence of drama and did his best to make it popular among the learned. His works *Rupāvati*, *Kalāvati* and *Mānavijayam* in blank verse are not popular dramas. But his writings in defence of the art of drama are persuasive and are remembered by one and all. He also wrote a grammatical treatise on the art called *Nāṭaka Iyal*.

There are many original plays staged in many theatres and many playwrights to write for them, but the plays are rarely printed and published, and even the published dramas are not widely read and appreciated. The demand for readable dramas is so less and the publishers rarely come forward to print and publish them.

C. N. Annadurai, S. D. Sundaram, Mu. Karunanidhi, Narana Doraikkannan, K. S. Krishnamurti, K. A. P. Visvantahan and B. S. Ramaiya are some of the important writers who have contributed to this field. S. D. Sundaram has written many dramas of rare merit of which *Kaviyin Kanavu* written during the agitated days of freedom struggle deserves special mention. C. N. Annadurai has laid emphasis on social problems with a revolutionary outlook. Aru Ramanathan and Ragunathan have enriched the Tamil drama by writing popular dramas based on historical themes. There is an unfortunate tendency to rhetorical perorations and too much of alliterations in social plays in Tamil, which we hope will slowly disappear in future. In many of the social plays there is an excess of thought over art. Sometimes it goes to the extent of imperilling the art.

There are many one-act-plays contributed to weeklies and monthlies which may be said to be more popular among the readers than the full-length plays of five acts. Radio encourages and broadcasts such one-act-plays. But they are rarely

staged. Generally speaking, the literary standard of the one-act-plays in Tamil is better than that of the five-act-plays.

Dramas in poetry are becoming rarer and rarer. Poet Bharatidasan brought out in 1949 a dramatic poem *Kādalā Kadamiya* (Love or Duty) in 38 scenes. It is the love story of a peasant's son and a princess of the neighbouring country. Induced by his ardent patriotism he decides to kill his sweet-heart and save his country's honour. But at the moment his undaunted courage fails him. When the princess was about to commit suicide, the king runs to her rescue and appreciates the lovers for their patriotic spirit and grants the peasant the freedom he wants for his country.

Conclusion

After independence, there arose a number of young writers who, instead of expressing their joy, have struck a note of dissatisfaction and frustration. The poverty and misery of the workers, the state of dejection of the peasants and the unemployment among the educated have deeply stirred the sensitive minds of these young writers who have given vent to their feelings in many of their poems, novels and short stories. In spite of all their sincerity and inspiration in their writings, it is doubtful if at least one tenth of such contribution will survive the times by their literary merit.

It is worthwhile mentioning here that Tamil literature which was mostly religious from the 5th century A.D., has now rapidly shifted from God to Man. This does not mean that the writers are not believers in God. Literature in their hands has ceased to be limited to the religious sphere and has become a vehicle of the wider field of humanism; religion and philosophy form part of it. Everything that interests man is now considered to be worthy of a subject of poetry or short story or other form of literature. Literature has today come more and more in touch with life and its manifold problems. Prose has come into its own and expression has become direct and nearer to the spoken idiom. Pedantry has lost its attraction. An urge to write on the people and for the people is ruling the minds of many of the modern creative writers

DEVELOPMENT OF OLD KANNADA LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE*

T. V. VENKATACHALA SASTRY

1

SINCE THE LAST QUARTER of the last century varied attempts have often been made to produce the history of Kannada literature on the basis of available evidences. The criteria of classification are the different stages of language, literary *genres*, religions, ruling dynasties, centuries etc. none of which is found to be all inclusive and appropriate. Overlap cannot be avoided. In the present paper is given a brief account of Old Kannada literature based on the chronology of ruling dynasties. Details and critical evaluation are beyond the scope of this paper.

Kannada is one of the important languages of the South. It belongs to the South Dravidian group of languages. From the point of view of antiquity and vastness, it stands next only to Sanskrit and Prakrits, and perhaps Tamil too. As the medium of expression and as the representative of the rich culture of the Kannadigas as embodied in its literature, as things stand, Kannada has flourished ever since the fifth century circa.

The earliest extant record happens to be an inscription found in Halmidi, a village in Hassan District. It is generally attributed to the fifth century A.D. Since then, for a century or two i.e. up to about 750 A.D. we find quite a number of inscriptions in verse and prose as well. Though, in general, the language of these inscriptions could be termed Old Kannada, scholars are of the opinion that the language and the grammatical forms of some of these inscriptions indicate earlier stages of the language which could be designated as Primitive Old Kannada, Early Kannada, Pre-old Kannada etc. These forms are traceable very rarely and, not as a general rule, in the inscriptions and written texts of later periods.

2

It is not possible for us to make out Pre-old Kannada of an independant and absolute stage as such. We have not come across any such inscription or written text. Its nature is a little clearly discernible in the earliest inscriptions of Old Kannada more pronouncedly in prose than in verse. Its glance in the poetical inscriptions and prose-works and poetic compositions of later period is more or less like a remnant fossil. On the basis of evidences available from these sources, scholars have thus summarised the characteristics of Old Kannada language of this period or Pre-old Kannada to be more precise:

*I am thankful to Sjšs. S. R. Venugopala Rao and Pradhan Gurudatt for having rendered my Kannada article into English.

(i) the lengthening of the vowel of the conjugational suffixes of the third person (Ex. P.O.K.: *sandān*, *ṣṛidār*, *paḍedān*, *prasādam geydār*; O.K.: *sandan*, *ṣṛidar*, *paḍedan*, *prasādam geydar*); (ii) the very common change of this vowel into *ō* (Ex: P.O.K. *sandōn*, *appōn*, *kondōn*, *koṭṭōr*; O.K.: *sandan*, *appan*, *kondan*, *koṭṭar*); (iii) the use of *u* for the locative suffix (Ex: P.O.K.: *veṭṭadu*, *dharaniyu*; O.K.: *beṭṭado*, *dharaniyu*); (iv) the lengthening of the vowel in the suffixes of the negative mood, (Ex: P.O.K.: *tappāde*, *kuḍādon*, *nilalāṛāde*; O.K.: *tappade*, *kuḍadan*, *nilalāṛade*); (v) the use of *odu* and sometimes of *adu* for the neuter suffix (Ex: P.O.K.: *ittodu*, *koṭṭodu*, *viṭṭadu*; O.K.: *ittudu*, *koṭṭudu*, *biṭṭudu*); (vi) the use of *n* for *m* (Ex: *avan ādityan*, *imbinin*; O.K.: *avan*, *ādityam*, *imbinim*); (vii) the lengthening of the vowel of the accusative suffix, even when not followed by a vowel (Ex: P.O.K.: *mattarān*, *kōṭeyān*, O.K.: *mattaran*, *kōṭeyan*); (viii) the lengthening of *a*, the genitive and adjectival suffix (Ex: P.O.K.: *dēvanā*, *ṣṛaneyā*, *kiṛiyā*; O.K.: *dēvana*, *ṣṛaneya*, *kiṛiya*); (ix) the use of *ga* or *ka* as the suffix of the 3rd person of the imperative mood (Ex: *koḷga*, *keḷuga*, *puṭṭalka*; O.K.: *koḷge*, *keḷuge*, *puṭṭalke*); (x) the use of *va* for *ba* (Ex: P.O.K.: *enva*, *uṇvōr*; O.K.: *enba*, *uṇbar*); (xi) the use of the vowel *e* for *i* (Ex: P.O.K.: *eṛi*, *enebbarum*, *enetumam*; O.K.: *iṛi*, *enibarum*, *enitumam*); (xii) the use of double consonants for single ones (Ex: P.O.K.: *taleppore*, *eṛettanam*, *pogaḷeppoṭṭana*; O.K.: *talevōre*, *eṛetanam*, *pogaḷepaṭṭana*); (xiii) the use of *va* for *ba* in the initial place (Ex: P.O.K.: *viṭṭidalli*, *veṭṭadu*; O.K.: *biṭṭidalli*, *beṭṭado*).

On the basis of the examination of inscriptions, R. Narasimhachar and others have made out some more of these characteristics which are as follows: (i) the use of dative suffix *ke* in place of *ge* (Ex: P.O.K.: *dēvarke*, *mattarasarke*; O.K.: *dēvarge*, *mattarasarge*); (ii) the particles of emphasis *e*, conjunction *um* etc. disjointed (Ex: P.O.K.: *ṣṛisie*, *Palmaḍium*, O.K.: *ṣṛisiye*, *Palmaḍiyum*).

It would be proper in this connection to quote the following statement:

"It is interesting to note that on most of these points, Primitive old Kannada bears a closer resemblance to Tamil, pointing ultimately to a time when Kannada and Tamil were mere dialects of a single language. It may also be stated here in a general way that the later the date of the P.O.K inscription the rarer is the occurrence of the archaic forms."¹

The similarity between P.O.K and Tamil could be considered a sort of a definite indicator to the earlier stage of Old Kannada. (i) Tm: *alimin*; P.O.K.: *alimin*; O.K.: *aliyim*; (ii) Tm: *kaṭṭin kīl*; P.O.K.: *kaṭṭin keḷage*; O.K.: *kaṭṭina keḷage*; (iii) Tm: *illai*; P.O.K.: *illai*; O.K.: *illa*; (iv) Tm: *alittōn*; P.O.K.: *alittōn*; P.K.: *alidam*; (v) Tm: *piṛavaṛka*; P.O.K.: *puṭṭelka*; O.K.: *puṭṭadirke*; (vi) Tm: *vaigundam*; P.O.K.: *vaikonta*; O.K.: *vaikuṇṭham*.

Some of the P.O.K. forms like *arāsan*, *irakshichonu*, *eḷtu*, etc. available in some of the earlier inscriptions, seem to follow the characteristics of Tamil. The suffix *e* found in the predicative or verbal nouns (Ex: *kol-kole*, the suffix *dale* (Ex: *tavutaudale*), the suffix *di* (Ex: *iḷ-iḷdi*), the suffix *ṣa* (Ex: *āḍu-āṣa*) bear close similarity to the suffixes *ai*, *dalai*, *di* and *ṣa* of the Tamil language respectively. Likewise the suffix *oḷaya* is closer to the *uḷaiya* suffix of Tamil language.²

It seems that the transition from P.O.K to O.K. took place around the 8th century A.D. or a little earlier. We cannot here enumerate all the changes and characteristics the language attained in course of its development. However, it could be clearly discerned that it gave up such of those vocables and divergent forms and grammatical features which looked very antiquated and more or less common to Tamil and Kannada.

The earliest extant work of the O.K. period is *Kavirājamārga*, a rhetorical work. This must have been composed during the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Amōghavarsha Nripatunga between 814 and 877 A.D. either by the emperor himself or by one of his court-poets named Śrīvijaya. None of the prose works or poetic compositions cited in this book is extant today. Perhaps they could have helped us decipher an intermediary or developing stage between the P.O.K and the O.K. for the reason that the inscriptions cannot be completely relied upon. Poetic virtues here are generally of a low ebb and mistakes abound. It is also not possible that the inherent capacities of the language find their expression or manifestation in all their facets.

If the direct evidences found in the *Kavirājamārga* are collected and analysed, we could come to the following conclusions: (i) Kannada had quite a number of dialects (*dēsi*) abound in mistakes; (ii) mistakes have also occurred in the compositions of our ancient poets; (iii) characteristics of poetry should not be ascertained on the basis of poetic compositions; language should be used after acquainting oneself with the characteristics of the relevant *sūtras*; (iv) some of the archaic forms do not befit now; (v) one must be conversant with certain norms governing the usage of Kannada and Sanskrit vocables in compound and non-compound forms.

The language of *Kavirājamārga* is O.K. But the author has preferred to designate the language of the earlier period as O.K. (*paḷagannada*). This means that an earlier stage of Kannada—prior to what is now generally known as the stage of Old Kannada—must have been prevalent during the period prior to him. It could well have been the P.O.K which has been described above.

Kavirājamārga incidentally throws some light on Old Kannada language and grammar. It is here that we find for the first time a discussion on the nature of O.K. language. Later Immaḍi Nāgavarma (1042 A.D.), Kēśirāja (c. 1260 A.D.) and Bhaṭṭākaraṇka (1604 A.D.) have respectively in their works *Kāvyaśālōkana*, *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* and *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana* given us the grammar of this stage of language. Among these, it is in Kēśirāja's work alone that we find an exhaustive and authentic treatment of the subject.

The phonological features of Old Kannada, as could be made out from the above sources, could be enumerated as follows: (i) pure Kannada words with the phonemic differentiation of *l* and *ḷ* and *ṛ* and *r* had their clear and distinct forms and meanings. One was not permitted to be used in place of the other out of inadvertance. This can be ascertained by the regularity of their use in the initial rhy-

ming. Ex: (i) Old Kannada: *bāḷe*-plantain; *bāḷe*-a kind of fish; Medieval Kannada *bāḷe*-plantain, a kind of fish; (ii) O.K.: *aṛi*-to know; *ari*-to cut, M.K.: *ari*-to know, to cut; (iii) Old Kannada words ending with the consonants *y, r, l, ṇ, n, ḷ, ṛ* and *ḷ* do retain their consonantal pronunciation and need no assistance of the vowels in this regard. Ex: O.K.: *kal*; M.K.: *kalu, kallu*; O.K.: *tin*; M.K.: *tinu, tinnu*; O.K.: *muḷ*; M.K.: *muḷu, muḷḷu*; like-wise *kay, usir, kaṇ, basiṛ, bīḷ* and other forms also. But this rule does not apply to O.K. words terminating with *k, ch, ṭ, t, p & v*; (iv) initial *p* retains its pronunciation and is not changed into *h* (Ex: *pāl, peṇ, paṣi, pakki*, these are changed into *hālu, heṇṇu, haṣi, hakki* in M.K. and Modern Kannada); (v) the final *l* retains its pronunciation and is not changed into *ḷ* (Ex: *beral, oral* and *koral* are changed into *beraḷu oraḷu*, and *koraḷu* in M.K. and Modern Kannada); (vi) personal pronouns also retain their consonantal ending and do not assume terminal vowelisation. Further, in addition to the personal pronouns beginning with *a* and *i* (Ex: *avan, ivan; avaḷ, iḷaḷ; avar, ivar*—all these forms are changed into *avanu, ivanu; avaḷu, iḷaḷu; avaru, ivaru* in M.K. and Modern Kannada), it is only in O.K. that we find also those beginning with *u* (Ex: *uvan, uvaḷ, uvar*); again, it is only in O.K. that we find the additional demonstrative pronouns beginning with *u* (Ex: O.K. *udu, uvu, ū*); (vii) many words occur in their original forms and optional forms such as those with and without nasalised pronunciations (Ex: *beḍaṅgu-beḍagu*), with heterogenous and homogenous combination of consonants or clusters (Ex: *sorku-sokku*), with consonant bound or cluster-bound forms and vowel-augmented forms (Ex: *chelvū-cheluvu*); (viii) some clusters do in special circumstances assume slackness or light pronunciation (Ex: O.K. *mugulge*-M.K. *muguḷige*, likewise *elarge*-M.K. *elarige; usirdam*-M.K. *usiridanu*); of late they have attained vowel-augmented forms. (ix) O.K. words take the following case-suffixes-*m, -am, -im, -ke, -at, -a, -ol* and the following personal suffixes *am, ar, ay, ir, en, evu*; (x) P.O.K. verbal roots and nominal bases with the initial vowel *e* (after the consonant), change over to the initial vowel *i* (Ex: *keḍu, kiḍu; kesu, kisu; eṛi, iṛi*). (xi) P.O.K. verbal roots and nominal bases with the initial vowel *o* change over to the initial vowel *u* (Ex: *pogu, pugu; toṛu, tuṛu; koḍu, kuḍu*). (xii) some words and forms of this stage of the language have later become obsolete (Ex: *bisavanda* carrying the meaning astonishment, *bisuge* with the meaning howdah, and *susil* with the meanings early dawn and sexual enjoyment etc.).

Some of the phonemical characteristics have been enumerated above. Special syntactical features cannot be outlined here. I may here just recall T.N. Sreekantaiya's statement in this regard: "There were some other phonological developments from the Old Kannada stage; there were also many changes in inflexional and derivative suffixes, the structure of sentences, the vocabulary, and so on, all of which have the cumulative effect of making an Old Kannada passage sound so very different to the modern ear."³

Scholars have discussed at length the antiquity of Kannada literature. Some of these could be summarised here:

(1) *Linguistic Evidences:* (i) Based on the evidence that the Brahmagiri edict of Aśoka (250 B.C.) has the place-name *Isil* which is the Prakrit form of *Esil*, a Kannada word, D. L. Narasimhachar has presumed that Kannada language existed in the 3rd century B.C. He also opined that words like *Pulumāyi*, *Vilivāyakura*, occurring in the edicts and coins of the Sātavāhana times, are either of Kannada or Telugu origin.⁴

(ii) Govinda Pai held the view that the *attā*, *tuppa*, *teeraḥ* etc. are some *dēśi* words found in *Gāhā Sattasaī*, a Maharashtri Prakrit work compiled by the Sātavāhana king Hāla (c. 20-24 A.D.) are the nominal and verbal bases of the Kannada *atte*, *tuppa*, *teer* etc. He also stated that certain place names viz. Nagarouris, Kalligeris, Modogoulla, Petirgala, Banavausce etc. quoted by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.) in his *Geographike Huphegesis* are the Europeanized names of towns in the Kannada land. He firmly believed that some non-Greek words and sentences found in a Greek comedy (c. 200 A.D.), the *Oxyrhynchus papyri* (pt. III) may be Kannada.⁵

The weaknesses in the evidences from language data are well known. (i) That the term *Isila* occurring in the Brahmagiri edict of Aśoka is derived from the basic Kannada term *esil* is a plausible reconstruction (ii) The meaning and derivation of words like *Pulumāyi*, *Vilivāyakura* in the Sātavāhana epigraphs and coins is still very much doubtful. (iii) Some of the words used in Hāla's work and supposed to be Kannada are not special to the language and are common to the Dravidian language group. (iv) Though some place names cited by Ptolemy may be taken to be Dravidian in a general sense, there is perhaps no difficulty in accepting names resembling Mudugal, Kalligeṛe and the like as derived from Kannada. If so, these would be the earliest examples for the language. (v) The non-Greek words and sentences in *Oxyrhynchus papyri* do not appear to be Kannada.

(2) *Historical Evidences:* *Kannada literature from 200 to 500 A.D.* (i) Muliya Thimmappayya has argued that the theme and the writing of the *Gāhā Sattasaī* was influenced by the richness of the folk literature of those days in the Vindhya provinces, where Kannada was the regional language. He has tried to maintain, that from the time of the Kadambas of Banavāsi, a variety of native songs have been in vogue in the Coastal Districts of South and North Kanara and from the middle of the 8th century, the *mārga* or classical form in Kannada made its appearance in the Vindhyas, then ruled over by the Rāshtrakūtas.⁶

(ii) T. S. Venkanniah holds that the earliest writers in Kannada must be the Buddhists. According to him with the spread of Buddhism in the Kannada country from the beginning the Christian era, works in Kannada must have come into being, mainly because the Buddhists were bent upon propagation of their religion and conversion of the populace into their faith. With the decline of Buddhism others must have taken to write; their works must have also been destroyed.⁷

These arguments have been subjected to criticism: (i) Historians have not agreed to the finding that the capital of the Rāshtrakūtas of pre-Mānyakhēṭa days was situated in the Vindhyas. In case it were situated in the border land

of Karnataka, there is no proof either internal or external to substantiate that the *mārga* literature in Kannada had by then taken its birth. It may only be taken as plausible that by that time, an oral tradition of native literature had existed. (ii) The vague traces of Kannada language in the Maurya-Sātavāhana period create doubts about the existence of literature. For the present, it is only a conjecture, not well sustained, that the Buddhist writers produced literary works even before the Jain votaries. (iii) In a way, it could be possible that the impetus and publicity extended to Prakrit literature set the conditions fit for the growth of Kannada literature which could also be branded a Prakrit literature, in wider sense.

(3) *Inscriptional Evidences: Kannada literature from 500 to 700 A. D.* As known at present, the Halmiḍi epigraph is the oldest written document. It is said to belong to c. 450 A.D. as there is a mention of the rule of Kākutsthavarma, the Kadamba king (422-47 A.D.). The next place goes to the Vaiṣṇava cave inscription of king Maṅgalēśa (578 A.D.) of the Bādāmi Chālukya family. Some inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas, supposed to belong to c. 500-600, are found in several parts of Karnataka. But many of these are said to be forgeries according to historians. Samples of Old Kannada literature as available at present, are found in some of the prose inscriptions of the Bādāmi Chālukyas, and some inscriptional verses at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa (c. 650-700 A.D.). Though the prose records lack literary qualities and refined outlook, the poetic records show that they are bound by a tradition of language from the grammatical point of view; and from literary angle they are imbued with poetic verve and, with a few exceptions, are metrical. Both from linguistic and thematic points, the influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit can be traced in the writings of this period. If the records of this period are viewed as a whole, it could be derived that they were composed when the Primitive Old Kannada gave place to Old Kannada.

M. Govinda Pai's arguments to push back the date of the antiquity of Kannada literature to far behind 500 A.D. based on the chronology of the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas, as given by him have not been wholly accepted. Kannada language and literature as have come down in writing have been effected as a result of the influence of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Among inscriptions in prose we have commemorative and endowment records of Āḷupas, Gaṅgas and Bādāmi Chālukyas; but they are just dry narratives; though lacking in refinement and devoid of literary qualities, yet the raciness or native quality of the language can be traced in them.

Literary qualities are found in the *ṇivādi* edicts of a later period at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa. Beginnings of classical literature can be traced in these. These qualities can be seen more emphatically in the *kīṣṭrakūṭa* records. The poetic records of Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa reveal dramatization, descriptive beauty, allegory and scenic structures. There are strange turns of speech and new modes of expressions. But there are also weaknesses; some of them are scribal errors, while some may be due to the poet's own incapacity. For want of evidences it is not possible to state categorically, whether literary works were composed during this period.

It is worth scrutinising if any forewarnings of the origins of the Old Kannada literature could be traced in these records. It is the opinion of some that a poet named Achala is mentioned in Paṭṭadakal epigraph (c. 744 A.D.) of the times of the Bādāmi Chālukyas. The *Gājashṭaka* (EC. VIII; Nr. 35) of Saigoṭṭa Śivamāra of Gaṅgas, might be a short poetic work. This is not extant. Perhaps, this is the earliest reference to a poet and his work. Whether it was committed to writing or had been only orally retained is not known.

(4) *Evidences from literary works: Kavirājamārga* attributed to Amōghavarsha Nṛpatuṅga is the oldest of all the extant works, so far. This is a work on poetics. From some of the references made in this work, some genuine factors regarding the antiquity of Kannada literature are traced. In this work, Kannada poets and works of that period are referred to both directly and indirectly. But it is doubtful whether there existed works on grammar, prosody, poetics etc. *Gadya katha* is one of the poetic forms prevalent in those days. It is stated therein that among those who practised that poetic form, Vimalōdaya, Nāgārjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvinīta were reputed (1.27-29). Of these Durvinīta is generally identified with his namesake of the Gaṅga dynasty. This is borne out by several Gaṅga records which refer to him as a literary figure. *Kavirājamārga* mentions Śrīvijaya, Chandra and Lōkapāla as the poets who wrote poetic works (1-32). *Chattāna* and *Bedande* were two other poetic forms prevalent at the time and even earlier to that and it may be a fact that the poets mentioned above wrote their works in such forms. But none of these works are extant. These poets and their works must belong probably to a period 50 to 100 years previous to the date of the *Kavirājamārga*.

Apart from *Kavirājamārga* many other Kannada and Sanskrit works bear evidences of Old Kannada literature of undetermined antiquity. These are works on scientific subjects, anthologies etc.

Those works in or in Kannada could be considered first: Pampa, Nāgavarma II, Nāgachandra in their works throw suggestions which point to the Jaina and non-Jaina epics, mythologies, portrayal of episodes of an earlier date. For e h. Nāgavarma (1042 A.D.) in his *Vardhamānapurāṇa* mentions distinctly three eminent works *Raghuvamśapurāṇa* of Śrīvijaya, *Vatsarājacharite* of another Nāgavarma and *Sulōchanācharite* of Nāgadēva. Though these works belong to a period earlier than 11th century, their exact dates are not known. *Kāvyaṭalūkana*, a treatise on poetics written by Nāgavarma (II) and a grammatical work, *Bhashābhūṣhāṇa* (a Kannada grammar in Sanskrit) and more recent works like Kēśirāja's *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (c. 1260) and Bhaṭṭakajāṅka's *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana* (1604) have incorporated in them a number of verses extracted from those works that were extant by then. Apart from these, such anthologies as *Sūktisudhāṛṇava* of Mallikārjuna (c. 1245), *Kāvyaśāra* of Mallakavi(?) and also of Abhinava Vādividyānanda (1533) quote many anonymous verses. Though the names of Asaga, Gajāṅkuśa, Śrīvijaya, Guṇanandi, Manasija, Chandrabhaṭṭa, Haripāla, Hamsarāja and Sumanōbhāṇa are known from these anthologies, none of their Kannada works have come down to us.

Evidences in works of other languages could be listed now: Indranandi, a

Jaina *āchārya* has stated that extensive commentaries named *Paddhati* and *Chūḍāmaṇi*, respectively to two Jaina treatises, *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and *Kashāya-prābhṛita* were written by Śyāmakunda and Tumbulūrāchārya (both before 10th century). Bhaṭṭākajaṇka's *Śabdānuśāsana* also refers to an old and extensive commentary called *Chūḍāmaṇi* on *Tatvārthasūtravṛtti* of Umāsvāti. But neither the author nor the date is known. Likewise, Jayakīrti's Sanskrit work on prosody viz. *Chhandōnuśāsana* (c. 1050) cites several works like *Karṇāṭa Mālatī Mādhava* and *Karṇāṭa Kumārasambhava*. Of these, the latter is Asaga's (853) while the former is probably by Kannamayya (c. 1000).

In a commentary of later date on *Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai*, a Tamil work on prosody (c. 11 century), the name of *Guṇagāṅkiyam*, a Kannada work has been, referred to. According to some scholars the work is attributed to Vijayāditya III, the Eastern Chālukya king (844-88). But this work is not available and no where else has it been mentioned. As such no decisive opinion could be formed about this.

Old Kannada poets have paid tributes to three great Jaina *āchāryas*, viz. Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda and Kavi Paramēśhṭhi some of whose works have been translated or commented upon. In spite of the fact that there are no evidences to show that these were themselves Kannada poets, that by the 9th century they provided inspiration to other Kannada poets cannot be denied.⁸

5

We now give a brief account of Old Kannada literature under the patronage of the royal families that ruled over Karnataka. As seen above no literary work of the Kadamba, Gaṅga and Bādāmi Chālukya periods has come down to us. Sanskrit was the medium of the elite in educational and regal administrative systems. Folk and epigraphical literatures of this period in Kannada might have provided stimulus for literature as such. It is needless to say that Old Kannada literature took its definite form and deep root in about 750-850 A.D. Available evidences of the period indicate that there were more Jaina poets, and works bound by Jaina tradition.

The period of the Rāshṭrakūṭas: This period witnessed the beginnings of Old Kannada literature. It was also a period of great literary achievement when works that bring credit to Kannada language came to be written. Several are the poets of esteem. Many other works of the period are either lost or not available. Language came to be more refined and assumed literary characteristics as seen in the inscriptions in prose and verse of the period.

The name of Amoghavarsha Nṛpatuṅga remains green for ever in the annals of Kannada literature through his *Kavirājamārga*. This work on poetics, based on the Sanskrit works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍi, is critical in nature. It is encyclopaedic in matters pertaining to Kannada land and literature, and the culture of its people. Balanced in style and diction and with a taste for literary elegance

the attitude of the author is delicate and cultured. Its influence on the literature of the later period is by no means small.

Though there is not much to show how Kannada literature developed during other Rāshtrakūṭa kings, the fact that it flourished from c.850-950, suggests the patronage they might have offered. Asaga (853) and Guṇavarma I (c. 900) are two poets of repute who did not come directly under their patronage. Asaga wrote the biographies of Vardhamāna and Śāntinātha in Sanskrit and *Karṇāṭa Kumāra-sambhava* in Kannada. It is not known whether the Kannada work is based on Vedic tradition or Jaina tradition as it is not extant. This work must be in *champū* form—a mixture of prose and verse. Asaga influenced poets like Ponna and others who wrote on the lives of *īrthaṅkaras*. Guṇavarma I (900) received patronage from Eṇeyappa (886-920), the Western Gaṅga king who was the grandson of Amoghavarsha through Chandrabhalabbe. In his *Śūdraka*, a *champū* work, Guṇavarma personifies Eṇeyappa in *Śūdraka*, as portrayed in *Avantīsudarī Kathā-sāra* of Daṇḍi and other poets. A few extracts of this have come down through the books on scientific literature and anthologies wherein they have been drawn for illustration. Even these few reveal the exceptional merit of Guṇavarma's poetry. Another non-extant work attributed to Guṇavarma is *Harivamśa*. It deals for the first time with the life of Nēminātha, the 22nd *īrthaṅkara*. Extracts from it seems to have been collated in later anthologies; but it is difficult to establish the authenticity of the work through such.

Vaḍḍārādhane, a prose work of this period (c. 920), shows that some kind of prose writing was prevalent during the period. Its author is said to be Śivakōṭyāchārya. The opinion held by some scholars that the author of this Kannada work has not come down to us and that this Śivakōṭī is the author of *Bhagavatī Ārādhana*, a Prakrit work, the indirect source of *Vaḍḍārādhane* seems to be acceptable. *Vaḍḍārādhane* contains 19 stories of *upasarga kēvalis*. A. N. Upadhye is of the view that this work is based on *Kavachadvāra* taken from one of the Prakrit commentaries on the ancient *Bhagavatī Ārādhana* and enlarged with the help of the Sanskrit and Prakrit anthologies of such stories, to suit the needs and conditions of Karnataka.⁹ Some of these stories such as those of as Sukumārasvāmi, Sanatkumāra, Bhadrabāhu, Kārtika, Vidyutchōra, Gurudatta and Chāṇakya are noteworthy from the literary, cultural and historical aspects. They have been told in an evocative manner in pure Kannada. Among the available prose works in Old Kannada, *Vaḍḍārādhane* is the first and foremost; at the same time it is of the highest order.

The celebrated Pampa (941) comes next. His patron Arikēsari II (930-55) son of Narasimha II of the Chālukya family of Vēmulavāḍa had accepted the suzerainty of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Pampa, the court-poet was treated with affection and friendship by Arikēsari. In keeping with the political trend of those days, Pampa fought in many a battle. While Pampa wrote *Vikramārjunavijaya* at the request of his royal master, he wrote *Ādipurāṇa* either before he came under the patronage of Arikēsari or soon after that. Though Arikēsari was only a vassal under the Rāshtrakūṭas, Pampa has made him the hero of *Vikramārjunavijaya*, raising him to the

status of Arjuna, with whom he compares. *Ādipurāṇa* and *Vikramārjunavijaya* are two great works of excellence in classical literature of Old Kannada.

Ādipurāṇa which depicts the life of Ādi-tīrthaṅkara is based on Jinasēna's (c. 850) *Pūrvapurāṇa*. Pampa has drawn the essence of the original work in about 1/6 of its length. He has directly translated some passages, while recreated some others. Though this compendium of religious observations etc. is filled with descriptions of religious conceptions etc. there are cases of sheer beauty, and passages of humane touch, scattered here and there. The later Jaina *purāṇas* are really indebted to *Ādipurāṇa* for the dexterous manipulation of plot etc.

Vikramārjunavijaya is more popularly known as *Pampabhārata*. In its concise form with 14 cantos comprising of 1600 verses and some prose passages, Pampa has distilled all the important episodes of *Mahābhārata*. It is noteworthy that Pampa, a Jaina, should have chosen this Hindu theme. But the Jaina tradition has a winning hand in some places. *Pampabhārata* is indirectly a vivid portrayal of the social, political and diplomatic activities of those days. The outlook on life is really penetrating and powerful, so that the character study, handling of the situation, diction and such things which are by themselves superb, are relegated to a second place. Yet, certain incongruities consequent upon Arjuna's being given the pride of place, cannot be ignored. The Old Kannada language of Pampa is pristine pure and brimming with life-spirit. His language lays stress more on meaning than resonance. Pampa could be really termed Kālidāsa of Kannada language for the reason that he stands out as a beacon light over the centuries.

Some facts about Pampa's life are found in his works. The Kurkyāl inscription (c. 945) of his brother Jinavallabha reveals, some other details. Pampa, son of Bhīmapayya, was born in 902 in a Vedic family. His father embraced Jainism. His mother Abbaṇabbe was the granddaughter of Jōyisa Siṅgha of Anṇigeṛe in Beḷuvola. Pampa's forebears hailed from Veṅgiṃaṇḍala of the Eastern Chālukya domain. Pampa himself settled in Sabbinaḍu ruled over by Vēmulaṣaḍa Chālukyas.

Ponna (c. 950), a contemporary of Pampa, was the court poet of Kṛṣṇa III (936-68), the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor who honoured him with the title *kavi-chakravarti*. Ponna's works are: *Śāntipurāṇa*, *Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya*, *Gata-pratyāgata* and *Jināksharamāle*. Of these, only the first and the last are extant. While *Jināksharamāle* is a work of not much consequence, *Śāntipurāṇa*, a *chamṇū kāvya* of high order in 12 cantos, depicts the life of the 16th tīrthaṅkara. Though according to scholars, there is similarity between Asaga's Sanskrit work on the same theme and Ponna's work, Ponna must have drawn from other sources as well. The influence of Pampa and of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* can be easily traced. It is a work in which religious fervor and scholarship of the poet are distinctly seen. The writing of certain episodes and descriptions have made it a work of considerable import.

Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya, non-extant, is presumed, to be a work in which the poet has identified his patrōn with Rāma, the hero of *Rāmāyaṇa*. Some feel that Śaṅkaragaṇḍa, a vassal, under Kṛṣṇa has been the hero. Ponna is one of the

three gems (*ratnatraya*). So, in keeping with the tradition of the other two this epic must be Vedic in its content. In making a reference to *Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyaḍaya*, in the concluding chapters of *Śāntināthapurāṇa*, Ponna has boasted that the 14 chapters of his work are worth 14 worlds. It would mean that an estimate of his literary merit cannot be made only on the basis of a single work. It is not known whether *Gatapratyāgata*, also non-extant, was in Kannada or Sanskrit.

The decline of the Rāshtrakūṭas started with the decease of Kṛishṇa III (967). In a decade they lost their kingdom. Efforts were made by Mārasimha, the Gaṅga king and his minister Chāvūṇḍarāya to put Indra IV on the throne; but these proved futile. Chāvūṇḍarāya was not only a warrior who fought many battles but was also the author of *Trishashṭi lakṣhaṇa-mahāpurāṇa*/*Chāvūṇḍarāyapurāṇa* (978 A.D.). This is the earliest and the only *mahāpurāṇa* in Kannada. Though it is a simple translation of Jinasēna-Guṇabhadra's *Mahāpurāṇa* in Sanskrit the possibilities of having referred to other sources cannot be ruled out.

Chāvūṇḍarāyapurāṇa is a work of immense help in the study of Jaina religion and literature. Some of the verses quoted here, from Kavi Paramēshṭhi's *Mahāpurāṇa* (= *Vāgartha Saṅgraha*) have an extra-ordinary place in Jaina literary history. The evidences found here shed fresh light on the authorship of the Sanskrit work *Varāṅgacharita*. The extracts from works of Kavi Paramēshṭhi, Kundakunda, Vasunandi etc. in Sanskrit and Prakrit reveal the depth of Chāvūṇḍarāya's learning. He has also taken the help of Pampa's *Ādipurāṇa*, in depicting the life of the first *tīrthaṅkara*. According to some, Ranna who was a co-learner and who received the patronage of Chāvūṇḍarāya for sometime appears to have had a hand in the writing of this work *Chāvūṇḍarāyapurāṇa*. Among the prose works in Kannada, *Chāvūṇḍarāyapurāṇa* has a place only next to *Vaddārādhane*.

At this stage some Vedic poets of this period could be considered. While traditionally the two works, *Karṇāṭaka Kādambari* and *Chhandōmbudhi* are attributed to Nāgavarma I (c. 990) who also hailed from Veṅgimaṇḍala like Pampa, the view is that the two works must have been written by two different poets of the same name seems to be right.¹⁰ *Karṇāṭaka Kādambari* is an adaptation in *chamṡū*, in an abridged form, of Bāṇa's *Kādambari* in Sanskrit. The poet shows originality in characterisation and handling of situations. There is grace and dignity in style. Among the romantic poems in Kannada, *Karṇāṭaka Kādambari* is the foremost. It has influenced the later writers of such poems, with similar themes. *Chhandōmbudhi* is the earliest authentic and elaborate work in Kannada on prosody. It is a source book for recent works in Kannada on prosody. This book in 6 parts deals in a concise manner with the metrical forms in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannada. It is influenced by Sanskrit works on prosody like Pingala, Jayadēva and others. The speciality of this work mainly lies in the fact that it deals critically with the native metres in Kannada.

It was during the period of the Rāshtrakūṭas that inscriptional literature came to dominance. The epigraphs of the later period (c. 800-900) began to have greater literary value, owing to the refinement in diction and style. The *Ātakūṛ*, and *Māvaḷi*

inscriptions and the Śraṇabeḷagoḷa record depicting the death of Indrarāja falling in this period are of great literary value.

The Period of Kalyāṇa Chālukyas: Āhavamalla Tailapa (Tailapa II) re-established the Chālukya empire by defeating Rāshṭrakūṭa Karka in c. 973. He and his descendants had to wage continuous battles with the powers in the north and the Chōlas in the south in the struggle for supremacy. Thus it was a period of warfares. The Chōlas, more especially, being Śaivaites, propogated Śaivism in the domains conquered by them. Jainism slowly lost royal patronage. Cherished values of herosim and sacrifice seem to have dimmed. These are reflected to some extent in the literature of the period. But it cannot be said that the literary trend of the period followed the political.

Āhavamalla Tailapa was a patron of scholars, who offered patronage to Ranna, one among the *ratnatrayas*. Ranna was born in Mudhōḷ (Muduvōḷal) in Bijapur District, in 949. By profession a bangle seller, he received patronage at an early stage from Chāvuṇḍarāya and *dānachintāmaṇi* Attimabbe, in gratitude whereof he named his children after them. His wives were Jakki and Śānti. His father's name was Jinavallabha. Ranna wrote five works: *Ajita-īrthaṅkara-purāṇatilaka*, *Sāhasabhīmavijaya*, *Paraśurāmacharita*, *Chakrēśvaracharita* and *Rannakanda*. Written with the encouragement of Attimabbe, *Ajitapurāṇa* deals with the life of the second *īrthaṅkara*. Though based on Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* (898-99 A.D.) the rendering of Ranna is more superb inspite of its heavy religious desertations. The outstanding portions are those in which he describes the generosity of Attimabbe, Vimalavāhana's resignation and the interesting episode of Sagara according to the Jaina tradition.

Ranna's more celebrated work is *Sāhasabhīmavijaya* which is more popularly known as *Gadāyuddha*. It deals with the events narrated in the *Sauptika parva* of *Mahābhārata*. Though based mainly on the 13th and 14th cantos of *Pampabhārata*, Ranna has enlivened it by recreating the whole theme. The poet's ability to invent dramatic situations, the feelings of pity and pathos it evokes, the humane attitude of some of the characters, dramatisation, retrospective mode of narration, the heroic attitude and direct and powerful exposition have all contributed to its fame. The poet's own personality and the heroic outlook prevalent in that period have left their deep impression on the work. In the whole of Old Kannada literature there is no other work which carries the characteristics of the heroic age as this epic of Ranna. In this poem Iṣivabedaṅga Satyāśraya, son of Tailapa, has been equated with Bhīmasēna, of the *Mahābhārata*. In this, Ranna has followed Pampa. In a way, this could be called a historic epic, wherein the contemporary figures have been equated with mythological heroes and the politics of the period is depicted in disguise.

A word or two about the other works of Ranna: Since some verses of *Rannakanda* end with the name *kavi ratna*, this work is attributed to him. This is the oldest lexicon of Old Kannada vocables. Only portions of it are extant. The non-extant *Chakrēśvaracharita*, according to some scholars, is none other than *Gadā-*

yuddha, though it is also said that it deals with the tale of Bharata, son of Adi-tīrthaṅkara. Still others hold that it relates to the life of Āhavamalla Tailapa himself. *Kāvyaśāloka*, a high treatise on poetics by Nāgavarma II (1042) has some verses describing the achievements of Tailapa. These may have been from Ranna's poem, *Chakrēśvaracharita*. *Paraśurāmacharita* is also non-extant. There are diverse opinions regarding the theme of this poem also. Some hold that it deals with life of Chāvūṇḍarāya, who was acclaimed as *Samara Paraśurāma*, while others hold that it deals with Subhauma Paraśurāma of Jaina tradition. In both *Kāvyaśāloka* and *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (c. 1260), there are verses about Paraśurāma. These may be from Ranna's poem.

The names of a number of poets belonging to 10th and the first decade of 11th century have come down through various sources. But their works are not extant. Some of them are, Kannamayya, Manasija, Chandrabhaṭṭa, Gajāṅkuśa, Nāgavarma, Nāgadēva, Śaṅkhavarma, Haripāla and Hamsarāja. The loss of their works speaks immensely for the large quantity of loss in Old Kannada literary wealth immaterial of whether they were Jains or of Vedic tradition.

Jayasimha II (1016-44) was also a great patron of letters. Chāvūṇḍarāya II (1025), Chandrarāja (c. 1030), Durgasimha (1031) and Nāgavarma II (1042) are the major poets patronised by him. Durgasimha, who was Jayasimha's minister for war and peace was a Brahmin poet. He was the son of Īśvarayya and Rēvakabbe of *agrahāra* Sayyaḍi. His teacher was Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa. His *Karṇāṭaka Pañchatantru* is based on Vasubhāgabhaṭṭa's original which is non-extant. Yet, there are some passages in this *champū* which have resemblance to Viṣṇuśarma's version. Local and personal elements also have possibly crept in. It has been beautified with dramatisation, interesting episodes and proverbs. The high-flown Sanskrit which finds place here and there sets the contrast with the native style and expression. The prose of this work should necessarily find a place in the history of Kannada prose.

Nāgavarma II, described as *kaṣṭakōpādhyāya* in the royal court is the author of *Vardhamānapurāṇa*, *Kāvyaśāloka*, *Abhidhāna Vastukōśa*, *Chhandōvichiti* and *Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣābhūṣaṇa*. Of these *Vardhamānapurāṇa*, the lone poetical work, depicts the life of the 24th *tīrthaṅkara*. This full length poem has all the characteristics of a traditional epic in Kannada. It is unique in the usage of rare metres and in references to the earlier literature included in the introductory part.

Nāgavarma's scholarly treatises are far more valuable than his poetical work. His *Kāvyaśāloka*, treatise on poetics, is one of the few authentic works on the subject. It is the only work in Kannada wherein all the requirements for the writing of poetry have been summed up. The definitions are in the form of *kanda* verses. Examples have been drawn from either the ancient or contemporary works which are in *kandas* or *vṛttas*. This work is in five *adhikaraṇas* each subdivided into *prakaraṇas*. *Śabdasmṛiti*, the first part, deals with Kannada grammar. This is the oldest Kannada grammar and the treatment has been on the model of Sanskrit grammars. Other parts deal with the flaws in poetry, merits, style, *rasas* and poetic conventions.

respectively. While following Bhāmaha, Daṇḍi, Vāmana and Rudraṭa, at places, he has been original on the whole. The poet's good taste and appreciation of merit can be easily discerned. This could be called the *Golden Treasury* of Old Kannada literature. Historically, it gains importance because extracts dealing with the achievements of the Chālukyas and other dynasties are found in this work.

Abhidhānavastukōśa is a dictionary of Sanskrit terms under three heads: *Āvibhinnārtha* (Synonyms), *Sāmānya* (Normal) and *Nānārtha* (Multiple meanings). The author has made use of the works of Vararuchi, Halāyudha, Śāśvata, Amarasimha and many others. *Chhandōvichiti*, a work on prosody, is non-extant. *Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* is a Kannada grammar in Sanskrit. Both the definitions and explanations are in Sanskrit, with examples in Kannada. This must have for its model *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* of Śarvavarṇa. These treatises of Nāgavarṇa really set a model for the future writers, in this field.

During the period of Sōmēśvara I (1042-68), Śrīdharaṇḍyā, of Nargunda, wrote a work on astrology called *Jātakatilaka*, which is the first in the field. Another work of the poet is *Chundraprabhacharita*, which is not extant.

Śāntinātha, an officer of the exchequer of the Banavāsi province governed by Lakshma-nṛipa, a subordinate of Sōmēśvara II (1068-76) is the author of *Sukumāra charita*. He also composed the Shikāripura inscription (1068). Gōvinda-rāja was his father, Kannapārya, brother, Rēvaṇa, younger brother and Vardhamānavrati, teacher. *Sukumāracharita*, a *champū* work in 12 cantos is the story of a *upasarga kēvali* and according to D. L. Narasimhachar seems to have been mostly based on *Vaṭṭārādhanē*.¹¹ The influence of Pampa and other ancient poets could be clearly seen here. The choice of subject, the simplicity and beauty of diction and the metrical varieties have made this poem interesting. It is really unfortunate that this work must have been found incomplete. Rāmachandra Mumukshu a Sanskrit poet of recent period is supposed to have followed Śāntinātha's work in his *Puṇyāsrava Kathākōśa*.

Gōvaidya, a work which is not extant, is in the name of Kīrtivarṇa (c. 1070) supposed to be a son of Sōmēśvara I and identified by N. Lakshminarayana Rao with Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya (1060-80). This poet is a Jaina and is proud of that. From the details available in *Karṇāṭaka Kavicharita*, *Gōvaidya* is found to be dealing with the diseases and remedies of cattle.

Nāgavarmāchārya (c. 1071) is the foremost composer of *śatakas*, as known now. He is said to have built the Hariharāditya temple at Baḷligāve and lived there as a recluse. His *Chandrachūdāmaṇi-śataka*, reveals the poet's own spiritual experiences and explains in a lucid manner, the tenets of Advaita philosophy.

Nāgachandra (c. 1100) is second only to Ranna in fame. We know little about his life, or his patron. His teacher was Bālachandramuni. Some hold that he was a contemporary of the poetess Kanti, and a court-poet of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa I (1100-06). Others hold the opinion that he lived during the reign of Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana or the Chāḷukya prince Mallikārjuna. He has stated that he built a *basadi* at Vijayapura. Some of his verses are found in the epigraphs found in the present

day Bijapur. Hence it may be stated that he belonged to Bijapur area, which would uphold his Chālukya connection. His works are: *Rāmachandracharītapurāṇa*, otherwise known as *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Mallināthapurāṇa*. Both are in *champū* form.

Pampa Rāmāyaṇa is the oldest extant work among Kannada *Rāmāyaṇas*. Nāgachandra has made use of the *Rāmāyaṇas* of Vimalasūri (100 A.D.) and Ravishēṇa (698). It is in the true Jaina tradition, in which the kidnapping of Sītā, Uparambhe's episode and the conversion of Rāvaṇa's mind have a special place owing to their beautiful handling. In many a place he has glorified the original passages.

Mallināthapurāṇa is the life-story of the 19th *īrthāṅkara* told in Digambara tradition. The source seems to be Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*. Some hold the opinion that the hero Vaiśravaṇa and his son Śrīdhara have been identified by the poet with Chālukya Vikramāditya (1076-1126) and Sōmēśvara III (1126-38). The disillusionment of Vaiśravaṇa and the descriptions of nature are noteworthy. The style of this poet is famous for its delicate touch, and clarity of expression.

Nayasēna's (1112) *Dharmāmṛita*, a bouquet of stories is very famous among the Jaina narrative literature. He hails from Muḷugunda near Dharwada and led the life of an ascetic. These stories are about those who attained liberation through *ashṭāṅga* and other observances, as enjoined by the Jaina tradition. He seems to have added much from the local events to what he has drawn from Sanskrit and Prakrit sources. Though Nayasēna is a story-teller of great ability and rich common sense he uses his art for ethical purpose and preaching. There have not been many works of that period wherein the contemporary life has been reflected to such an extent. Though the poet has employed *champū* form, it is marked by the use of Old Kannada which is not terse and is mixed up with the native diction and the story-telling with abundance of proverbs, striking similes and easy flow of narration makes the difference.

Other poets of this period are Mauktikakavi (c. 1120) whose *Chandranāthāshṭaka* is the first of the kind in Kannada, Mēghachandra (1149) who wrote a commentary in Kannada on Pūjyapāda's *Samādhiśataka*, Udayāditya (c. 1150) of unclear identity to whom *Udayādityālaṅkāra* a short treatise on poetics, is attributed.

During the period of Kalachuri interregnum Karnapārya (c. 1160) received patronage under Lakshma or Lakshmidhara the chief accountant and minister of Vijayāditya (1140-75 A.D.), the Śilāhāra chief of Kolhāpur branch. His works are *Nēmināthapurāṇa* in *champū* and *Virēśacharite* which is not extant. Karnapārya's *Nēmināthapurāṇa* is the oldest among the extant works dealing with the life of that *īrthāṅkara*. The poet must have made use of Jinasēna's *Harivamśapurāṇa* (783) besides other works like *Chāvūṇḍarāyapurāṇa*. He has blended the traditions of both *Harivamśapurāṇa* and *Mahāpurāṇa* in a beautiful manner. The way he has brought about changes among the various versions of the main story at his disposal and his independent out-look in utilising the Vedic-trend of *Bhāṭa* story as depicted by Pampa show that he was revolutionary in outlook. His artistic handling of

the story is both warm and pleasing, and his appealing expression and humane outlook and dramatisation have made him a poet of great ability, though not a genius.

Adhyātmi Bāḷachandra (1176) a reputed exponent of Jaina lore must have made Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa the centre of his activities. Apart from commentaries on many prominent Jaina treatises, he wrote an independent work *Jinastuti*. Boppana-panḍita (c. 1190) wrote his *Gommaṭastuti* at the behest of Adhyātmi Bāḷachandra. This work is really incomparable in its beauty and marked by the powerful overflow of feelings on beholding the mighty image of Gommaṭa. Varitably this can be the only poem which fits in with the definition of a lyric, found in Old Kannada literature. Another short work of Boppana-panḍita is *Nirvāṇa Lakshmāpati Nakshatra-mālike*, also in praise of Jina.

Aggaḷa and Brahmaśiva, two Jaina poets, did not have any royal patronage. But then these friends were honoured at the royal courts and are counted among the reputed poets of this period. Aggaḷa wrote *Chandraprabhapurāṇa* (1189) the life of the 9th *tīrthāṅkara*. This is in erudite *chāmpū* form of high merit. Śāntīśa and Vāchāmbike were his parents, and his teacher Srutakīrti. He belonged to Irigaḷeśvara near Bijapura. He has drawn the material for his work from Vīraṇandi's *Chandraprabhacharita* (978) in Sanskrit.

Brahmaśiva (c. 1190) was the son of Siṅgirāja, who seems to be the son of the reputed Nāgachandra. He belonged to Poṭṭaḷagere (the modern Paṭṭanaacheruvu near Hyderabad). His work *Samaya-Parīkṣhe* is a critical study of the religions which were in vogue then. In some places his criticism becomes harsh, pungent and unbearable. The poet's purpose has been to uphold the greatness of Jainism. In doing this he ridicules the non-Jaina religions that took birth and spread in Karnataka, till the 12th century A.D. The world of confounding and ignorant ideas and practices before the birth of Vīraśaiva religion, can be seen in this work. This non-poetic work finds the place of considerable importance among works of polemical nature. Another of his works, *Trailōkya-Chūdāmaṇi* is a short work in praise of Jina.

The Period of the Hoysaḷas: Harihara, the great Vīraśaiva poet worked as an accountant in the court of Narasimha I or Narasimha Ballāḷa (1143-73). Later he went to Hampi to spend his life in the service of lord Virūpākṣha. It was during this period that Kannada literature entered the period known as *naḍugannada*, (middle Kannada). This is marked by the use of diction close to spoken language familiarised by the *Vachanakāras*. Harihara came under the influence of the *Vachanakāras* and wrote the lives of Śivaśaraṇas in a simple manner. But he also wrote some works in Old Kannada. These are: *Girijākalyāṇa*, the two *Śatakas*—*Pampā* and *Rakṣhā*, and also *Muḍigē-ā-ashṭaka*. Though in his *Girijākalyāṇa*, he may have made use of the Purāṇas and the works of Kāḷidāsa and Udbhaṭa he has used the freedom to change the story at certain places to suit his needs. His *śatakas* and *ashṭaka* although traditional in form, with the charge of Bhakti sentiment and unique outpour of poet's personality reveal the use of simple Sanskrit and the richness of *dēśi*. These have made the terseness and strain of Old Kannada a little relaxed.

The impetus and encouragement which Kannada literature received from Ballāḷa II (1173-1220) is noteworthy, specially from the point of view of Old Kannada. Rudrabhaṭṭa (c. 1185), a Brāhmaṇa poet received encouragement from Chandramauji, a scholar and minister under Ballāḷa II. His poem *Jagannāthavijaya* in *champū* deals with the story of lord Kṛishṇa. The source is *Vishṇupurāṇa*. But the influence of *Bhāgavata* must also have been there. He is the first poet in Kannada to have written a Vaishṇava poem. Although erudite in style and diction, some of the good episodes are the slaying of Śiśupāla, Kṛishṇa's childhood and *Pārijātā-paharaṇa*.

Nēmichandra (c. 1190) wrote *Nēmināthapurāṇa* also known as *Ardhanēmi-purāṇa*, for which he got inspiration from *sejjevalḷa* Padmanābha, another officer under Ballāḷa II. Earlier he had written *Līlāvatī*, under the patronage of Lakshmīdhara I, a chief of the Raṭṭa family. Nothing about his personal life is known. Since he has called himself *Chaturbhāshā-chakravartī* he might have been a scholar in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsa and Kannada.

Līlāvatī is purely a work of fiction. The influence of Sanskrit poets like Subandhu, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Rājāśekhara and Kannada poets like Pampa, Ranna and Nāgavarma (author of *Karnātaka Kādambarī*) can be traced. Mainly a work of erotic sequences and feelings, this lengthy poem is marked by conventional descriptions, attractive episodes and high flown diction. His *Ardhanēmi-purāṇa* deals with the life of Nēmi-Jina. But it is incomplete. Beginning with the description of the pre-natal births of the *īrthāṅkara* it stops at the slaying of Kamsa. In the *Harivaṃśa* part of the story, the influence of *Vishṇupurāṇa* and *Bhāgavata* can also be discerned. But the main source of the work is *Uttarapurāṇa*. His hands are free to make use of the source material to suit his needs. The episodes of Bali and Vāmana and the slaying of Kamsa-Chaṇūra and the *īrthāṅkara*'s pre-natal life-cycle have been exquisitely depicted.

Rājāditya (c. 1190) wrote *Vyavahāraganīta*, and other works under the patronage of Bharata and Bāhubali senior officers under Ballāḷa II. This is the only book that is extant. The allusion to the battle of Soratūr (1191) found in this work, is really of great value from the historical point of view. This work is of exceptional significance because of its allusions to social conditions and systems of arithmetic prevalent in those days.

Poet Janna had Māchaṇa and Amita senior officers under Ballāḷa II, as his patrons at an earlier stage, whereafter he was patronised by king Ballāḷa II and his son Narasimha II (1220-35). He is the greatest among poets who made use of the *champū* form during that period. His parents were Śaṅkara and Gaṅgādēvi, Lakumādēvi was his wife and his spiritual teacher was Gaṇḍavimukta Rāmachandradēva. Sumanōbāṇa was his tutor. Apart from his reputed works, he is the author of the Channafāyapaṭṭaṇa copper-plate grant (1191) and the Tarikere stone inscription (1197). He may have composed many more records of those days. He is sure to have had a very attractive personality as proved by his valour, riches, generosity and refinement of taste.

Yaśōdharacharite is a translation of Vādirāja's (1024) Sanskrit original. But it is as good as being original. The story prominently upholds the greatness of non-violence in a simple and lucid manner. The main attraction is in the characterisation of Yaśōdhara and Amṛitamati, the royal couple. Its popularity is greater because it is concise and wholly narrated in *kandas*. *Anantanāthapurāṇa* depicts the life of the 14th *tīrthāṅkara*. It is in *champū* form, of a high order, and is based on *Uttarapurāṇa*. Though the story is simple, the treatment is that of a traditional epic. The Chaṇḍaśāsana episode is really a fountainhead of delight; hence its popularity. The desperate condition to which sex can drive a man in life and to what extent it becomes agonising can be traced in both the works of Janna. *Anubhava mukura* is a work on erotics. It is neither satisfactory nor complete. It is noteworthy for the various kinds of metres used. The earlier records composed by him reveal the height of achievement which is evidenced by his later works.

Sumanōbāṇa (c. 1190) who was in the court of Hoysaḷa Narasimha II was a poet of repute and Janna's teacher also. Though Janna has named him among the authors of Jaina *Purāṇas* none of his works has come down. Mallikārjuna compiler of *Sūktisudhāṇava* and Kēśirāja author of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* are his son-in-law and grandson respectively.

Bandhuvarma (c. 1190) was perhaps a contemporary of Janna. He was born in the merchant class. No other details are available. *Harivaṃśābhyaudaya* and *Jīvasambōdhane* are his works. The latter displays the poet's ability for manipulating scenic sequences and the use of diction, while the former is a good biography of Nēminātha, drawing the material from Kaṇṇapārya and Nēmichandras' works on the same theme. The episodes of Sagara, Chaṇḍakauśika, Varāṅga, Rāvaṇa and others dealt in *Jīvasambōdhane* are really evocative of interest in the readers for various reasons. Many of these stories are dealt in detail by the poets of later period.

Āchaṇṇa (c. 1195) was a minister of Kalaḥuri Āhavamalla (1180-83). Later on he derived inspiration from Rēchaṇa for writing his *Vardhamānapurāṇa*. This Rēchaṇa might have been a subordinate of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti or of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II. *Śrīpadāśīti*, a short eulogy is another of his works. His parents were Kēśirāja and Mallāmbike. Śaṅkha, chieftain of Puligere, was his brother and Nandiyōgīndra his teacher. Āchaṇṇa's *Vardhamānapurāṇa* deals with the life of the 24th *tīrthāṅkara*. He too must have made use of *Uttarapurāṇa* and the works of Asaga and Nāgavarma. Though the main story is lost in the description of the pre-natal life-cycle, the life of Vardhamāna is delineated quite interestingly. The religious attitude has a winning hand over the poetic. The liveliness is mainly due to diction, metre and style, which are unique.

Traditionalism is the watch word of the poets of the 13th century. Fresh water mingled as well. In spite of the new forms which came into being, *champū* stood its place. *Śrīṅgāraratnākara*, a work on poetics, is the work of Kāmadēva. Some feel that the author must be a Kaḍamba chief of that name, while others state he must have been in the court of Ballāḷa II. Dēvakavi, the author of *Kusumāvajī*,

an erotic poem, had the patronage of Chikkarājachamūpa of an unknown royal family. The source for his work may be Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*. In structure and style it reminds *Līlāvati* of Nēmichandra.

Saundatti was ruled over by the Raṭṭas, even while the Hoysaḷas flourished. For some time Nēmichandra was under the patronage of these Raṭṭas. As per the desire and encouragement received from Kārtavīrya IV (1190-1220), Pārśvakavi wrote his *Pārśvanāthapurāṇa* (1204), based on *Uttarapurāṇa* and *Chāvuṇḍarāya purāṇa*. The episode of Marubhūti and Kamaṭha is quite striking. The information found in the introductory part is useful from the point of view of literary history.

Guṇavarma II (c. 1215), patronised by Śāntivarman an officer of Kārtavīrya IV, wrote *Pushpadantapurāṇa* depicting the life of the 9th *īrthaṅkara*. The story told in a concise form in only 62 verses of *Uttarapurāṇa*, is enlarged into 14 *āśvāsas* in this work. This poem is remarkable for its theme and the use of *dēśī* diction. Another of his poem *Chandranāthāshṭaka* is in praise of Jina Chandranātha of Tribhuvanatilaka temple in Kolhāpura.

Āṇḍayya was either the court-poet or a close friend of Kāmadēva I (1180-1217), the Kadamba chief. His work *Kabbigara-kāva*, depicts the story of the dispute between Śiva and Manmatha in a new fashion. The poet proclaims the greatness of Jainism by showing that Manmatha who vanquished Śiva could not do so in the case of the *īrthaṅkara*. The purity of diction marked by the use of pure Kannada and Kannada equivalents of Sanskrit makes it unique, as also its theme.

Kamalabhava, the author of *Śāntīśvarapurāṇa* lived during the reign of Siṅghaṇa (1200-47) of the Sēvuṇa dynasty. Dēvakavi was his close friend as evidenced by internal evidences in Dēvakavi's work. Kamalabhava's work is better than Ponna's though purely traditional in form and content. The episode of Aśvagṛīva and Tripishṭha is really engrossing, the style being simple and wordy.

Mallikārjuna (1237) a court-poet under both Narasimha II and his son Sōmēśvara (1233-54) was the son-in-law of Sumanōbāṇa and father of Kēśīrāja, the grammarian. Perhaps he was a recluse, though married. There is dispute as to whether he was a Jaina or a Brāhmaṇa. May be he was a Jaina. His *Sūktisudhāṇava* is the first anthology in Kannada. This incomplete work in 18 cantos is designed on the basis of 18 descriptions or *ashṭādaśa-varṇanas*. It is an example of good taste and depicts the growth of the language and literature. Though a useful source work for the study of language, textual criticism, history of literature and political and social history, as the sources have not been mentioned its usefulness suffers.

Mallikārjuna's work must have influenced Kēśīrāja (c. 1250) to launch the writing of his grammar, *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*. He has made a sincere attempt to analyse the structure of Old Kannada. He has based his study mainly on the earlier *champu* works. This comprehensive study could as well be called the Bible of Old Kannada. Besides, he has made a study of the changes that were being wrought in the language with exceptions and violations. Apart from grammatical points, Kēśīrāja has studied things which are useful from a lexicon's angle. He has listed

ga and la words, root forms, difficult words and *apabhramāśas*. Though Kēśirāja has made use of Nāgavarma II, he is more comprehensive and systematic in treatment; his approach has been more poetic and usages interesting. Names of some of his poetical works have come down, but not the works.

Māghanandi is a commentator of highest order, belonging to this period. Among his works are *Śrāvākāchārasūtra*, *Śāstrasārasamuchchaya*, *Padārthasāra* and *Siddhāntasāra*. He has drawn source material from Kannada poets like Pampa, Āchanna etc. These works on religious topics have won acclaim.

Mahābala (1254) got inspiration for writing the life of Nēminātha from Kēṭayanāyaka, a petty chieftain under the Hoysaḷas. His work based on Kaṇṇapārya and others, also shows the influence of Pampa, Ranna and others. Kaṇṇapārya and other earlier poets on the subject are his models. The poet's ability is shown in the description, dramatisation, appealing use of language and the power of diction. The poet's ability in abridging the elaborate details in a concise form is appreciable.

Bālachandra-panḍita (1273), Kumudēndu (c. 1275), Padmaprabha (c. 1300), Prabhāchandra (c. 1300) and Kanakachandra (c. 1300) have written prose commentaries on the Jaina treatises in lucid style. Hastimalla (c. 1300) has written his prose work entitled *Pūrvapurāṇa*, giving in a condensed form Pampa's *Ādipurāṇa*.

Chauṇḍarasa (c. 1300), a Brāhmaṇa poet and Nāgarāja (1331), a Jaina poet are the most prominent among those who wrote in the last decades of the Hoysaḷa rule, when Ballāḷa III was on the throne. Chauṇḍarasa, a devotee of lord Pāṇḍuraṅga of Paṇḍharāpura, wrote *Naḷa-champū*, *Abhinava Daśakumāracharite* and *Bāṇāsura-vijaya*. *Daśakumāracharite* has been helpful in understanding the life of people and the social conditions. Nāgarāja's *Puṇyāsrava* is a translation of Rāmachandra Mumukshu's *Puṇyāsrava-Kathākōśa*. He has depicted the duties of married life in the form of stories. Though its place among the literary works of high order is negligible, as such works are few in number it is important. The depiction of the social life of the people of those days is profusely found here in a language at once easy, natural and racy.

The Period of the Vijayanagara Rulers: This is actually the period of *naḍu-gannuḍa* (Middle Kannada) and native metres. Even in the midst of this, some poets proved their allegiance to tradition and scholarship. They continued in the *champū* form which was then in the decline. It is natural that those well versed in Sanskrit and Old Kannada should have done that.

Bāhubali (1352) depicted the life of the 15th *tīrthanikara*, in his *Dharmanātha purāṇa*. *Dharmaśarmābhūdaya*, a Sanskrit work, is its source. It is not clearly known who his benefactor was. His work is a parade of his scholarship. Verbiage and metrically loose structure are frequent. It points to the decline of *champū*. At the behest of Dharmabhūṣaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka, Kēśava-varṇi wrote a Kannada commentary on Nēminātha's *Gommaṣasāra*, in 1359. Another of his works is a commentary on *Śrāvākāchāra* by Amitagati.

Khagēndramanidarpana, a study on the treatment of poison, organic and in-organic, was written by Maṅgarāja I (c. 1460) of Dēvaḷige province during the period of the Vijayanagara king Harihara I (1336-53). The work deals with various kinds of poisons and their cure. It is also important from the point of view of style, diction and metres.

Vṛttavilāsa (c. 1360) author of the satirical work *Dharmaparīkṣhe* also belongs to this period. This is based on Harishēṇa's (988) *Dharmaparīkṣhe* in Apabhraṃśa and Amitagati's Sanskrit work of the same name. This work in 10 cantos, is in the form of a dispute between two princes wherein faiths other than Jainism have been rejected. Its strength lies in its manipulation of the situation and spotting of the comic situations, although biting on account of its polemical nature. The narration is simple and interesting.

Madhura (1385) has written *Dharmanāthapurāṇa* and *Gommaṣastuti*. It is presumed that he was the court-poet of the Vijayanagara ruler Harihara II (1377-1404). His immediate benefactor was Muddudaṇḍēśa, a minister under Harihara. He was also under the patronage of Lakshmīdhara, a minister of Dēvarāya I as is known from one of his own inscriptional poems found at Hampi (1410). Only four cantos of his poem have come down. He is the last poet to have made use of the *champū* form. His poem has been called the swan song of that genre. The texture of the thin story is weaved with exuberant descriptions of various kinds.

Āyatavarma who lived in the early decades of 15th century wrote *Kannada ratna-karaṇḍaka* which describes the *ratnatrayas*. Chandrakīrti wrote *Paramāgama sāra*.

Of the two Brāhmaṇa poets of this period, Kavimallā (c. 1400) wrote *Manmatha-vijaya*, a work on erotics and Abhinavachandra wrote *Aśvaśāstra* (c. 1400 A.D.) a treatise on horses. Among the Vīraśaiva poets, Chandra-kavi (c. 1430) wrote *Virūpākṣāsthānavarṇana* a typical descriptive *champū*, at the behest of Gururāya, prime minister of Praudhadēvarāya (1419-46). Another work of this poet is *Gurumūrti Śaṅkaraśataka*.

Surāṅga wrote *Trishashtipurātana-charite*, in 63 cantos. This *champū* work depicts the lives of devotees of Śiva belonging to Tamiḷnad. The poet has followed the *ragaḷes* of Harihara in almost every detail. He is noteworthy among *champū* poets who came after Harihara. Other Vīraśaiva poets who used *champū* are: Virabhadrarāja (c. 1530), Murige Dēśikēndra (c. 1560) and Siddhaliṅga Śivayōgi (c. 1600).

Some works on literary theory were also produced during this period. They are: *Kavijihvābandhana*, a work on prosody, of Īśvara-kavi (c. 1500) and *Mādhavāṅkārā* a translation of Daṇḍi's *Kāvyādarśa* by Mādhava (c. 1500). There were also books on astrology and horse treatment, apart from lexicons etc. *Kāvyasāra* (1533) is an anthology of Old Kannada poetry compiled by Abhinava Vādividyānanda. The inclusion of prose passages and mentioning of the sources have enhanced the importance of this work. Sāḷva has likewise compiled his *Rasaratnākara*, a work of poetics, choosing some Kannada stanzas illustrative of poetic qualities and

translating some from Sanskrit and Prakrit wherever the need arose. His other work is *Śāradāvilāsa*, which deals mainly with *dhvani*. Bhaṭṭākalaṅka's *Śabdā-musāsana* (1604) is a Kannada grammar in Sanskrit written in *sūtra* and *vṛtti* order on the lines of Sanskrit grammar.

The Period of Mysore Rulers: This is a period of the revival of Old Kannada literature and old forms, as a result of the impetus given to learning by Mysore rulers. Kannada literature got a new dimension due to the spread of Śrīvaiṣṇava religion. Chikkadēvarāja (1672-1704) was himself a poet and a patron. Shaḍakshari is considered as a representative of this period.

Some hold the opinion that Shaḍakshari (1655), a native of Danugur and a pontiff of Yeḷandūr *maṭha*, was Chikkadēvarāja's minister and others that he was only respected by him. His *champū* works are: *Rajaśēkharavilāsa* based on *Bhāvachintāratna* (1513) of Gubbi Mallanārya, and tells the story of Satyēndra-chōḷa; *Vṛishabhēndravijaya*, a biography of Basavaṇṇa, based on the *Basavapurāṇa* of Pāḷkurike Sōmanātha (c. 1300) and *Śabaraśaṅkaravilāsa* which depicts the Indrakīla episode from the *Mahābhārata*. Shaḍakshari sets an example to the *champū* writers of his time.

Tirumalārya (1645-1706), a great scholar-poet of Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa was a co-learner, court-poet and later a minister of Chikkadēvarāja. He has written a treatise on *alaṅkāras*, *Apratimavīracharite*. *Chikadēvarājavijaya*, a *champū* work and *Chikadēvarājavamaṣāvali*, a prose work are historical in character. His usage of Old Kannada is simple and lucid although modern in idiom. Siṅgarārya (c. 1680), his brother, wrote *Mitravindā Gōvinda*, an adaptation of Śrī Harsha's drama *Ratnāvali*. This is the first available Kannada play. He could be called the father of the adapted plays.

Chikkupādhyāya (1672) is a great literary figure of this period. Twenty two works have been credited to him. Like Janna he too led a happy life. His works deals mostly with the lives of Śrīvaiṣṇava saints, and those praising Viṣṇu etc. Among the *champū* works *Vishṇupurāṇa* and *Divyasūricharite* have been more popular. Minor poets of this period are Tamma-kavi (1677), Mallikārjuna (1678) and Mallarasa (c. 1680).

Bālavaidyada Cheluva, who lived during the reign of Krishnarāja I (1713-31) wrote *Kannaḍa Līlāvati*, a mathematical work. *Hālāsyā purāṇa* of Murigeyasvāmi II (1720) describes the *īlas* of Sundarēśa of Madurai. The metrical variations made in this poem are really striking.

Līṅgaṇṇa-kavi (c. 1750) wrote *Keḷadi-nṛpa-vijaya*. This *champū* work is of great value historically. Subrahmaṇya (c. 1750) who wrote *Hanumadrāmāyaṇa* is another poet of this period. Veṅkāmātya's (c. 1770) *Rāmābhyaḍaya* is in *champū* of high order.

Krishnarāja-voḍeya III also contributed his mite to the development of traditional poetry. Dēvachandra (1770-1841) wrote *Rājāvalīkathe*, which is of some value from the point of view of literary history. *Rāmakathāvatāra* is another of his works. Chandrasāgara varṇi (1815) wrote *Bhavyajāna chintāmaṇi*. Tammayya

(1834) who was the court-poet wrote *Rājavamśaratnaprabhe*, which gives an account of the Mysore rulers. Liṅgarāja who was the king's son-in-law (1823-74) wrote *Narapativijaya*, a work on poetics. He also wrote *Naṭakābaravillāsa*, a *chamṡū* work. Veṅkaṭaramaṇayya (1857), Nyāpati Lakshmiṇarasimha (1860) and Hiraṇyagarbha (c. 1860) are the other poets of this period.

During the reign of Chāmarāja-voḍeya, Basavappa śāstri (c. 1900) translated *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* and other plays into Old Kannada. Nandaḷike Lakshmi-nāraṇappa (1887) wrote his *Rāmāśvamēdha* and *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* in facile Old Kannada prose. The first one is known for its novel and unique presentation of the plot, conversational style, brevity of expression and these are the qualities which have earned popularity for the work.

The publication of the ancient works started in the modern epoch with the efforts of missionaries and others like B. L. Rice and Kittel, and scholars like M. A. Ramanuja Ayyangar, S. G. Narasimhachar and R. Narasimhachar. Through the spread of the English education the love for the Old Kannada literature increased. Many scholars attracted by the virtues of Old Kannada language and literatures, went to the extent of finding expression for their themes in that language. Among them the outstanding example is that of B. M. Srikantaiah. While he adapted, Sophocles' *Ajax* into *Aśvatthāman* to suit the story of Aśvatthāma taking revenge as told in the *Sauptika-parva* of *Mahābhārata*, he also recast Ranna's *Gadāyuddha* into a play. It is noteworthy that this was the harbinger of the new movement in modern Kannada.

6

The early Old Kannada literature is the very essence of the classical literature in Kannada; what followed is symbolic of the love for the tradition. These portray the life-expression, the understanding of life and the values of life as felt by Kannadigas through the medium of literature. There may not be certain things which are in keeping with the modern outlook. But there is scope for selecting what is of highest order and that which is nourishing. In this connection, the opinion of D. L. Narasimhachar, who was a great scholar in Old Kannada language and literature could be a fitting conclusion:

From the foregoing survey, brief though it is, it is abundantly clear that Old Kannada literature is a rich heritage of the Kannada people. It is the life-history of their culture and spirit; it is their auto-biography. Fed and nurtured by Sanskrit all along it breathes the spirit that is common to all India. It is a provincial expression of a Pan-Indian culture with its subtle local colouring and fragrance. The Kannada people are justly proud of their literary wealth and are forging ahead in the ceaseless quest of Truth, Goodness and Beauty.¹²

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THE MEDIEVAL AND MODERN KANNADA LITERATURE

C. P. KRISHNAKUMAR

MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

1

THE 12TH CENTURY is a very important stage in the history of Kannada literature. From this period a second renaissance begins; language and literature take a completely new turn. This period, distinct from the Pampa age, and possessing several characteristics of its own, has been named the Basava age. From the religious point of view, the literature of this period has been named Vīraśaiva literature. The Basava age extends from the 12th to the 15th century. The period which follows has been called the Kumāra Vyāsa age and its literature, Brahmin literature. This age can be said to extend from the 15th to the 19th century. After this the modern Kannada period begins. The point to be noted here is that all the important literary works of the middle ages—i.e. between the 12th and the 19th centuries—exhibit common tendencies and attitudes. Taking into account the form of the language, this whole period has been called the middle Kannada period.

The literature of the Pampa age viz. *champi* literature or old Kannada literature was of a high standard and was accessible to royal courts and to the learned only; the ordinary populace had no share in it. As opposed to this, the main features of the literature of the middle ages are its simplicity and mass-orientedness. The change in the general attitude to life that took place in the 12th century was also reflected in literature. Rāghavāṅka's saying, "Poetry should uplift people", indicates the guiding principle behind the literary activity of the period. Accordingly, the *champi* form which originated from Sanskrit lagged behind and native (*dēśī*) forms like the *vachana*, *shaṭpadi*, *sāṅgatiya* and Prakrit forms like the *ragaḷa* came into vogue. On the whole, literature changed with respect to matter, language and metrical form. But the old form did not die out completely; *champi* works continued to be composed.

Though the *vachanas* were composed as early as the 11th century, their fullness is visible only in the 12th century. The *vachana* is a special genre; though *vachana* literally means 'prose', it is a genre which is neither prose nor verse, but lies somewhere between the two. Though unmetrical, it contains irregular rhythm. Originally the *vachanas* were not composed with a literary purpose; religious propaganda and social reform were their prime purposes. The *vachanas* are a by-product of the Vīraśaiva religious movement; nonetheless they have become excellent literature. Inspired by *sarvōdaya* view of life Śīvaśaraṇas (devotees of Śīva) wished to build a new society where there was no distinction of the high and the low, where caste and creed was surpassed, a society which was freed from all exploitation and one whose foundation was god and *dharma*. The *vachanas* were born as a medium for this movement. Basavēśvara, the leader of this movement and hundreds of his fol-

lowers have composed *vachanas*. Basavēśvara is also the greatest *vachana* composer. The other important *vachana* composers are: Dēvara Dāsimayya, Allamaṣṭrabbhu, Akkamahāḍēvi and Siddharāma. It is an extra-ordinary thing that ordinary men of various trades and of various castes busied themselves with the *vachana* creation.

The *vachanas* can be divided into two groups: those with literary quality and those which are dry on account of their being restricted to religious content. In the former, the *vachanas* can establish their excellence in the face of any scrutiny; they satisfy the standards of modern criticism. In these *vachana* lyrics we find the essence of *dharma* and morality; the intensity of *bhakti* (devotion), renunciation and aspiration; the edge of satire; social consciousness; intellectual element; symbols and images; complexity and the rhythm of the spoken language. Thus, we are surprised to find several characteristics of modern poetry in the *vachanas*. This *vachana* literature is an original contribution of Kannada to world literature.

Immediately after the *vachana* we meet the *ragaḷe*. Harihara is the greatest name in this genre. He belonged to the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th. Harihara has written more than a hundred *ragaḷe* works about Śivaśaraṇas. Not only the ancients, but also recent devotees like Basava, Allama are the heroes of his stories. (The Tamil *Periyapurāṇa* is an important source for his *Purāṭanara Ragaḷegaḷu*). Harihara who presented several poetic biographies in his *ragaḷes* and thereby opened a new poetic tradition in Kannada is a revolutionary poet. This devotee-poet was of the view that poetry should not be written about "men, about those who die and about those who are the least". He is one of the major poets of Kannada.

Rāghavāṅka, a contemporary of Harihara, is perhaps the first poet in Kannada to have composed in the *śaṭpadi* metre. *Harīśchandra-charitra*, *Siddharāma-charitra*, *Sōmanātha-charitra* and *Virēśa-charite* are his works in the *Vārdhaka śaṭpadi*. Of these the first two are superb works. In *Harīśchandra-charitra* is expressed a vision that is rare in Indian literature. The message of this work is "Truth is Hara (god), Hara is truth".

There are some other Vīraśaiva poets belonging to the same period. Kereya Padmarasa composed a philosophical work, *Dīkshābōdhe* in the *ragaḷe* metre. *Sānanda-charitre* is a work composed in various *śaṭpadis* by Kumāra Padmarasa. Pāḷkurike Sōmanātha wrote some *ragaḷe* poems.

Bhīmākavi wrote the famous *Basava-purāṇa* in *Bhāminī śaṭpadi*, during the latter half of the 14th century. Padmaṅka (c. 1385) has written *Padmarāja-purāṇa* in *Vārdhaka śaṭpadi*.

Kumudēndu, of the second half of the 13th century, is an example of the manner in which the Jaina poets, loyal to the *champi* mode eventually, took to the *dēśi* (native) metres. He composed, in various *śaṭpadis*, *Kumudēndu Rāmāyaṇa* according to the Jaina tradition.

2

From the 15th century onwards we see Brahmin poets. The most important of these is Nāraṇappa or Kumāra Vyāsa (c. 1400). The period beginning with him

is called the Kumāra Vyāsa age. *Kaṇṇāṭaka Bhārata Kathāmañjari* composed by him in *Bhāmini śaṭpadi* is an epic equally loved by the learned and the unlearned. For Kumāra Vyāsa, *Mahābhārata* is the "story of Kṛishṇa"; his work splendidly expresses the spirit of the age i.e. *bhakti*. Kumāra Vyāsa considered Hari and Hara to be the same deity. Though Vyāsa's *Bhārata* is his source, his work is the most original one. While the story belongs to Vyāsa, the art and the vision belong to Kumāra Vyāsa. There are few Kannada poets who have depicted the human feelings as he did. To speak in metaphors is a characteristic quality of his. As D. V. Gundappa says, "This is perhaps the grandest epic poem in the language . . . for vastness of conception, for vividness of portraiture, for variegated splendours of a colossal and complex drama, for the sweep of imagination that can reproduce for us the varying notes mixed in a mighty clash of human forces . . . , for a sustained spiritual idealism and a kindly and manful attitude towards life, as well as for naturalness and freedom and vigour of style, this work stands supreme".

Torave Narahari or Kumāra Vālmīki (c. 1500) has imitated Kumāra Vyāsa and composed in the *Bhāmini śaṭpadi* metre, *Torave Rāmāyaṇa*. But this is not a work of great importance. Kumāra Vyāsa's *Bhārata* which runs only upto the tenth *parva* was continued by Timmaṇṇa Kavi (c. 1510) albeit without much success. Chāṭu Viṭhalaṇātha (c. 1530) composed the *Kannada Bhāgavata* in *Bhāmini śaṭpadi* Lakshmiśa (c. 1550) is a poet superior to all these. He composed *Jaimini Bhārata* in *Vārdhaka śaṭpadi* metre. This is a very attractive collection of stories. While the Sanskrit source is dominated by Puranic nature, Lakshmiśa's work is pre-dominantly poetic. He was also a devotee like Kumāra Vyāsa. Gōpakavi (1600) has written *Chitrabhārata* and *Nandīmahātmya* in *Vārdhaka śaṭpadi*. Nāgarasa (c. 1650) has beautifully rendered *Bhagavadgītā* into Kannada in *Bhāmini* metre.

Like the *vachana* literature, *dāsa* literature which begins in this period is one of the precious treasures of Kannada. The first one to write in this tradition, is Narahari who lived at the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th. The Dvaita philosophy profounded by Madhvāchārya is the primary background for this literature. Several *Haridāsas* have composed *kīrtanas* prolifically. Musicality is their prime quality. They appeal for devotion, renunciation and right observance. Śrīpādarāya (c. 1500) and Vyāsarāya (c. 1525) have composed many good *kīrtanas*. Among the *dāsas*, Purandaradāsa (c. 1550) and Kanakadāsa (c. 1550) are noteworthy for their achievements. The *kīrtanas* of these two *dāsas* exhibit heights of poetry.

Besides *kīrtanas*, Kanakadāsa composed in the *Bhāmini śaṭpadi* metre *Rāma-dhānya-charite*, *Naḷa-charitre*, *Haribhaktisāra* and in the *sāṅgatyā* metre, *Mōhanata-raṅgiṇi*. Of these *Naḷa-charitre* is a simple, beautiful and popular poem.

Jagannāthadāsa who lived around 1775 has composed *kīrtanas* and a philosophical work *Harikathāmṛitasāra*. Gōvinda Vaidya's *Kaṇṭhitrava* Narasārāja Vijaya composed in the *sāṅgatyā* metre is an important historical work. *Anubhavāmṛita* of Mahalingarāya (1675), composed in the *Bhāmini* metre, is a fine work propounding the Advaita philosophy.

Literature favouring the Śrīvaiṣṇava religion was produced during the time of the Mysore kings. Several works related to the Śrīvaiṣṇava faith were composed under the patronage of Chikkadēvarāya (1700). This king was a poet in his own right and it appears that he wrote *Chikkadēvarājabinnapa*, *Gitagōpāla* and other works. Chikkupādhyāya composed prolifically in all metres except the *shaṭpadi*; his works do not have much literary value. Siṅgarāya's *Mitravindā Gōvindā* is the first extant play in Kannada; it is in fact an adaptation of Harsha's *Ratnāvalī*. During this period Honnamma composed in *sāṅgatyā*, *Hadibadeya Dharma* a work describing the duties of a wife. Heḷavanakīṭṭe Giryamma (1750) composed *Chandrahāsana Kathe* and other poems in *sāṅgatyā* metre.

There are many Vīraśaiva writers in the Kumāra Vyāsa age. *Śūnyasampādane* belonging to this period is an unusual collection of *vachanas*. This contains heights of mysticism. Tōṇṭāda Siddhalingayati has written some notable *vachanas*.

Dēparāja (c. 1400) has composed *Sobaginasōne* in the *sāṅgatyā* metre and translated *Amaruśataka* from Sanskrit. Of the seven works of Nijaguṇa Śivayōgi (c. 1500) the most important is *Vivēkachintāmṇi*; this is a rare book comparable to an encyclopaedia. Nijaguṇa has composed songs also; Muppina Śhaḍakshari and Śarpabhūshaṇa Śivayōgi continued this tradition.

Lakkaṇṇa-daṇḍēśa (c. 1425) has written a voluminous work *Śivatuttvachintāmṇi* in *Vārdhaka shaṭpadi*, which outlines the Vīraśaiva philosophy. *Vīraśaivāmṛita purāṇa* of Gubbi Mallanārya (c. 1475) is also a work of similar nature. *Saundara-purāṇa* of Bommarasa (c. 1450), *Trishahṭi Purāṇanacharitre* of Surāṅga (c. 1500), *Bhāvachintāratna* of Gubbi Mallanārya, *Chēramakāvya* of Chēramāṅka—all these are in the *Vārdhaka shaṭpadi* metre and narrate the lives of Vīraśaiva luminaries. Another branch of this kind contains *Prabhuliṅgalīle* of Chāmarasa (c. 1430); *Malubasavacharitre* of Siṅgirāja (c. 1500), *Bhairavēśvarakāvya* of Kikkṛi Naṇjuṇḍa (c. 1525), *Mahādēviakkana-purāṇa* of Chennabasavāṅka, *Praulharāyanacharite* of Adṛiśa, *Chennabasava-purāṇa* of Virūpāksha (1585), *Gururāja-charitra* of Siddhanāṇjēśa, *Kathāsūtraratnākara* of Śāntiliṅgaḍēśika and other *shaṭpadi* works. Of these the most noteworthy work is *Prabhuliṅgalīle* of Chāmarasa; this is an excellent poem depicting the life of Allamaprabhu in a symbolic manner. *Rāmanātha-charita* of Naṇjuṇḍa (c. 1525), containing the story of Kumāra Rāma is a purely historical poem and occupies a special place in Kannada literature.

Mention could also be made of *Haricēshandra-sāṅgatyā* composed severally by Rāmarasa Virūpāksha, Ōduva Giriya and Bombeya Lakka (all of the 16th century) and *Bhikshāṇa-charite* of Guruliṅga Vibhu.

An unforgettable name in Kannada literature occurring in this period is that of Sarvajña. His *tripadis* are crystals of wisdom. There is nothing that is not included in their sweep. In many places Sarvajña has been didactic in a poetic manner. He has been compared to Vēmana of Telugu and to Tiṇuvalluvar of Tamil.

And now, the Jaina literature of this period. In the *Jivandhara-charite* of Bhāskara (1425) written in *Bhāminī*, we see an imitation of Kumāra Vyāsa. Of the many works of Kalyāṇakīrti (1440), *Jñānachandrābhyaḍaya* is noteworthy.

In the *Tripurarahana-sāṅgatyā* of Śiśumāyana (1500), the story is narrated allegorically; *Añjanā-charite* is another work of his. Maṅgarasa, the third (1510) has composed *Nēmiñāśasaṅgati*, *Jayanripakārya*, *Samyaktvakaumudi* and other works in the *śaṭpadi* and *sāṅgatyā* metres. *Sāḷva-bhāratā* is authored by Sāḷva (c. 1550); this is the *Bhārata* story according to Jaina tradition.

Ratnākara-varṇi (1560) is one of the best poets of Kannada. His *Bharatēśa-vaibhava* is an unparalleled work of the *sāṅgatyā* genre. The reconciliation of *yōga* and *bhōga* is the great achievement of this poem. This contains touching portrayals of family life. "The *dēśi* of this period reached its highest point in *Bharatēśa-vaibhava*".

Nāgakumāra-charite of Bāhubali, *Bljjaḷarāya-charite* of Dharaṇipāṇḍita, *Rājāvaḷkathe* of Dēvachandra (1800) are some of the works belonging to the last years of this period. Of these *Rājāvaḷkathe* is a prose work of some historical significance.

Mummaḍi Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar who ruled from the end of the 18th century upto the middle of the 19th, has written some prose works. This is a pre-indication of the importance that prose would receive in the modern Kannada period. *Mudrā-mañjūsha* of Kempunārāyaṇa belonging to the early 19th century and *Śrī Rāmāśva-mēdha* of Muddaṇa belonging to the end of the same century are two noteworthy works, containing the characteristics of the period of transition from the old to the new. Muddaṇa's call to do away with verse and his extolling the prose was indeed prophetic. He wrote the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* in prose and *Rāmapaṭṭābhishēka* in the *śaṭpadi* metre.

MODERN LITERATURE

Modern Kannada literature is definitively seen in its true form in the 20th century. If this period be designated as the sunrise, the 19th century where the background for this was readied may be called the dawn. Almost all the genres of modern literature were born during this period. In the beginning there were translations and adaptations; later we see original writings.

Modern literature was formed in a new atmosphere, as a result of new inspiration. The motives behind old literature and those behind modern literature are essentially different. We can say that the motives of modern literature are mostly from the west. While ancient literature derived its inspiration from Sanskrit, modern literature derived its inspiration mainly from English. While old literature grew in an atmosphere of religious thought, new literature blossomed in an atmosphere influenced by science. The system of education introduced by the British brought about a big revolution in the life of the people. As a result, they began to question everything, and a critical attitude developed. A secular point of view replaced the religious one which formerly prevailed. Collective consciousness gave way to individual consciousness. This change in life was inevitably reflected in literature; changed susceptibilities called for new literary forms. This need was met by Kannada's contact with western literature. English literature opened up a wholly new world to the Indians. Because of this, Indian literature acquired new lustre and life

and assimilated new dimensions. The story of Kannada literature is the same as that of Indian literature.

It was the Christian missionaries who ploughed the field of Kannada in the 19th century and prepared it for cultivation. Though their prime motive was religious propaganda, Kannada language and literature could grow because of their activities. It was they who introduced the printing machine. We can only name the most important of these missionaries here. John Hands, William Carey and Reeve separately translated the Bible into Kannada. Moegling and Veigle jointly rendered the *Pilgrim's Progress* into Kannada in 1847—*Yātrikana Sañchāra*. It has been said that "this is the first long story or novel in Kannada". Pre-indication of modern poetry can be seen in some of the Christian hymns translated in the 19th century. From this point of view, *Kraista Gītagaḷu* and *Kannada Saṅgītagaḷu* are noteworthy works. "Modern Kannada poetry made its debut around 1838 in the hymns written by Christian missionaries". However, the work of these missionaries is only of historical significance. The work of native people is the one which played an important role in shaping the modern literature.

Here are a few introductory remarks about each of the genres in modern Kannada literature.

Poetry

Modern Kannada poetry was ushered in by B. M. Srikantiah's *English Gītegaḷu*. This is a collection of poems translated from English and was published in 1921. Even before 'Śrī' published his work, there were scholars who translated English poetry into Kannada: H. Narayana Rao, S. G. Narasimha-char etc. But because they used the old metrical forms they did not exert the influence that 'Śrī' did. Since 'Śrī' formulated new rhythms in *English Gītegaḷu*, his work could become a guide for future poetry in Kannada. *English Gītegaḷu* contains some of the famous poems of the English romantic poets like Wordsworth and Coleridge. This collection achieved novelty in subject matter, language and metre; it opened the age of lyric in Kannada.

In the history of modern Kannada poetry two periods can be identified: pre-independence period and post-independence period: the poetry of the first stage is called *navōdaya* or romantic poetry, while that of the second stage is called *navya* (new) poetry. Between the two stages, there is an interim stage called the *Pragatiśīla* or progressive stage; but it refers more to fiction, not so much to poetry.

Though the poets of the *navōdaya* (renaissance) period were influenced considerably by the English romantic poets, their real foundation was the Indian tradition. That the seeds of romanticism exist in the Indian tradition itself is a fact to be taken note of. This cannot be said of *navya* poetry in which there is a greater measure of imitation.

The freedom struggle of India was a background for the *navōdaya* poets. Enthusiasm and idealism were part of the air one breathed. But they did not overlook the reality and social problems in the name of the ideal; at the same time, they were

not under the illusion that realism is everything. Irrepressible faith in life, an overflowing faith in a transcendental power characterised the *navōdaya* poets. They were neither escapists or cynics.

Navōdaya poetry flourished in all the modes of lyrical poetry like the ode, the elegy and the sonnet; narrative poems and epics were also not absent. All aspects of life, all feelings and moods of the mind found a place in it. It could be mentioned that Kannada *navōdaya* poetry dealt with subjects which have not been dealt with even in English romantic poetry.

‘Śrī’ has also written some independent poems; these can be found in the collection *Hoṅanasugaḷu*. Panje Mangesha Rao wrote some independent poems even earlier than ‘Śrī’. In *Gīṭivīṇḍu* of Govinda Pai, who wrote in the early *navōdaya* period, old Kannada usage is very conspicuous. *Gōlgatha* and *Vaiśākhi* which portray the last days of Jesus Christ and Buddha, respectively, are two important works of Pai. D. V. Gundapa’s feelings of devotion and dedication are expressed in his collection of poems, *Nivēdana*. His is a compact, scholarly style; he has a bias for old metrical forms. His *Maṅkutimmana Kagga* is a work as popular as Sarvajña’s verses; the extent of experience depicted in it is surprisingly large. Śrīnivāsa (Masti Venkatesa Ayyangar) has written both lyrics and narrative poems. His poetry exudes tranquility and gentleness; the culture of the land is especially portrayed in his poems. His *Navarātri* is a unique work, somewhat like Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*. His *Śrī Rāma Paṭṭābhishēka* is also a notable work. *Cheluvu*, *Tāvare* etc. are the collections of Śrīnivāsa’s lyrics. T. N. Srikanthaiah was the first to write love songs in Kannada; *Olume* is his collection.

Kuvempu (K. V. Puttappa), Ambikātanayadatta (D. R. Bendre) and P. T. Narasimhachar—these are three leading names in Kannada *navōdaya* poetry. Kuvempu is a poet known for his emotional outbursts; no one else has described nature’s beauty as he did. A definite ‘vision’ informs all his poetry. His style is lucent with a large vocabulary of Sanskrit words. The richness of his lyrics is contained in several collections like *Koḷalu*, *Pakshikāśi*, *Agnihamsa* and *Navilu*. Kuvempu’s genius which gave narrative poems also reached its climax in *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa Darśanam*; this epic which symbolises *sarvōdaya*, the characteristic mark of this age, is one of the greatest achievements of Kannada literature. This work has been honoured by the Bhāratiya Jñāna Pīṭha. The poetry of D. R. Bendre possesses a singular enchanting power. It has absorbed the essence of folk poetry. It contains the portrayal of the life of ordinary people. Bendre’s power of imagination is fabulous. *Uyyāle*, *Gaṅgāvatarāṇa*, *Nādalīle* etc. are his poem-collections. His *Nākutanti* has received the Jñānapīṭha award. P. T. Narasimhachar is a poet known for his reflective nature. His poems have a musical quality; the style is a bit difficult. Some of his collections are *Haṇate*, *Gaṇēśadarśana* and *Rasasarasvatī*. All these poets are of a spiritual frame of mind.

Vināyaka (V. K. Gokak) is both a *navōdaya* poet and one of the heralds of *narya* poetry. “His poetry is the confluence of intellectualism and spiritualism”. Some of his collections of poems are *Payaṇa*, *Ugama* and *Higga*. V. Sitaramaiah,

whose collections include *Drākshi Dāḷimbe* and *Neḷaḷu Beḷaku* is a poet who emphasises human relationships. K. S. Narasimhaswamy is a popular poet who has depicted most attractively the joys of conjugal life; while he gave romantic poetry in such collections as *Maisūru Mallige* and *Airāvata*, he took to the *navya* mode later. G. P. Rajaratnam's *Ratnana Padagaḷu* is an interesting experiment, where the world is described through the eyes and language of an inebriated man. *Purusha Sarasvati* is a satirical work of his which deserves mention.

Madhura Chenna (*Nanna Nalla*), Sali Ramachandra Rao, Kadengodlu Shankara Bhatta (*Nalme*), Isvara Sankalla, Simpi Linganna, S. V. Parameswara Bhatta, Narayana Sangama, B. H. Sridhara, Siddaiah Puranika, Kayyara Kiyana Rai, S. R. Ekkundi, D. S. Karki, M. V. Sitaramaiah, Gangadhara Chittala—these are some others who wrote poetry in the *navōdaya* tradition. R. R. Diwakar, Kuvempu, S. V. Ranganna, Ja. Cha. Ni., S. V. Parameswara Bhatta, Siddaiah Puranika, N. Prahlada Rao and others have used the old *vachana* genre as a medium of expression in this century. From the point of view of bulk also Ranganna's *Raṅgabinnapa* deserves to be mentioned. Besides *vachanas*, Parameswara Bhatta has successfully employed *tripadi* and *sāṅgāya* metres. Limericks of Dinakara Desai have their own charm.

It may be said that *navōdaya* poetry has not come to an end but is still alive. We see a blending of *navōdaya* and *navya* traditions in Channavira Kanavi and G. S. Shivarudrappa. These poets who began with simple, melodious poems eventually added to their poetry considerable complexity.

After independence, the *navya* (new) school makes its appearance. It has been influenced by western poets like Eliot, Pound, Auden and Dylan Thomas. Disillusionment, a feeling of not belonging anywhere, loss of culture—these and other feelings which the west experienced after the two world wars were naturally reflected in its poetry. Our poets also followed this kind of poetry. Therefore, there is reason to say that the *navyale* in our poetry did not come about as the result of a historical necessity, but as the result of a love of experimentation. It remained the property of a few. The main drawbacks of *navya* poetry are its ambiguity and its extremely personal nature. In the name of social awareness, it is a paradox that this poetry is quite distant from society. The positive points are complexity of experience, unveiling of the subconscious mind, use of symbols and images, and powerful employment of language. These achievements cannot be neglected.

It is said that the *navya* poetry was born in the *Nāṭyōtsava* of Pejavara Sadashiva Rao. Gokak's name must also be remembered here. However, M. Gopalakrishna Adiga may be called the chief exponent of *navya* poetry. Adiga who composed in the *navōdaya* fashion in the beginning gradually became discontent with that mode and proclaiming that "the smell of the earth must again emanate from poetry" embarked upon a new mode. *Chandemaddale* is his first collection of new poems. In Adiga there is a quality which is absent in the other *navya* poets: an awareness of the Indian tradition. At the same time, the obscurity resulting from excessive intellectualism is also peculiar to him. *Bhūmigīta*, *Vardhamāna* etc. are his collections. The charge

of obscurity applies also to the *navya* poems in *Śilālate* of K. S. Narasimhaswamy; nonetheless the picturesqueness, tenderness and sweetness of his poetry are fascinating. His *Tereda Bāgilu* is a superb collection of the present times. The *navyaite* of Gokak's poetry is limited to the technique of expression only.

Sex is the main subject matter in the poems of B. C. Ramachandra Sharma in his collection *Ēḷu Suttina Kōṭe*. Technique is everything in A. K. Ramanujan's poetry. K. S. Nisar Ahmed is able to say clearly and convincingly whatever he has to say. The poetry of Chandrashekhara Kambara and Channanna Walikara has the gusto of folk speech. In the poetry of Chandrashekhara Patil, satire is basic in importance. U. R. Ananthamurthy, K. V. Thirumalesh, Lankesh, K. V. Rajagopal, Sumatindra Nadig, Chandrakantha Kusanur, Lakshminarayana Bhatta, B. R. Lakshmana Rao, Sri Krishna Alanahalli, H. M. Channaiah, Subraya Chokkadi, Giraddi Govindaraj, N. V. Bhagyalakshmi—these and others have added new dimensions to *navya* poetry. (It is difficult to class all these poets as purely *navya*). *Akshara Hosa Kavite* and *Hosa Janāhgada Kavitegaḷu* edited respectively by Lankesh and Buddhanna Hingamire are representative anthologies of *navya* poetry.

Of late a new school of poetry called *dalita* (downtrodden) poetry has been born, as a protest against both the *navōdaya* and *navya* schools. Its stand is essentially a social one, not a literary one. *Holemādigara Hūḍu* of Siddalingaiah must be mentioned in this connection. The future of this poetry, which is inspired by indignation and which easily succumbs to explicitness is yet uncertain.

Drama

Excluding *Mitravindā Gōvinda* of Singarārya (17th century translation), ancient Kannada literature has no plays at all. So, the history of Kannada stage begins only in the last century. In the beginning translations and adaptations rather than original works appeared in greater numbers. At the end of the 19th century plays were translated from Sanskrit on the one hand and from English, on the other; of these the latter are more important. The first original play in Kannada is Karki Venkataramana Sastry Suri's *Iggappa Heggadeva Vivāha Prahasana*, which was written in 1887.

In the 19th and 20th centuries M. L. Srikantesha Gowda, Basavappa Sastry, Gundo Krishna Churamuri, Kerur Vasudevacharya, M. S. Puttanna, D. V. Gundappa and others translated Shakespeare's plays—mainly the tragedies. Gundappa's translation of *Macbeth* is considered to be unsurpassed even to this day.

The contribution of B. M. Srikantiah to Kannada drama is very significant. He transformed the old Kannada poem of Ranna, *Gadāyuddha* into *Gadāyuddha Nāṭakam*. This play shows signs of the influence of Greek tragedies. *Aśvatthāman* of 'Śrī' is an important play; it is an adaptation of *Ajax* of Sophocles, making use of an episode from the *Mahābhārata*. His *Pārasikaru* is the direct translation of a Greek tragedy. Through these plays which are in blank verse and in old Kannada language 'Śrī' set an example for the composing of Pauranic and historical plays in Kannada.

Smaśāna Kurukshētram and *Beraḷge Koraḷ* of Kuvempu are two great plays born in this tradition. But the outlook behind these plays belong to pure Indian tradition. Kuvempu's *Śūdratapavī* is a revolutionary play concerning Śambuka. *Beraḷge Koraḷ* is about Ēkalavya. Govinda Pai's *Hebberaḷu* and Kailasam's *Ēkalavya* also treat of the same theme. Sriranga and Parvathavani have also written Pauranic plays. Sriranga's *Saṅḡitvanī Sāvitrī* is a play which searches for new meanings in the stories of Kacha and Sāvitrī. In this tradition *Yayāti* of Girish Kārnad, which appeared recently, is a good play.

P. T. Narasimhachar is an adept at writing Pauranic operas. His *Ahalye* and *Gōkula Nirgamana* are captivating operas. Shivarama Karanth has also composed some operas.

Several plays have been written about great men and women. Śrīnivāsa's *Yaśōdharā* is a play which depicts the inner conflict of Buddha's wife. Kuvempu's *Mahārātri* also concerns Buddha. Purandaradasa has been the subject of the plays written severally by Śrīnivāsa, Sriranga and Parvathavani.

'Sansa' is a very able writer of historical plays. His *Sugunagambhīra* and *Vigaḍa Vikramarāya*, plays concerning the history of Mysore, were published long ago. Kuvempu's *Raktākshi* is influenced by *Hamlet*. Other notable plays are *Dharmaduranta* and *Nāgarika* of M. R. Srinivasa Murthy, and *Kavibhikshe* of Parvatavani. Girish Karnad's *Tughlak* is a welcome addition to this list.

T. P. Kailasam and Sriranga (Adya Rangacharya) are two play-wrights whose contribution to the growth of social play in Kannada is unique. Because of their efforts, Kannada play came within the reach of the common man. Kailasam's plays contain humour and satire; they have human values. The language of these plays is the spoken mixture of English and Kannada; it survives as a curiosity, but does not appear to be an inevitable medium. Though Kailasam took up social problems in his plays, not much of intellectual inquiry can be found in them. But their historical importance cannot be denied. *Toḷḷugaṭṭi*, *Bahishkāra*, *Sūle*, *Gaṇḍa-skatri* and others are Kailasam's famous plays. Sriranga has composed a large number of plays. His love of experimentation is noticeable in every one of them; he has continuously employed various novel techniques. In his plays there is more intellectual conflict, less physical action. Sriranga used language in a manner different from that of Kailasam. While in Kailasam language appears to be an outside entity, in Sriranga it becomes the embodiment of experience.

Parvathavani has also written many plays. He is clever in managing stage conversation. He has adopted the plays of Shakespeare, Moliere, Chekhov and others. Kaivara Raja Rao has contributed some humorous plays. Bendre is not only a poet, but also a dramatist. *Mūkabali* of Jadabharata and *Ā Mani* of Kirtinatha Kurtakoti are powerful symbolic plays. *Kadaḍida Niru* of G. B. Joshi is an effective play.

The Kannada stage has also seen the absurd play, as it came unaltered from the west. This genre which attracted the attention for a while is inactive now. Some of the noteworthy absurd plays are *Chāḷeśa* of Chandrasekhara Kambar, *Kodegaḷu*

and *Tingara Buddhanu* of Chandrashekhara Patil, *Ellige* by N. Ratna, *Teregaḷu* by Lankesh and *Ilibōnu* by Chaduranga.

Saṅkrānti by Lankesh, *Tughlak* and *Hayavadana* of Girish Karnad are notable plays. *Jōkumārasvāmi* of Chandrashekhara Kambar is a play full of poetic spirit. Yet many other writers of the new generation have written many plays of richly varying kinds; amateur groups have successfully staged them.

Novel

Even before the Kannada came into contact with English, three works bearing some of the marks of the novel had been born in Kannada: *Kalāvāṣi Parīṇaya* of Yādava (c. 1815), *Saugandhikā Parīṇaya* of Mummaḍi Kṛishnarāja Wodeyar (1821) and *Mudrāmāñjūsha* of Kempunārāyaṇa (1823). Still these cannot be called novels in the present day sense of term.

During the last century novels were translated into Kannada from English, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil and Malayalam. The first independent novel in Kannada is *Sūryakānta* of Lakshmana Bhimarao Gadagakara (1892). But this is a historical novel. The first independent social novel is *Indirābāyi* of Gulavadi Venkataraya (1899). After this Bolara Babu Rao's *Vāgdēvi* (1905) draws our attention. A tendency to expose the evils of society and a reformist attitude is evident in these novels. The next step was Keruru Vasudevacharya's *Indirā* (1908).

The two names which stand out in the history of the Kannada novel are. B Venkatacharya and Galaganatha. Venkatacharya translated from Bengali *Ānandamathā*, *Vishavṛiksha* and other novels of Bankimachandra. Galaganatha adapted several Marathi novels of Harinarayana Apte. (*Mādhava Karuṇāvilāsa* is his independent novel). These are the two writers who cultivated the habit of reading among Kannada people, who created a reading public and thus laid the foundation for the tradition of the novel in Kannada. M. S. Puttanna gave a new turn to the Kannada novel. His *Māḍiddunṇō Mahārāya* was published in 1915. It is characterised by its interesting subject matter, live character sketches and its portrayal of human nature. The aim of these early novelists was not only to provide entertainment to their readers, but also to edify them and to correct their way of life.

Subbaṇṇa of Śrīnivāsa is a beautiful short novel. *Samarasave Jivana* of V. K. Gokak is a voluminous work embodying the full view of life (*Pūrṇadṛishṭi*); its philosophy appears to be rather heavy. Playwright Sriranga has written several novels; here also we see him experimenting with techniques. Devudu Narasimha Sastry's *Antaraṅga* is the first psychological novel in Kannada. Devudu has given some fine Pauranic novels like *Mahābrāhmaṇa*.

Kānūru Heggaḍiti and *Malegaḷalli Madamagaḷu* of Kuvempu are two very important novels with a regional background. Both contain a live portrayal of the day to day life of the common people. While the first one is idealistic in approach, the second one depicts reality in an extra-ordinary manner. *Doddamane* of H. L. Nage Gowda, which appeared recently, is a notable work influenced by Kuvempu.

Among the novels of the earlier generation *Mādana Magaḷu* of M. V. Sitaramaiah, *Anna* of R. S. Mugali, *Mahātyāga* of M. R. Srinivasamurthy, *Dēvatā Manushya* of K. Shankara Bhatta, *Attige* of S. Ananthanarayana, *Hēmantaḡāna* of Vyasaraya Ballala, *Nisarga* of Mirji Annaraya, *Śāpa* of V. M. Inamdar, *Sarva-maṅgaḷa* of Chaduranga, *Gaṅgāsāni* of Varagiri, *Dīpa Hattitu* of Ramachandra Kottalagi, *Chiravirahi* of Belle Ramachandra Rao, *Rūpadarśi* of K. V. Ayyar may be mentioned; each of these novels has its own particular characteristics and excellence. Krishnamurthy Puranika has written several melodramatic novels.

Among novels of humour and satire *Dēvadūtaru* of Karanth, *Raṅgaṇṇana Kanasina Dinagaḷu* by M. R. Srinivasamurthy, *Gāḷigōpura* and *Chakradrīshṭi* by N. Kasturi and *Dāsakūṭa* of 'Beechi' deserve to be mentioned.

The two stalwarts of the world of the Kannada novel are Shivarama Karanth and A. N. Krishna Rao: one is known for his substantial output, the other for prolificness of his writings. Karanth has written more than forty solid novels; one must say that his devotion to life and multifaceted experience are truly miraculous. In all his works one can see emotional restraint and an attitude of intellectual inquiry. Though an atheist, he worships human values. Every single novel of his is a quest. There might sometimes be a lack of art in them; but the firm support of the stuff of life is always present in them. Karanth's best novel *Marali Maṇṇige* portrays life across three generations. Some of his other novels are *Beṭṭada Jīva*, *Chōmana Dudi*, *Aḷidamēle* and *Nambidavara Nāka Naraka*. *Mūkajjiya Kanasugaḷu* which received the Jñānapīṭha award is by no means his best novel; its subject matter and technique, however, are new.

As leader of the progressive movement A. N. Krishna Rao influenced many writers. To an extent, the progressive movement was inspired by Russian literature. The stance of the progressive writers is that the pen should be a sword against oppression. This stand relegated art to the background and gave importance to slogans, replaced intellectual inquiry by partisan propaganda. Most of A. N. Krishna Rao's novels are simple ones and read easily. They are not known for their depth. But Krishna Rao's great achievement is that he introduced with boldness such themes as prostitution into the world of the novel and thereby enlarged the circle of readers. *Sandhyārāga* is his best novel; *Naṭasārvabhauma* may be mentioned on account of its bulk.

Important among writers influenced by the progressive movement are Basavaraja Kattimani, T. R. Subba Rao, Niranjana, Archaka Venkatesha and others. These overcame the drawbacks of this movement and contributed some very fine novels. (The interesting thing is that all these writers were more successful than A. N. Krishna Rao). There is both passion and art in T. R. Subba Rao's novels; *Muñjāvininda Muñjāvu*, *Purushāvatāra*, *Bidugadeya Bēḍi* and other novels of his are apt examples. Kattimani has powerfully and poignantly depicted the injustice and corruption found in the society in such novels as *Mōhada Baleyalḷi*, *Jaratāri Jagadguru* and *Jvālāmukhya mēle*: his works give a picture of country life which we cannot find in other progressive writers. *Chirasmarane*, *Raṅgammana vaṭhūra* etc. are the effective

novels of Niranjana; these contain a sympathetic depiction of the life of the common man. These writers—not excluding A. N. Krishna Rao—have also written novels which stand out beyond the progressive movement. Thus, for example, *Hamsagitte* of T. R. Subba Rao is a remarkable work.

Sriranga, V. M. Inamdar, Kattimani, T. R. Subba Rao, Gorur Ramaswamy Ayyangar and others have written novels about the freedom struggle of India. Many historical novels have also appeared in Kannada. Devudu Narasimha Sastry, Ananda kanda, T. R. Subba Rao, Kattimani, Niranjana, B. Puttaswamaiah, Virakesari Sitarama Sastry, Korati Śrīnivāsa Rao, Srinivasa, K. V. Ayyar, M. N. Murthy, C. K. Nagaraja Rao and others have worked in this field. *Channabasavanāyaka* and *Chikavīrarājendra* of Śrīnivāsa are important novels of the type. The queen Śāntalādēvi is the heroine of the novels written by K. V. Ayyar, M. N. Murthy, C. K. Nagaraja Rao and Samethanahalli Rama Rao.

Triveni occupies a special place among women novelists—their number is not small—in Kannada. Several of her novels written with a psychological background have become popular e.g. *Śarapañjara*, *Bekkina Kanṇu* etc. Another important name is M. K. Indira; *Tuṅgabhadra*, *Gejjepūje*, *Phaṇiyamma* are some of her better novels. Mention must also be made of Anupama Niranjana, Vanī and Neeladevi. The contribution of women novelists who did not go beyond the theme of family life and its vicissitudes is, on the whole, limited. *Gaṇḍasaru* of Veena which appeared recently stands apart in a slightly different class.

It is said that *Mukti* of Shantinatha Desai is the first *navya* novel and that the pre-indication of the *navya* novel was already present in *Gaṅgavva Gaṅgāmāyī* of Shankara Mokashi Punekar. (*Navyate* is particularly restricted to the sphere of poetry). It is also held that *Grāmāyaṇa* of Rao Bahadur, which depicts the tragedy of a whole village, proclaimed the coming of the *navya* novel. Be that as it may, *Grāmāyaṇa* is one of the major novels of Kannada. Rao Bahadur has written some other considerable novels.

European writers like Backett, Camus, Sartre, Kafka have influenced the Kannada *navya* novel. Existentialism is a powerful attraction to our present writers. The hero of the *navya* novel is an introspective, weak person; he does not accept the traditional values. He suffers from a feeling that he is an orphan, an alien and that he is lonely in the world. *Mukti* of Shantinatha Desai, *Mūrudārigaḷu* of Yasavanta Chittala, *Biruku* of Lankesh, *Nākaneya Āyama* of Kusumakara Devaragannuru, *Garīshthi* of Giri, *Haḷadimānu* of A. K. Ramanujan (this is in fact a translation), *Guru* of Arya, *Svarūpa* of Tejasvi—all these are novels which appeared more or less in the *navya* framework. Two novels which invited controversy, more than all the above novels, are *Samskāra* and *Bhāratiṭpura* of U. K. Ananthamurthy. In all these novels we find interesting artistic achievement and effective use of language; beyond this, their success seems to be limited. Their main drawback is the shallowness of experience, and alienism of values or a sense of no values. In spite of this, some of these works have earned more praise than they deserved.

Bharatisuta, Inamdar, Janardana Gurkar, T. K. Rama Rao, Suryanarayana Chadaga, Jayathirtha Rajapurohita, H. L. Nage Gowda, Vishukumar, Arvinda Nadkarni, 'Kamarupi'—these and other novelists not belonging to the *navya* circle have written important novels. *Kāḍu* and *Parasaṅgada Geṇḍetimma* of Sri Krishna Alanahalli, *Mussaṅḡeya Kathāprasaṅga* of Lankesha (which appeared recently) present a significant picture of rural life.

S. L. Bhyrappa must be mentioned separately. Today, he is the most popular novelist. He resembles Karanth to some extent. More than art, his works exhibit intensity and wide range of experience. Some have accused that Bhyrappa's novels which uphold orthodox values are reactionary. *Varṇasavriksha*, *Dāḍu*, *Gṛihabhaṅga*, *Anvēśaṇa* are some of his famous novels. His *Parva* is a novel based on the *Mahābhārata*.

Short Story

In its present form, the Kannada short story has been shaped by the influence of western literature. The early short stories were written by Panje Mangesha Rao, M. N. Kamath and Kerur Vasudevacharya. But the father of Kannada short story is Śrīnivāsa (Masti Venkatesha Ayyanagar). Masti's is a positively well meaning heart; he can grasp only the good side of the human nature. In spite of this weakness he has contributed some stories of lasting human interest. In these one may notice a devotion to the values of life and an artistic expression not bound by technique. *Gurugaḷa Mahime* of A. R. Krishna Sastry is noteworthy, also from the point of view of technique. *Dhanvantariya Chikilse* of Kuvempu is a story which suggests the miseries of poverty; *Mīnākshiya maneya mēshṭaru* of the same author contains psychological insight. Bendre, Betageri Krishna Sharma (Anandakanda), Devudu Narasimha Sastry, C. K. Venkataramaiah, Tengse Govinda Rao, R. S. Mugali—all these belong to the first generation of short story writers.

Of the succeeding generation Ananda (A. Sitaram) is the most famous writer. His *Nānu Konda Hudugi* is a very popular short story. Others of this generation are Aswatha, K. Gopalakrishna Rao, M. V. Sitaramaiah and Bharathipriya (S. Venkata Rao). *Mōchi* of Bharathipriya is a very poignant story. From now the course of the Kannada short story becomes wide and multifarious. Mainly responsible for this development were writers like Gouramma, Krishnakumara Kallur, L. S. Seshagiri Rao, Chaduranga, Narendrababu and D. B. Kulkarni. Women writers like Triveni, H. S. Parvati, Prema Bhat, Nirupama, Shantadevi Kanavi have also contributed to this field in recent times. Gorur Ramaswamy Ayyangar and Bagalodi Devaraya are two writers known for their unique sense of humour and satire. There are not many writers who have pictured village life as comprehensively as Gorur.

The progressive movement cast its shadow on the short story also. A. N. Krishna Rao edited and published two anthologies of stories, *Miñchu* and *Kūmanabillu*; besides he himself wrote short stories. More noteworthy is the achievement of Basavaraja Kattimani, T. R. Subba Rao, Niranjana, K. Chanabasavappa and

others. 0-0=00 of Subba Rao is a curious experiment; it is one of the starting points of the *navya* short story. Niranjana's stories contain heightened social consciousness; his *Koneya Girāki* is an unforgettable story. In the similar fashion, *Girije Kanḍa cinema* of Kattimani is a touching story. Some other able short story writers of the progressive school are Chaduranga, S. Ananthanarayana and Shiveswara Doddamani.

After this, we see the Kannada short story moving towards the *navya* school. The initiators of this tradition are Rajalakshmi N. Rao, Ramachandra Sharma and K. Sadashiva. In the hands of these authors, the story becomes a medium of psychological analysis: it is indebted to techniques and uses symbols and images. Important stories are *Ave Maria* of Rajalakshmi, *Seragina Keṇḍa* of Sharma and *Nalliyalli Niru Bantu* of Sadashiva.

U. R. Ananthamurthy has written good stories like *Prakṛiti*, *Praśne* and *Clip Joint*. One sees in them, "an examination of the traditionally obtained values". Ananthamurthy does not conceal the element of story when he portrays the various states of mind. His *Ghaṭasrāddha* uses the technique of observing the sex life of a young woman through the eyes of a small boy. *Roṭṭi* and other stories of Lankesh embody a powerful use of language. *Kshitija* is a famous story written by Shantinatha Desai; the sea as a background in the story is a wonderful symbol. Names of other who enriched the Kannada short story include: K. V. Rajagopal, G. S. Sadashiva, Giraddi Govindaraja, S. Ramakanta, Khasanisa, T. G. Raghava, Yasavanta Chittala, Virabhadra, Srikrishna Alanahalli, Mavinkere Ranganatha, Iswarachandra, Tejasvi, Besagarahalli Ramanna and Sudhakara. Devanuru Mahadeva who came into prominence on account of the recent collection, *Dyāvanūru* is a writer who is a class all by himself; his short stories are remarkable for their sober and restrained depiction of *dalita* life. Veena has given some mature stories, which stand apart from those of other women writers.

Criticism

Like other genres of modern Kannada, criticism is also a new thing; it made its appearance during this century as a result of western influence. In most cases, criticism was written by the very same persons who wrote creative literature, men like T. S. Venkannaiah being exceptions to this rule. Kannada criticism began with such brilliant intellectuals as B. M. Srikantiah, Masti Venkatesha Ayyangar, D. V. Gundappa, A. R. Krishna Sastry and S. V. Ranganna. All these were conversant with English literature and English criticism; added to it was a knowledge of Indian poetics. Though more theoretical criticism was written in the beginning, in course of time, practical criticism also developed.

Bhāṣakavi and *Samskr̥ita Nāṭaka* of A. R. Krishna Sastry contain valuable critical writing. There are few books that can be compared with *Ādikavi Vālmiki* of Masti. Considerably noteworthy are S. V. Ranganna's essays on style and critical writings on Muddaṇa and Kālidāsa. Kuvempu, D. L. Narasimhachar, V. Sitaramaiah, T. N. Srikanthaiah, V. K. Gokak, D. R. Bendre, M. R. Srinivasamurthy,

Sriranga, Malwada, Mugali and others are critics of note belonging to the *navōdaya* period. *Bhāratīya Kāvyaṇāmāṁse* of T. N. Srikantaiah is a masterpiece. Later, such able critics like S. Ananthanarayana, L. S. Sheshagiri Rao, D. Javare Gowda, G. S. Shivarudrappa, H. M. Nayak, Prabhushankara and S. Narayana Setty also draw attention.

Kuvempu's criticism stands out uniquely. It embodies a blending of western and Indian principles of poetics. Kuvempu's criticism is termed *Darśana Vimarśe* (criticism of vision). Articles on ancient literature in his *Tapōnandana* and *Draupadiya Śrīmuḍi* show great originality. Similar originality of poetic inquiry can also be seen in *Kāvyaḥatūhala* of P. T. Narasimhachar.

Critical writings which come after the beginning of the *navya* movement show such limitations of *navya* literature as obscurity, imitation of western authors etc. *Yugadharma hāgū Sāhityadarśana* by K. D. Kurtakoti (1962) is an important work. In spite of its drawbacks, it offers a good evaluation of modern Kannada literature for the first time. Paradoxically, Kurtakoti who is not happy about *navyate* is partial to the *navya* writers!

Navya criticism begins with Gopalakrishna Adiga. Of late U. R. Ananthamurthy, Lankesh, M. G. Krishnamurthy, G. S. Amura, Giraddi Govindaraj, G. H. Nayak, G. N. Ranganatha Rao, D. A. Shankar, Lakshminarayana Bhatta and others have contributed to the growth of new criticism.

The following are some of the works that should be mentioned from the point of view of their importance and volume: *Pīṭhikegaḷu Lēkhanagaḷu* of D. L. Narasimhachar, *Pāśchātya Gambhīra Nāṭakagaḷu* of S. V. Ranganna, *Saundarya Samīkshe* of G. S. Shivarudrappa, *Kannāḍadalli Bhāvagīte* of Prabhushankara, *Sāhityada Virāṭsavarūpa* of D. R. Bendre, *Hosagannaḍa Kaviteya mēle English Kāvyaḍa Prabhāva* of S. Ananthanarayana, *Hosagannaḍada Aruṇōdaya* of Srinivasa Havanur, *Sāhityālōka* of V. Sitaramaiah and *Gadyaśaili* of D. Javare Gowda.

Standard critical writings can also be found in the special volumes published to commemorate such ancient poets as Ranna, Kumāra Vyāsa, Lakshmīsa etc. and felicitation volumes presented to contemporary writers.

Kannāḍa Sahityacharitre of R. S. Mugali is a very commendable survey of ancient Kannada literature. Also noteworthy is his *Kannada Sāhityada Rūpagaḷu*. L. S. Seshagiri Rao's *Hosagannaḍa Sāhitya* is a useful work introducing modern literature.*

Other Genres

In the field of light essays the following names may be noted: M. G. Venkateshaiah, Shivarama Kailāṣa, D. B. Kulkarni, V. Sitaramaiah, T. N. Srikantaiah, P. T. Narasimhachar, Kuvempu, K. S. Narasimhaswamy, A. N. Moorthy Rao, N. Prahlada Rao, Hiremallur Eswaran, Gorur Ramaswamy Ayyangar, M. V. Sitaramaiah, H. S. K., 'Rasi', H. M. Nayak, P. V. Acharya. Of these A. N.

*The present article is partly indebted to this work.

Moorthy Rao is the leading writer. His *Hagaluganasugaḷu* is a well known collection of essays. *Ichalumarada Keḷage* of P. T. Narasimhaiah, *Beḷudiṅgaḷu* of V. Sitaramaiah, *Nanna Maneya dīpa* of H. M. Nayak must also be mentioned.

There are many excellent biographies in Kannada. Early to appear were *Kuṇigallu Rāmaśāstrigaḷa charitre* by M. S. Puttanna, *Āryakṛti* of C. Vasudevaiah and *Divān Raṅgāchārī* by D. V. Gundappa. Good biographies of recent times include *Āḷida Mahāśvāmigaḷu* of C. K. Venkataramaiah, *Svāmi Vivēkānanda* of Kuvempu, *Śrī Rāmakṛishṇa* of Masti and *Rāshṭrakavi Kuvempu* of D. Javare Gowda. Siddavannahalli Krishna Sharma is an important name among writers of penportraits. His *Wārdhā yātrē*, *Paṇakuṭi* and other works are memorable. Other notable works of this kind are *Jñāpaka Chitrasāle* of D. V. Gundappa, *Nā Kaṇḍa Kalāvīḍaru* of Vasudevacharya, *Pañchakaḷasa Gōpura* of B. G. L. Swamy and *Chitragāḷu Patragaḷu* of A. N. Moorthy Rao. The number of autobiographies in Kannada is small. Works of Shivaram Karanth, G. P. Rajaratnam, Navaratna Rama Rao, Masti, K. V. Raghavachar and Javare Gowda may be mentioned.

Travelogue has also developed considerably in Kannada. Some important works are *Pampāyatre* of V. Sitaramaiah, *Samudradācheyinda* of Gokak and *Apūrva Pāśchima* of Karanth. In recent times B. G. L. Swamy, Krishnananda Kamat, Navaratna Ram, Javare Gowda, K. S. Haridasa Bhat, G. S. Shivarudrappa, Prabhushankara, A. N. Moorthy Rao, Gorur and others have authored some good travelogues. *Hasuru Honnu* of B. G. L. Swamy is a work of rare kind.

Literature devoted to intellectual inquiry is not satisfactory in quantity but what little there is, is of a high quality. The leading authors in this field are D. V. Gundappa and Tirumale Tatacharya Sharma. Many authors already mentioned in connection with other genres have contributed to this field also and have thereby enriched Kannada prose. The contribution of Karantha, Kuvempu, Gaurisha Kaikini, S. B. Joshi, H. M. Nayak, Haridasa Bhat, H. Thipperudraswamy, D. Javare Gowda, H. S. K., must be specially taken note of. *Kaṇṇāṭaka Samskr̥iti Samīkshe* of Thipperudraswamy is notable for its bulk as well as for usefulness. Intellectual inquiry is the slogan of the young writers of today; as a result of this, Kannada prose is taking on more and more new forms and is increasingly strengthened. Kannada journalism has served as a constant source of inspiration.

To sum up, Kannada literature has never been stagnant, but has always been as fresh as a flowing river. Like any other literature it is prolific, variegated; it has its glories and moments of weakness, its achievements and limitations, its originality and echoes. Its accomplishment over a period of one thousand years is, on the whole, great and worthy of highest pride.

DEVELOPMENT OF OLD TELUGU LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

K. MAHADEVA SASTRI

THE EARLIEST EXTANT WORK in Telugu literature is Nannaya's *Mahābhārata* written under the patronage of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja Narēndra in the 11th century A. D. No literary work of the pre-Nannaya age has so far been discovered. So we have to depend entirely on inscriptional writings for all our knowledge of the condition of the Telugu language before Nannaya. They clearly indicate that the Telugu language has undergone no little change by the beginning of the second millennium A.D. And Nannaya himself was also partly responsible for the sudden turn in the development of the language about his time which justifies his title, *Āndhrabhāshā-vāg-anuśāsana*. The language adopted by Nannaya became the standard literary language for many centuries after him. A study of the inscriptions of the pre-Nannaya age from c. 200 B.C. to 1000 A.D.—the Old Telugu stage—gives us an understanding of the development of the Telugu language as also of the literary tendencies current at that time.

The oldest inscriptions in the Telugu country upto the middle of the 4th century A.D. are all inscribed in Prakrit, and later Sanskrit supersedes Prakrit as the official language. The inscriptions of the Vishṇukunḍins who ruled during 5-6th centuries so far discovered are all inscribed in Sanskrit. Inscriptions actually written in Telugu become available from the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. Old Telugu thus falls into two distinct periods: (1) the period of the Prakrit-Sanskrit inscriptions from 200 B.C. to 600 A.D. and (2) the period of the Telugu inscriptions from the last quarter of the 6th century (or roughly 7th century) to the end of 10th century. For the period of the Sanskrit-Prakrit inscriptions all our evidence for Telugu consists of the stray Telugu vocables in the names of the villages gifted and in the description of boundaries of the villages. The evidence is meagre but nonetheless it is precious as it enables us to get some gleanings into the condition of the Telugu language during the early period.

The earliest occurrence of a Telugu grammatical form in the Prakrit inscription is *vēpūra*¹ with the adjectival *p*. The corresponding nominative form would be *vē(m)bu-margosa*. The neuter termination *bu* occurs in an Amaravati inscription consisting of the single word (c. 200 A.D.) *nāgahu* beneath the sculpture of a serpent. The ending *bu* is seen in other examples in Old Telugu as *uttarabu*, *vagrabu* (8th century), *kalasabu* (9th century) but it is infrequent. The regular form is *mbu* with the nasal; in Dravidian the nasal and the non-nasal forms co-exist in many cases: *bu* drops out of the language by the 10th century.

Ligatures for the characteristic Dravidian sounds *l* and *r* are found written in the Sanskrit inscription but not in the Prakrit inscriptions. Occurrence of *l* and *r*: *Vilavaṭṭi*,² *lagumbaru*,³ *Palaki*,⁴ *lendulūra*,⁵ *narāchaḍu*, *penukapaṭṭu*,⁶ *arutore*,⁷ *tānri*

konra,⁸ *rēgonram*.⁹ The cluster *nr* as in the village names *tānrikonra* and *rēgonram* is characteristic of Old Telugu.

In Dravidian, the retroflex and the alveolar sounds do not stand initially in a word. Nor are there *r* conjuncts in Dravidian. The development of *l*, *r* and initial conjunct consonants in Telugu is due to metathesis which was operative during this period. Thus *lendulūra*, *rēgonram*, *prakki* (*plakki*)¹⁰; *pralura* (*paral-rice*).¹¹ The forms *cheñcheruvu* and *kamburāñcheruvu*¹¹ show that palatalisation of initial *l* before a front vowel to *ch* had also taken place by this time.

An interesting occurrence of Telugu inflexional form in the midst of a Sanskrit passage met with in an inscription of the 6th century is *vijayarājya samvassarambul* (for-*samvatsarambul*) in the Chikkulla plates. While indicating the date of the reigning king the inscriber inadvertently introduced this form in the Sanskrit text, himself obviously being a Telugu speaker. This expression is one of common occurrence in the *prāśasti* of the kings as seen in the Telugu inscriptions. This is evidence, if evidence is required, of the existence of Telugu as an independent language spoken by the people, overshadowed though for the time being by Indo-Aryan. Telugu comes into its own with the advent of the Chōḷa and the Chālukya rulers who chose to inscribe their royal charters in Telugu. Over a hundred Telugu inscriptions belonging to this age (6-10th century) have been published, there is also a large wealth of Telugu forms in the Sanskrit inscriptions of the contemporary period. All this material enables us to trace the development of grammatical forms of Telugu in fair detail and also gives us an idea of the literary tendencies current in the country before Nannaya.

During the age of the Telugu inscriptions one discerns a difference in the climate of the language during the earlier (7-8th) and later (9-10th) centuries. The language in the inscriptions of the earlier centuries is very much antiquated and abounds in forms peculiar and sometimes unintelligible and also betrays a closer relationship with forms in other South Dravidian languages. In the succeeding centuries, the archaic forms grow less, some of the characteristic phonological changes have worked out, the *tatsama* element increases, and syntax becomes more regular and familiar.

As regards the phonology of this period three features are noteworthy: (1) the preservation of some of the older sounds in archaisms, (2) the completion of some phonological changes by 10th century and (3) the emergence of some other phonological changes in Old Telugu which continued into the Modern Telugu stage.

Preservation of older sounds in archaic survivals alongside their regular later developments: *kēsiri*¹² *kēsi*¹³, elsewhere *k* in this environment is palatalised to *ch* and we get forms like *chēsiri*, *chēsi* etc; *akun* III sg. aorist of *aku*¹⁴ to be regularly *agun*; *nālku*,¹⁵ 'four': regularly *nāluḡu*; -*um* with *m*, conjunctive suffix in *evvarai-vumu*¹⁶ 'whoever'; regularly *nu*; *āṇḍu*¹⁷ year regularly *ēṇḍu*, *envanru*,¹⁸ regularly *anuvānru*; -*rd-* in *perdda*,¹⁹ elders; regularly *pedda*; *Tarkkapulōḷu*²⁰ modern equivalent *Takkavōlu*.

The following phonological changes were accomplished by the end of the 10th century: (1) The change of the retroflexes *ṇ* and *ḷ* to *n* and *l*; eg. *eṇumbodi*, *eṇbodi*

eight; *koniri* they took; *paṇi* work; *kāṇchi* having seen. A typical example of *ḷ* is the plural suffix as in *Vijayarājyasamvatsarambuḷ*. The frequency of occurrence of the retroflexes as in the above forms gradually decreases until by the 11th century they have completely dropped out yielding place to *n* and *l*, thus Modern Telugu *enimidi*, *koniri*, *pani*, *samvatsarambulu*. (2) *L* changes to *d* medially, and to *r* in cluster with another consonant—in metathesised forms, eg. *Chōḷa*, *Chōḍa* (the *ḷ* development appears in what is presumably loan words from Kannada, *Chōḷa*), *palaki plakki prakki*, *kolochu klochchu krochchu*. Inverse spellings like *khaḷga* for *khaḍga* 'sword' and *Amṛlatalālu* name of person, Sanskrit *amṛita*—with *l* for original *d* and *r* indicate the strength of this development in Old Telugu. (3) The gender suffixes masculine *nru* and neuter (*m*)*bu* changed to *ṇḍu* and (*m*)*mu* by the 9th century.

Some changes had their beginnings in Old Telugu and continued into Modern Telugu: (1) Confusion between the hard *ṣ* and the soft *r* seemed to have set in during this period, for we find some forms spelt with either *r*, eg. *tūṣṣu-tūṣṣu* east, *cheruvulu-cheruvulu* tanks, *erugu-erugu* to know. The difference between *ṣ* and *r* was preserved in the speech of Nannaya as may be understood from the fact that the two *r* sounds were kept apart in *prāsa* in the *Āndhra Mahābhārata*. But in the later poets there was a mixing up and by the time of Pōtana, without doubt, *ṣ* fell together with *r*. (2) Examples are available, though rare, for the simplification of a consonant cluster in *r*, *avyavōlu*,²¹ *vōlu* for—*prōlu*; *pāguṇavāra vishava*²²—the form with *r* occurs in 8th century *prāguṇōravishaya*; *peggaḍa*²³ *preggaḍa* *perggeḍa*²⁴. This feature viz. the simplification of the conjunct constant has been more active in Modern Telugu. (3) The dropping of the pre-consonantal nasal may be understood from the spellings in inscriptions, eg. *kāmpulu-kūpulu* farmers, *erumgu-erugu* to know, *ēṃge-ege* 3 sg. past verb of the root *ēṃgu/egu* to go. In Nannaya the nasal after a long vowel is regularly elided, though dialectally it seems to have been kept up. (4) The spontaneous aspiration of stop consonants is attested in inscriptional writings, eg. *ēbhadi* fifty, *irubhadi* twenty, *chaliguṇṭha* (-*guṇṭa* 'pit' place-name-ending). The aspiration had become established in Modern Telugu in some forms like the compound numerals, thus *mupphai*, *nalabhai*, *ēbhai* etc. but *iravai*, *aravai* with -*r*-, *irabhai*, and *arabhai* occur however dialectally in modern Telugu. (5) The loss of medial sounds with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel had its beginnings during this age and continues into Modern Telugu. *ēle*²⁵ (*ēleḍu/ēledi*, those that rule), *upēkshi-ñchina*²⁶ (*upēshiñchinan* if neglected), *ella*²⁷ (*ellan* all).

In the earlier inscription *visandhi* is frequent and even where *sandhi* is observed no rule seems to have been followed. *Sandhi* was however consistently observed in the verse inscription and those written in poetic prose like the Koravi inscription.

In Old Telugu we meet with many forms of words which are unfamiliar to us in later times eg: *pannasa*, *marutru*, *mutlu*, *kalākaṇḍugumu*, *davāvesanu*, *dānyavesanu*. Prakritic influence is clear in the following: *dugirāju*, *dēvanojjalu*, *bejayarāju*, *Bējeitta bhaṭṭāralu*, *Aggijja*, *Bhaddajja*, *Rudrajja*. The regular development of Sanskrit *ārya* in the later period is *ayya* as in the personal names *Aravapayya*, *Bādāya* etc. Loan words like *damṣṣu*, *pariyāruvu* are to be traced to Prakrit *dhammō*, *pariyārō* etc.

Some native words which are constituted of a gender suffix in later Telugu are without it in Old Telugu eg. *pāra* brahmin, as in *penpāra*; *re* 'king, chief' as in *Pāla-rāgariki* in Modern Telugu; *pārūḍu* masculine, *pāruta* feminine, *rēḍu*. In regard to plural formation the suffix *kālu* is peculiar to Old Telugu eg. *Rēvaṇakālu*, *Puddaṇa-kālu*, *cheṁgālu*, *kuṇḍikāḷu* (which is again the plural of *kālu*). In all these *kālu* functions as honorific plural; it is explained as a literal Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit honorific *pādāḥ*, as in *Rēvaṇapādāḥ*.

Most of the case endings enumerated by the grammarians were in use in Old Telugu accusative, neuter instrumental *tōḷa/tō*; dat. *kum*, *kai*; abl: *valanan*, *undi*, *gena*; loc. *an*, *na*, *andu*, *lōpala*. The terminations *kūrchi/gurīnchi*, *chēta/chē*, *koruku*, *kaṇṇe*, *yokka* found in Modern Telugu are not attested in Old Telugu. Though most of these forms like *tōḍa*, *valana*, *lōpala*, *andu*, *undi* are independent words differing at the same time from those of the other Dravidian languages they seem to have already got fixed in the language as mere terminations of the various cases.

There are some verbal roots which are peculiar to Old Telugu eg. *vračchu* to destroy, *anniyambu voḍuchu* to act unjustly, *pai-lēchu* to be elated, *brindambu gonu*, to congregate, *raṁk-ūdu* to commit adultery. Only two finite tenses of the verb are found used in the language of Old Telugu the past and the aorist or *taddharmārthaka*. Of the two tenses the past is more definite and frequently used, particularly in the third person, which is due to the nature of the subject matter dealt with in the inscription viz. that a gift was made by some person. The *taddharmārthaka* serves for the present and the future tenses, besides also modalities of action like the benedictive and the optative. There is no occurrence of the personal verb of the present or the future in Old Telugu.

The appositional type of sentence construction is very common in the inscription eg. *Kuṇḍikāḷuḷa ichchina pannasa iravadiyādināḷku marunturlu nēla*. The early inscriptions are characterised by a number of colloquialisms; obviously the text was written by an official, not a scholar. One striking example is the use of two or more simple sentences involving much repetition to express an idea that would go in a single sentence or take a different construction in the Standard speech. The Erra-guḍipadu inscription²⁸ may be taken as an illustration *Erikalmutturājulla kuṇḍikallu nivabhukānu ichchina pannasa*, *Dujayarājula Mutturājulu Navapriya Mutturājulu Vallava Dukarājulu śākshi kēnu ichchina pannasa koṭṭambuna pāraku kuṇḍikāḷuḷa ichchina pannasa iravadiyādināḷku marunturlu nēla*. The Kapileśvarapuram inscription²⁹ of the 8th century may be given as another instance of colloquialism of a different kind—the words in the sentence are loosely put together without any indication of the attributive connections between them. 11. 4-7: *vāri koḍuku Bādaya koḍuku Mattiśaku tabunru*. *Śakavaiśravanu koḍukuḷ Pōlaya bhāṭaraḷa panneśaḷaku* etc. Here *vāri koḍuku* is used in apposition with *Bādaya*, *Bādaya koḍuku* in apposition with *Mattiśa*, *Mattiśaku tabunru* in apposition with *Śakavaiśravanu*, *Śakavaiśravanu koḍukuḷ* is in apposition with *Pōlaya bhāṭaraḷu*.

The attributive word generally precedes the noun it qualifies but there are instances of variation in this regard in Old Telugu eg. attribute used after the subject:

Komaripāra Rēvaśarmma Kāśyapa gōtriniki;³⁰ the adverb is used after the verb: *marutuṇḍu prasāda chēsiri āchandrādārakambu nilvanu*;³¹ the object sometimes comes after the verb; *Rēvaṇakālu Puḍḍaṇakālu ichchina pannasa penpāra Iśerēnikin*.³²

The *maṇipravāḷa* style i.e. the use of Sanskrit forms or even entire sentences mixed up with Telugu is met with in Old Telugu e.g. *vāchcho . . . lāḷa koḍuku Pallavācharyasya likitam*;³³ again observe the text of the following inscription³⁴ where in the same sentence there is a transition from Telugu to Sanskrit: *svasti sarvvalōkāśraya śrī Viṣṇuvarddhana mahārājula pravarddhamāna vijayarājyasamvatsarambul padiḷ agun ṇṇṭa Vikramāditya tanaya śrī Viṣṇuvarddhana prasādā chchatṭapākhyēnav Indrakīḷe pratishṭhitah Pārthīśvaraḥ*.

The relative and the passive constructions have developed in Telugu due to Sanskritic influence e.g., *Erigal dugarājul ichchina pannasa Kochchiyapāra Rēvaśarmmarīkin tēni lachchinavānru pañchamahāpātaka samyyuktunr āgu*.³⁵ The use of *tēni* in relative constructions of this type is not found in later inscriptions. The purpose of this type of construction is served by the relative participle in Telugu. We come across two sentences in the passive in Old Telugu *paṭṭam kaṭṭabaḍinavānru, paṭṭam kaṭṭabaḍi*.³⁶

Verse inscriptions begin to appear in Telugu from the middle of the 9th century A.D. The earliest verse inscription is the Addaṅki inscription of Pāṇḍuraṅga, commander of the Eastern Chālukya king Guṇaga Vijayāditya.³⁷ It contains a single verse in *taruvoja* metre followed by a prose passage—the earliest model of *champu* writing which from Nannaya onwards was most common in literary composition. The *taruvoja* seems to be a development from *dvipada*. The *dvipada* is a couplet of 2 lines each having 3 *indra gaṇas* and a *sūrya gaṇa* bound by *prāsa* and each line having *yati* at the beginning of the third foot. The *dvipada* may run on into any number of couplets; there is no restriction. This *dēsi* metre seems to have been adopted and adjusted to the Sanskrit model of a four line verse by converting two lines of the *dvipada* into one line and having four such line, bound by *yati* and *prāsa*, which is *taruvoja*. This shows how new form of verse began to be constructed from some of the old metres of indigenous origin in imitation of the *vṛitta* models in Sanskrit during this time. Some of the *akkaras* and the various types of *regadas* mentioned by *lākṣhaṇikas* as four lined *vṛittas* bound by *yati* and *prāsa* seem to be also such innovations. Nāgavarma has given a Sanskritic name *ragaṭābandha* to an indigenous metre; it is no other than *regada*, a *dēsi* composition prevalent in Telugu and Kannada and not in Sanskrit.

It is significant that all the verse inscriptions found in Old Telugu so far are in *dēsi* metres. The Eastern Chālukya kings were responsible for encouraging the *dēsi* models in Telugu though from the time of Nannaya the Sanskritic element gained preponderance.

The *dēsi* compositions were not favoured by the scholars. Hence there was very little chance of their being committed to writing and handed down to posterity. That is why we have no record of the various *dēsi* compositions in Old Telugu,

though we meet with many references to them in the works of later poets like Pāṭuriki Sōmanātha.

While the verse inscriptions are available to us in Old Telugu from the middle of the 9th century the discovery of an inscription written in the literary dialect as early as the 7th century enables us to infer that literary cultivation was there from the period of the oldest Telugu inscriptions. This is the Turimeḷḷa inscription³⁸ in the Kurnool District inscribed by the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya I (c. 680 A.D.). The chief features of the *kāvya śāli* in the inscription are the regular observance of the *sandhi* rules, the use of the *taisama* vocabulary and the regularity of syntax. The text of the inscription together with translation is given below.

*Om śrīmat Satyāśraya śrī prithivī-vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-
Vikramāditya-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārulākum śrīmad-unnata pravarddhamāna
vijaya-rājya-saṃvatsarambuḷ ā-chandra-tāra-purassaram dviṭīya-varshum
pravartamānam kānu Goggi bhaṭṭarala dakṣiṇa bhujāyamānumr-ayina Alaku-
mara priya tanayimr-ayina Ujēnipiśācha nāmadhēyimru {Turu}taṭṭākanām
ābhidhāna-nagar-adhishṭānumr-ayi Ēruva-[visha]vaṃb-ḷān tasya mātā
dattam Gōvrishāṇa bhaṭṭārakō śata-paṃchāśat kshētram*

Translation

Om! Hail! In the second year of the ever increasing years of the victorious reign of the illustrious Satyāśraya-Śrī-Prithivī-vallabha-māhārājādhirāja-Vikramāditya-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭāra, when he who was called Ujēnipiśācha, the dear son of Ālakumara and the right hand man of Goggi-bhaṭṭara was ruling over the Ēruva-vishaya (i.e. province) with the city of Turutaṭṭāka as its capital, his (Ujēnipiśācha's) mother made a gift of 150 units of land to Gōvrishāṇa-bhaṭṭāraka

Notes and References

1. Myākāḍōni inscription of Siri Pulumāvi-Sātavāhana c. 145 A.D.
2. Viḷavaṭṭi grant of Pallava Simhavarman II, Nellore District, 4th century.
3. Chura grant of Pallava Vishṇugōpavarman, Guntur District, 4th century.
4. Rāmattirṭham plates of Vishṇukunḍin Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, Vizag District, 6th century.
5. Chikkulla plates of Vishṇukunḍin Vikramēndravarman II, Godavari District, 6th century.
6. Oṅgōḍu grant of Pallava Simhavarman II, Guntur District, 4th century.
7. Pedavegi plates of Śālaṅkāyana Nandivarman, Godavari District, 5th century.
8. Goranṭla plates of Ānandagōtra Attivarman, Guntur District, 5th century.
9. Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II, 6th century.
10. *Et.*, Vol. 31, p. 129.
11. Pedavegi plates of 5th century.
12. Bhairavakoḍa inscription of 6th century.
13. *Et.*, Vol. 30, p. 69, 700 A.D.
14. Potlādurti inscription of Rēnāṭi Chōḷa, 7th century.
15. Erragudiḍaḍu inscription of Rēnāṭi Chōḷa, 6th century.

16. Mächerla inscription of Jayasimhavallabha, 7th century.
17. Rāmēāvaram inscription of Rēnāṭi Chōḷa, 7th century.
18. Nalajanampāḍu inscription, 7th century.
19. Ahadanakara inscription of Eastern Chālukya, 8th century.
20. Tippalūru inscription of Rēnāṭi Chōḷa, 7th century.
21. *Bhārati*—1939, Vaiśākha, 8th century.
22. *IA.*, Vol. 13, 10th century.
23. *SII.*, Vol. X—623, an undated inscription in Old Telugu from Bisinikōḍa, Chittoor District.
24. Dharmāvaram inscription of the time of Vijayāditya III, 9th century.
25. Ahadanakara inscription, 8th century.
26. Bezvada inscription of Yuddhamalla, 9th century.
27. Kalakaḍa inscription of Bhuvanatrīṇētra Irugeya-mahārāja, 10th century.
28. *EI.*, Vol., 27 p. 225, 6th century.
29. *Journal of the S. V. Oriental Institute*, Tirupati, Vol. 5.
30. Malepāḍu inscription, 7th century.
31. Chilamakūru inscription, 8th century.
32. Poṭṭadurti inscription, 7th century.
33. Nalajanampāḍu inscription, 7th century.
34. Bezvada inscription, published in the *Journal of the Telugu Akademi* Vol., 7, p. 227.
35. Indukūru inscription.
36. *SII.*, Vol. X, p. 638, 629.
37. *EI.*, Vol. 19, p. 271, 848 A.D.
38. *EI.*, Vol. 29, p. 160.

MIDDLE AND MODERN TELUGU LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

R. V. S. SUNDARAM

LANGUAGE

The emergence of Nannaya's *Mahābhārata* is a memorable event in the History of Telugu language and literature. Nannaya is the poet who standardized the Telugu language by writing an outstanding work of art in 11th century. Hence, an attempt is made to explain various features of Telugu language, taking into account different historical stages of development.

In the development of Telugu language we can recognize three major periods. We may designate the early period from the beginning of the Christian era to 1000 A.D. as that of Old Telugu. The period 1000-1600 A.D. may be called that of Middle Telugu and the period from 1600 A.D. onwards may be called that of New Telugu. We can trace many changes in sounds, gender, number, case and many other grammatical features while making a historical study of Telugu language.

Sounds

L (*l*), a dravidian sound, is preserved in Old Telugu. It is found initially, in the middle and as a cluster also. Probably it had the pronunciation of a voiced retroflex spirant. Being an unstable sound in Telugu, it changed into *ḍ*, *r* and *ḷ*. There is no indication of *l* in Nannaya's *Mahābhārata*. However, this sound is found in some of the inscriptions for some time even after Nannaya.

R is found as a separate phoneme in Old Telugu though there is confusion between *r* and *ṛ*. During Nannaya's period there is no mixing of these two sounds in literary works. Gradually *ṛ* replaced *r* in literature and inscriptions. In Modern Telugu the trill (*ṛ*) is almost eliminated.

From the 17th century the denti-labial spirant, '*f*' has come into existence through Hindustani and English words. It is considered to be a separate sound in Modern Telugu. '*ʼe*' has attained the status of separate phoneme in the present day language. e.g. *baenku*, *vachchaeḍu*, *kottaēḍu*.

Gender, Number

Gender marker is generally not found in native stems. But there are some gender suffixes like *ḍu*, *mu*. It can be said that there is only a two way gender distinction in the singular and a two way distinction in the plural. The feminine is added in the non-masculine in the singular and epicene in the plural. Gender distinction in Telugu is as follows.

Singular
Masculine
Feminine and Neuter

Plural
Masculine and Feminine
Neuter

In the scheme of gender, Telugu occupies a midway position between the South Dravidian and the Central Dravidian-North Dravidian languages. In Middle Telugu we find masculine gender suffixes like *ṇḍu*. In New Telugu *ḍu* is found as a suffix. *Lu* is the plural suffix for both masculine and feminine forms. Neuter suffixes in Middle Telugu are *mbu*, *mmu* and *mu*. In New Telugu *mu* and *m* are found. *Mbu* is not found in spoken language. These suffixes are mostly found in the words from Sanskrit. Most of the native words have no gender markers in the singular.

Case

In Telugu there is no special termination for nominative case. The stem itself forms the nominative singular. The pluralising suffix is added to the nominative plural. However, suffixes like *ṇḍu*, *ḍu*, *mbu*, *mmu*, *mu*, are added to Sanskrit stems. In the plural *ru*, *ṛu* and *lu* are added. We do not find some of these in Modern Telugu. Suffixes like *mbu ṛu*, *mmu* are not to be found in most of the present day writings and spoken tongue.

Accusative suffixes in the Middle Telugu are *n* and *nun*. In Modern Telugu also *n* is found in different forms like *ni*, *nu*. Eg. *ṭalanu*, *vāḍini*, *chēṭini*, *kālunu*. *Kun* is the dative suffix which has a nasal at the end. This is not found in other languages (Ta. *ku*, *kku*; Kan: *ke*, *ge*, *kke*; Tuḷu. *ku*, *gu*). Though *kun* is a dative suffix, it is included in the genitive by many grammarians. In Modern Telugu *ki* and *ku* are the dative suffixes. *Valanan* and *Kaṇṭen* are found as ablative suffixes in Middle Telugu words. *Kaṇṭe* has become *Kanna* in Modern Telugu.

In the locative *an*, *nan*, *n* are used. *Lō* is used as the locative suffix in Modern Telugu.

Pronouns

In Middle Telugu we find Personal Pronouns like *ēnu*, *īvu*, *ēmu* and *nēmu*. These pronouns have no place in Modern Telugu. We can notice the occurrence of *nēnu*, *nīvu* and *mēmu* in both Middle and Modern Telugu.

As far as the demonstrative pronouns are concerned, Nannaya selected only one or two forms from varied forms which were there in inscriptions. *Vāḍu* is the demonstrative masculine singular pronoun found in Nannaya. *Vāru* is the plural form. It has become *vāḷḷu* in Modern Telugu.

Verbs

We can notice some changes in the form of verbal roots in Middle Telugu. In some of the early classical texts there are some verbal forms without formative suffixes. In some forms there is an ending—*cu*. This *cu* becomes *yv* in later language though it is not a general rule. Some simple roots have become compound roots in Modern Telugu, eg. *Vrēlu* 'to hang' (Middle Telugu)—*vrēḷāḍu* (Modern Telugu). Some roots which were in use as principle verbs have become auxiliaries.

In some of the works of old Telugu poets, some roots are used as both transitives and intransitives. Some peculiar uses of transitive verbs are found in Nannaya's

work. In Modern Telugu we can notice many changes in verbal roots. Some vowel-ending roots behave as consonantal-endings. In Middle Telugu we can see many Sanskrit roots taking the augment *iy*. But in Modern Telugu such roots are used without using the augment 'iy' eg: *bhujiyinchu* > *bhujinchu*. Hence, we find many changes in Modern Telugu when we compare it with Middle Telugu and Old Telugu.

LITERATURE

Kavitraya

Āndhra Mahābhārata is the first major work to be considered in the history of Telugu literature. The translation from Vyāsa's Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* is first undertaken by Nannayabhaṭṭa of 11th century A.D. Nannaya is one of the *kavitraya* (the poet trio), others being Tikkana and Errana. These three poets contributed much to Telugu literature by translating *Mahābhārata*. Though it is a translation, the Telugu *Mahābhārata* looks like an independent poem because of many omissions and additions.

Nannaya, while attempting for the first time a major poem, had to face many problems. He solved the problem of vocabulary by borrowing many words from Sanskrit. He can be referred to as the maker of standard Telugu as he selected few forms from contemporary inscriptions and spoke in tongue to build a standard language to be used in *Mahābhārata*. Nannaya's translation came to an abrupt end after two and a half *parvas* namely, *Ādiparva*, *Sabhāparva* and a portion of *Aranyaparva*. We do not know the reason why Nannaya was not able to complete the translation of *Mahābhārata*. Anyway the people of Andhrapradesh are indebted to Rājarājanarēndra, the Eastern Chālukya king, who requested Nannaya to start the translation of *Vyāsamahābhārata*.

Chronologically Tikkana is the second poet among the poet trio, but considered to be the greatest poet in Telugu. Tikkana was a minister in the court of Manumasiddhi, who ruled over Nellore during the 13th century. Tikkana is not only a *mahākavi* and *mahāmantri*, but also a great philosopher. He is the propounder of *Harihara Advaita* which was the need of the hour. He tried to bridge the gap between the followers of Hari and Hara.

Tikkana's maiden work namely *Uttararāmāyaṇamu* is dedicated to Manumasiddhi, his patron. At a time when the most popular literary form was *chamṇū*, Tikkana attempted his *Rāmāyaṇa* using only verses (*Nirvachana*). But, his translation of *Mahābhārata* is in *chamṇū* style. Tikkana's *Mahābhārata* contains 15 *parvas* from *Virāṭaparva* to *Svargārōhaṇaparva*. For reasons unknown, Tikkana did not attempt the left out portions of Nannaya's *Aranyaparva*.

Tikkana's style consists of a majority of Telugu words. Hence, Tikkana is considered to be the first major poet to give much importance to idiomatic Telugu. Each and every *parva* of his appears to be an independent poem. Tikkana's proficiency in warfare and politics are very well depicted in his *Mahābhārata*.

Errana (c. 14th century) is the last poet of the trio. He is the poet who completed the translation of *Mahābhārata* by writing *Aranyaparvaśeṣa*. Thus, the

translation work of *Mahābhārata* in Telugu took nearly three centuries for completion. Errana deserves his place in *kavitraya* by virtue of his translation of *Mahābhārata* in a scholarly style. Even otherwise he is equal to the other two members as is very well revealed by his works like *Harivamśamu* and *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇamu*. In total, the influence of the poet trio on Telugu language and literature is immense.

Śivakavitraya

In Telugu we can recognise two major literary conventions namely the *mārga* and the *dēśi*. *Mārga* is the one which follows mostly the traditions of Sanskrit and *dēśi* is the one which consists mostly of native traditions. *Kavitraya* poets stand for *mārga* tradition and the *Śivakavitraya* stand for *dēśi* tradition.

Nannechōḍa is the first among the *Śivakavitraya*. Some of the Telugu scholars put Nannechōḍa even before Nannaya. But, the considered opinion is that he lived in between the time of Nannaya and Tikkana i.e. c. 12th century. Nannechōḍa, who is the first kingpoet in Telugu, is very well-versed with Telugu, Sanskrit, Kannada and Tamil. His poem, *Kumārasambhavam* is a meeting point of all these traditions. There is a mention of many traditions of Kannada literature in his poem. Though Nannechōḍa boasts himself as a *dēśi* poet, his *Kumārasambhavam* follows mostly *mārga* traditions.

Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā (12th century) is one of the *Paṇḍitatraya* of the Śaiva school. His *Śivatatvasāramu* is a book of guidelines for the followers of Śaivism. Many of his other works are not available now.

Pāṭkuriki Sōmanātha (13th century) is popular both in Andhra and Karnataka. He is one of the scholarly poets in Telugu. Sōmanātha is considered to be the real *dēśi* poet in its fullest sense. He has raised the folk metre *Dvipada* by writing two of his major poems, *Basavapurāṇamu* and *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitramu*. Sōmanātha's works have the privilege of being translated into other languages like Sanskrit, Kannada and Tamil.

Basavapurāṇamu of Sōmanātha depicts the life-story of Basavēśvara in puranic style. There is a considerable influence of Kannada *Basavapurāṇa* of Bhīmakavi on later Kannada works dealing with the story of Basavēśvara. Sōmanātha is the first poet in Telugu to write a variety of literary forms like *Dvipada*, *Udāharaṇa*, *Ragaḷe*, *Gadya*, *Śataka* etc. *Śivakavitraya* in Telugu represent a new method of writing, a new way of thinking and literary style.

Śrīnātha and Pōtana

The age of Śrīnātha and Pōtana (1350-1500) is called an intermediate period as it has the qualities of the Purāṇa Age (11th century to the 14th) and the Prabandha Age (16th century). *Prabandha* is a special type of *kāvya* which has taken shape in Śrīkrishṇadēvarāya's time. Śrīnātha paved the way for the emergence of *Prabandha* in Telugu.

Śrīnātha is a poet of the highest order. He has a style of his own. There is much variety in his works. *Śrīngāra Naishadham* of Śrīnātha is a translation of Harsha's

Naishadīya Charitam'. His *Bhīmakhaṇḍamu* and *Kāśikhaṇḍamu* are local legends dealing with holy places. *Kṛṣṇabhirāmam* which is attributed to Śrīnātha is a *vīthi*, a type of performance. His *Haravilāsamu* is a poem dealing with different stories of Śiva. Śrīnātha's *Gāthāsaptasāti*, a work translated from Prakrit is not available now. Known for his profound scholarship he toured extensively in Andhra and Karnataka and spoke out many extempore verses which are called *Chāṭupadya*.

Pōtana is a contemporary of Śrīnātha. He is the most popular classical poet in Telugu. Pōtana's *Bhāgavatam* has many appealing episodes. He is known for his lucid treatment of story, arrangement of beautiful words, strong devotion towards Viṣṇu. Many of his verses are remembered as they are ornamented with alliterations. *Gajēndramōksha*, *Dhruvacharitra*, *Prahlādakathā*, *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* are some of the popular episodes of Pōtana.

Gaurana, Jakkana, Anantāmātya, Pinavīraṇa are some of the contemporaries of Śrīnātha and Pōtana. This period is an advancement over Puranic Age. The shape of Telugu *kāvya* has begun to change. Poets of this age have translated some poems from Sanskrit. There are translations from Sanskrit drama but in the form of a poem.

Śrīkṛṣṇadēvarāya and others

Śrīkṛṣṇadēvarāya is called the 'Āndhra Bhōja'. His contribution to Telugu literature is noteworthy. Poems of his times are generally referred to as *prabandhas*. *Prabandha* (=well knitted one) is a *kāvya* with a story taken from any Purāṇa and enlarged with the help of eighteen types of descriptions (*aṣṭādaśa varṇana*). It should have the unity of plot. The main sentiment of *prabandha* is *śṛiṅgāra* or *vīra*. Some of the *prabandhas* have *bhakti* as the main sentiment.

Śrīkṛṣṇadēvarāya was a king, poet and patron of many poets. It is said that in his court (called Bhuvana vijayam) there were eight major poets by name '*Aṣṭa-diggajas*'. Though there is a controversy about the names of these scholars, this conception itself would definitely show the interest of the king in the literary field.

He was himself a scholarly poet in Telugu. His *Āmuktamālyada* is one of the *pañchamahākāvyas* in Telugu. It describes the story of Gōdādēvi and Śrīraṅganātha. Nature descriptions of this king poet are unique. His personality as a great politician is very well depicted in *Āmuktamālyada*.

Among the poets of his court Peddana was the most honoured. Peddana's *Manucharitramu* is a typical *prabandha*, which was the source of inspiration for many other *prabandhas* in Telugu. Varūdhini and Pravara, the main characters of *Manucharitra* stand for the sentiments *śṛiṅgāra* and *śānta*. A conflict of these two emotions is depicted in the poem.

Nandi Timmana is a poet of repute in Telugu. His *Pārijāṭapaharaṇam* is dedicated to Śrīkṛṣṇadēvarāya. Timmana is known for his lucid style. *Satyabhāma* of Timmana is a character to be remembered in the history of Telugu literature.

Dhūrjaṭi, a devotee of Śiva is also given a place in the king's court. *Śrī Kājahastī māhatmyamu* and *Śrī Kājahastīvara śatakamu* are the two works of Dhūrjaṭi which

fetched him immense fame. Dhūrjaṭi's *Śatakam* is one of the best among such forms of Telugu literature. He expresses his innermost emotions in his *Śatakam* which is lyrical in nature.

Piṅgaḷi Sūrana of the same period is much appreciated for his originality. His *Kaḷāpūrnōdayamu* is a poem with many special features. It has a story which is original and resembles a novel. Sūrana's treatment of story is much praised by critics like C. R. Reddy. Sūranāś *Rāghavāpāṇḍaviyam* is a *dvyārthi kāvya* (a poem with double meaning). In this unique poem, both the stories of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* are joined together. It is achieved with the help of *ślēṣha*, a figure of speech by which we can understand each poem as belonging to both *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. Piṅgaḷi Sūrana's *Prabhāvatī Pradyumamu* is another poem of Puranic importance.

Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa of the Prabandha period seems to be a musicologist. Many of his verses in *Vasucharitra* may be sung with *rāga* and *tāla*. *Vasucharitra* is a typical *prabandha* like *Manucharitra* of Peddana. The poem of Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa influenced later poets to a great extent. In the later years we find some imitations of *Vasucharitra*.

Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa is known to the people as a poet-comedian in the court of Śrīkṛṣṇadēvarāya. But, his presence in the royal court is doubtful. As far as his writings are concerned, he is not a poet of comic nature. He is a scholarly poet in Telugu having contributed a *mahākāvya* by name *Pāṇḍuraṅgamāhūtmayamu*. This *prabandha* is a masterpiece among the poems of Śrīkṛṣṇadēvarāya's period. Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadra, Mallana, Radhāmādhavakavi, Kandukūru Rudrakavi and others have contributed by their writings to the bulk of *prabandhas* during this period.

Vēmana

A poet of the masses with full of social consciousness is Vēmana. This poet of unknown date is not a *mahākavi* if the writing of a *mahākāvya* is a criterion. The verses of Vēmana which are mostly written in a native metre namely *Āṭaveladi* are enriched with great ideas. Vēmana has rich experience acquired straight from the society. He is a dedicated social poet with natural ability to compose poetry.

Southern School of Telugu Literature

From about 1600 A.D. the period in the history of Telugu literature is referred to as one of the Southern School of Telugu Literature. After the fall of Vijayanagara, there was no royal patronage for poets. Hence, many of them had to migrate to the southern part (i.e., Tanjore, Madurai, Pudukkottai, Chenji etc) of the country. In Tanjore, the Nayaks who were subordinates to Vijayanagara kings, had literary taste to the fullest extent. So we find many king-poets and patrons in the field of Telugu literature during the Nayak rule. This was followed by Maharashtra kings after they captured power at Tanjore.

Among the Nayak kings the first place should go to Raghunātha Nāyaka who is a poet of considerable importance. Chēmākūra Vēṅkaṭakavi is a poet of high order in the court of Raghunātha. His *Vijayavilāsamu* is the best poem produced during

this period. Raghunātha who is a poet himself has written *Vālmīki charitra*. Vijayarāghava, son of Raghunātha Nāyaka is also a poet and patron of poets. Rangājamma, a poetess of great repute was in the court of Vijayarāghava.

There are some features which are to be remembered regarding the southern school of Telugu literature. Most of the poets in the period of Nayaks and also the Maharashtra rules have given much importance to *Yakshagāna* literature. Hundreds of *Yakshagānas* were written and performed during this time. Most of the works of this period have love as the main sentiment. Accordingly Kṛishṇa, Indra, Chandra and such heroes are given much importance. (Eg. *Rādhikāsāntvanam*, *Ahalyāsankrandanam*, *Tārāśaśānkam*). Language of the works belonging to this period is sometimes ungrammatical. With all these, we have to note the variety in the works of southern school. *Yakshagānas*, *Prabandhas*, *Padas*, prose works etc have come into existence in Tanjore, Madurai, Mysore, Chenji and Pudukkottai. In the midst of poets of no importance, we have such stalwarts like Tyāgarāja in the very same southern region. Contribution of Tyāgarāja and Kshētrayya of the same period to Karnataka music is noteworthy.

Modern Telugu Literature

The period from about 1875 may be called that of Modern Telugu literature. In the beginning we find traditionalists with little modern outlook. Gradually, we can notice many experiments in various fields of literature.

Modern Telugu literature is mainly influenced by Western literature. British rule of India threw open doors to many isms which prevailed in Western countries. Many new literary forms have come into existence. Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848-1919) may be referred to as the chief architect of Modern Telugu literature. His contribution includes poems, novels, dramas, comic plays, essays and autobiography. The diversity of Veeresalingam's literary works is amazing. He is rightly called the father of modern Telugu prose. *Rājashēkharucharitra* of Veeresalingam is the most appreciated earliest novel in Telugu. His *Kavulacharitra* is one of the foremost attempts to write the history of Telugu literature. His *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* is one of the most popular translations in Telugu. Veeresalingam's works have been translated into languages like Kannada and English.

Among the writers of 19th century and the earlier part of 20th century we can mention the name of Tirupati Venkata-kavulu (Tirupati Sastry and Venkateswara Sastry). These writers who have contributed much in the form of poetry and drama and created a new world of poets and scholars. They visited many *samsthānas* of the time and participated in literary discussions. They are the two who have given life to the literary performances namely *ashvāvadhānam* and *śatāvadhānam*. Others who need a mention are Venkaṭa Parvateśa Kavulu, Chalakamarti Lakshminarasimham, Sripada Krishnamurthysastry and Chinnaya Suri.

Poetry

As the literature of modern times is so vast, we have to divide it into different heads while making a study. Modern Telugu poetry is the outcome of

many influences like that of Western literary conventions, national movement etc., Though we find some new thoughts in the poetic works of Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Tirupati Venkata-kavulu, Venkata Parvateesa Kavulu, C. R. Reddy and others, Gurazada Apparao is referred to as the father of modern Telugu poetry. Gurazada (1862-1915) has contributed many forms of modern poetry in Telugu. Foremost of them is *Muthyālasaram*, a metre in which Gurazada wrote most of his poems. His *Pūrṇamma*, *Dēśabhakti*, *Lavaṇarājukala* etc., have influenced many later poets.

Rayaprolu Subbarao (b. 1892) is equally an important poet having influenced hundreds of poets of younger generation. Subbarao who started publishing his poems from the age of eighteen, could create a number of poets belonging to the Romantic tradition. For nearly twenty years from 1910 onwards, Romantic poetry was the main path of the younger generation. The period between 1910-30 contributed many poets of Romantic school.

Devalapalli Krishnasatry is one of the most popular Romantic poets. This poet who continues to write even today in his eighties, is rightly called the Andhra Shelly. His *Ūravaśi*, *Pravāsam*, *Krishnapaksham* etc., have poetic talent to the brim. Kavikondala Venkatarao, Ramireddy, Nanduri Subbarao, Nayani and others belong to the Romantic school. Another poet of extraordinary merit is Viswanatha Sathyanarayana. This Jnanapith Awardee has contributed numerous poems to the literature of modern times. His *magnum opus* is *Rūmāyana Kalpavṛksham*. Viswanatha may be called a neo-classic poet in Telugu.

During thirties we can see many experiments in the works of Pathabhi (*Phidēlurāgāla Dozen*), Sishila, Narayanababu and others. From 1930 onwards Sri Sri (Srirangam Srinivasarao) is considered to be the main architect of Telugu poetry. Telugu poetry has taken the turn of progressive thought with the advent of Sri Sri. From the time of Sri Sri we see many experiments in modern Telugu poetry in the works of Arudra, Dasarathi, Tilak, C. Narayana Reddy, Digambara Poets, Kundurti and others.

Novel and Short story

Though there are one or two novel-like writings before Kandukuri Veeresalingam, his *Rajaśekhara charitra* is considered to be the first novel in Telugu. Among the contemporaries of Veeresalingam, the name of Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham may be mentioned. He has given a definite shape to the historical novel in Telugu. Venkata Parvateesa Kavulu introduced Bengali novels to Telugu. Among the novels of early times the name of *Mālapalli* needs a special mention. Social consciousness has taken its fullest shape in this novel.

While novel was taking a shape in Telugu, the short story also started to gain importance. Gurazada Apparao is one of the earliest short story writers in Telugu. Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry, Munimanikyam, Gopichand, Buchchibabu and others have given a new shape to Telugu short story. Mostly the novel and the short story have travelled side by side. Chalam is the man who has created a separate 'literature' of novels and short stories which is called 'Chalam Sahityam'. Viswanath Sathya-

narayana has contributed much to the novel and short story in Telugu. He has more than sixty novels to his credit some running into more than five hundred pages. His *Vēyipaḍaḡalu*, *Mābābu*, *Ēkavītra* etc., need mention in this connection. Mokkapati's *Barrister Pārvatisām* is a good humourous novel. Buchchibabu's *Chivaraku migilēdi*, Gōpichand's *Asamarthuni Jīvayātra* are noteworthy novels. Palagummi Padmaraju is a leading novelist and short story writer in Telugu. Rachakonda Viswānath Sastry is a novelist and a short story writer of a special order. He has an inimitable style of writing. Kutumbarao, Binadevi, Ranganayakamma, Rajaram etc., are some names in this field.

Drama and other forms of Literature

Modern Telugu literature has many other forms apart from poetry and novel. They include drama, one-act play, essay, criticism etc., Most of these literary forms are written in prose. Contribution of Western scholars to modern Telugu prose is noteworthy. C. P. Brown is great name in the fields of Textual Criticism, Lexicography, Prosody etc. In the early days of 20th century C. R. Reddy paved new way for Telugu criticism by writing *Kavītvatāva vichāram*. In the field of essay and criticism, the contributions of Rallapalli Anantakrishna Sarma, Pīngali Lakshmikāntam, Viswanatha Sathyanarayana and others are noteworthy.

Telugu drama has taken its shape only in 19th century. Before modern period there were hundreds of *Yakshaganas* which have many qualities of Sanskrit drama especially during the period of Vijayaraghavanayaka (17th c.A.D.) Among the authors of earlier drama in Telugu, we can make a mention of Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Gurazada Apparao, Dharmavarma Ramakrishnamacharya, Kolachalam Srinivasarao, Vedam Venkataraya Sastry and others.

20th Century has seen the advent of many sided drama and one-act-play in Telugu. Tirupativenkata Kavulu have become popular with their mythological dramas. Numerous Companies have taken shape in Andhra Pradesh. These have contributed much to the performance of modern drama. Radioplay is another form which is popular nowadays. Rajamannar, N. R. Nandi, Buchchibabu, Sri Sri, Atreya, Bhamiciapati Radhakrishna, Gangadhararao and others have contributed much to the fields of drama, one-act-play and Radio-play.

DEVELOPMENT OF MALAYALAM LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

(till the time of Eluttachchan)

SURANAD KUNJAN PILLAI

Malayalam Language

Origin

MALAYALAM IS THE MAIN LANGUAGE OF KERALA, being the mothertongue of more than 85% of the population numbering more than 20 millions occupying the south-western corner of the Indian Peninsula, between the Arabian sea on the west, and the Sahya ranges of mountains on the east. Some scholars like Caldwell hold that it is only an offshoot of Tamil, while others maintain that it is directly descended from the proto-Dravidian as other languages of the family like Tamil, Kannada, Telugu etc. Examining the question from the historical point of view, we may conclude that the proto-Dravidian language in the process of evolution and expansion branched off in three main groups, (1) the northern, (2) the central, and (3) the southern, and that the members of the southern group—Tamil and Malayalam—retain many similar features. Here it may be of interest to note that after the separation of the northern and central groups, there must have been a common stage for the southern group, particularly Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada, as may be seen from a comparison of the cognate forms in these languages. One striking fact to be noted in this respect is the common *am* ending of cognate nouns in Tamil, Malayalam and old Kannada, corresponding to *a* in modern Kannada, *e* etc. in other sister languages. Compare *M. maram* (a tree); *T. maram*; old Kan. *maram*; mod. Kan. *mara*; Tu. *mara*; Te. *mrānu*. Note that modern Kannada and Tulu have dropped the ending *anusvāra m*, and that Telugu has suffixed *u* to *am*¹. This common stage came to a close when Kannada broke away (probably before the beginning of the Christian era) leaving the other regional forms (Tamil, Malayalam, Kodagu, Tulu etc.) to pursue their course of development. This process must have led to the formation of the earlier features of the regional dialects which later on developed as Tamil (spoken on the eastern side of the Sahya ranges) and Malayalam current on the western side). According to an ancient Tamil verse, Koṭum Tamil was the language spoken in twelve *nāḍus* (territories) in South India, which included parts of Kerala. Tamil is used as a common name for the dialects current and *Ṣeṇ* Tamil as the name of the refined form of Tamil. The Koṭum Tamil of Kerala with its regional peculiarities in grammatical features and vocabulary developed as a special dialect—the prototype of Malayalam. Even those who regard Malayalam as a language directly descended from the proto-Dravidian, and not as an offshoot of Tamil, cannot and do not deny the closer affinity between Malayalam and Tamil than between any other developed members of the family.² The striking similarity in declension and conjugation as well as in other grammatical forms of Tamil and Malayalam cannot escape the attention of even casual observers. True, pronominal

suffixes to finite verbs form a characteristic of Tamil, whereas they are absent in Malayalam, except in stray cases in poetry; several theories have been advanced on this account as regards the historical relationship of these languages.

Tamil and Malayalam

Prof. A. R. Raja Raja Varma (1863-1918), the foremost grammarian of Malayalam, has examined the question of the relationship of these languages, and has arrived at the conclusion that Malayalam has evolved out of Koṭum Tamil, once spoken in Kerala.³ He has based his arguments on six laws or peculiarities of Malayalam differentiating it from Tamil.

(i) *Anunāsikatiprasāram* (nasalisation), according to which a *khara* letter (*k*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *i*, *p*) succeeding a nasal sound in Tamil is converted to the corresponding nasal *ñ*, *ṅ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m* in Malayalam. Thus *ñka*, *ñcha*, *ṇṭa*, *nta*, *mpa*, of Tamil change into *ñña*, *ñña*, *ṇṇa*, *nna*, *mma*, respectively; eg: T. *niñkal* M. *niññaḷ* (you); *pañchi*, *paññi* (cotton). (In the case of *ṇṭa* there is no change).

(ii) *Tālavayādēśam* (palatal substitution) according to which a letter of *ta-varga* (*ta*, *tta*, *nta* and *nna*) succeeding a palatal vowel *a*, *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē* and *ai* in Tamil is converted into *cha*, *chcha*, *ñcha* and *ñña*. It has greater application to suffixes *ttu* and *ntu* eg: *alainiān*—*alaññān* (he wandered about); *arintūn*—*ariññān* (he knew).

(iii) *Svarasamvaranam* (vowel contraction) according to which certain vowels of T. become contracted in Mala, *u* at the end of words in T. become half *u*. *Ai* of T. in certain contexts becomes *a* in Mal. the change affecting the external feature of the language; eg: *maḷai-maḷa* (rain); *ilai-ila* (leaf). Some scholars are of the view that the *a*-ending common to Malayalam and Telugu, two languages separated, by long distance, may be regarded as representing the proto-Dravidian (M. *tala* (head). T. *talai*; Kan. *tale*. Te. *tala*).

(iv) *Purushabhēda-nirāsam* (elision of personal suffixes). In Tamil pronominal particles are suffixed to finite verbs in agreement with the subject, but, in modern Malayalam this rule is totally ignored in conversational idiom and in prose. In poetry such forms occur here and there: eg: T. *avan vantān*; *avaḷ vantāḷ*; *avar vantār* (he, she, they came); *nī vantāy*; *nān vantēn* (you, I, came) etc. But, in Malayalam *vannu* (came), i.e. the form without any suffix, will do for all persons (first, second and third), genders (mas., fem. and neut.) and numbers (singular and plural) eg: *avan avaḷ*, *avar*, *ni* or *nān-vannu* (he, she, they, you or I come).

Some scholars contend that the suffix was a later addition in T. and that it was copied by early Mal. under the influence of the former, whereas the form without suffix as seen in modern Mal. conforms to proto-Dravidian. But, the presence of conjugational forms with suffixes in other Dravidian languages also belie this contention.

(v) *Khilōpasamgraham* (retention of some archaic forms considered to be relics of proto-Dravidian—which are not found in Tamil). Such for examples are (1) future participle (*pin-vanayechcham*), and (2) second person imperative form (*niyōjaka-prakāram*); eg: for (1)-*kuḷikkuvān* or *kuḷikkān* (for bathing) cf. Skt. *snātum*. Tamil

is deficient in this form, and instead uses the infinitive (*naṭu-vinayechcham*). M. *ñān kuḷikkān vannu*: T. *nān kuḷikka vantēn* (I came for bathing); eg: for (2) imperative second person. M. *varin* or *varuvin*-(you please come); *kēḷḷppin* (you please hear).

(vi) *Aiṅgabhaṅgam* (mutilation or alteration of roots and suffixes). Dative case suffix *kkū* in some words becoming half *u*, and genitive case suffix *uṭaya*, becoming *uṭe* or *ṇṭe* are peculiar features of Malayalam. Eg: dative—M. *avanṇu* (*avanu*) to him; Rāmanu (to Rāma). But, *kkū* occurs in other cases *avarkkū* (to them); *avaḷkkū* (to her). In T. the forms are *avanukku*, *Rāmanukku*. Also cf. Kan. *avanige*; Te. *vāniki*. Eg. for genitive—M. *avanṭe* (his); *avaḷuṭe* (hers); Rāmaṇṭe (Rāma's), etc. cf. T. *avanuṭaṭya*, *avanatu* Kan. *avana*; Te. *vāni*, *vāniyokka*.

Raja Raja Varma has stated that a Malayalam passage will assume the Tamil form if modifications are made according to the rules pointed out above. Even if this is not taken as the last word on this moot point, the close similarity of the two languages is such as to point to a common period in their evolution.

Sanskrit Origin

Although the Dravidian origin of Malayalam and its close affinity to Tamil are now generally accepted by scholars, different views have been expressed, among which the one advanced by Kovunni Netumgati (1831-1889) deserves special mention. In the beginning of his grammar *Kēraḷa Kaumudī* (1878), he has stated that *Kēraḷa-bhāṣā* has risen from Sanskrit and joined the *Drāviḍabhāṣā* (Tamil) just as the river Ganges takes its source from the Himagiri and joins the river Yamuna (Kaḷindaja). In propounding this theory, which is obviously based on the excessive Sanskrit element in the vocabulary of modern Malayalam, the grammarian ignores the intrinsic features of the language, particularly in morphology and syntax which are purely Dravidian, almost the same as in Tamil, and have nothing in common with Sanskrit.

Periods of development

The history of Malayalam may be treated as belonging to three periods (1) Old—till 12th century, (2) Middle—till the end of the 16th century; and (3) Modern—from 16th century down to the present day. This is, however, only an arbitrary division based on the general development of the language. According to Raja Raja Varma, the earliest period, which he characterises as Karim Tamil, closes with the 14th century (500 M.E.); Middle period ends with the 17th century (800 M.E.) and the modern commences thereafter.⁴

About the earliest period of Malayalam language, our knowledge is practically negligible. We may not, however, be far from truth, if we suppose that the language had—exhibited strong tendencies of separation even during the early centuries of the Christian era. Some indications to that effect are available (in the form of regional words) in old Tamil works like *Śilappadikāram* produced in Kerala. But, in the absence of evidence, our idea about the actual condition of the language must remain all too vague and unsatisfactory. Working backward from the oldest available materials (literary and epigraphical), we may imagine that the dialect of Kerala in

those days was a form of proto-Dravidian closely resembling Tamil. Then, it is noteworthy, that the Kerala dialect also was known as Tamil, since the name Malayalam is of a very much later origin.

The phonology of old Malayalam was essentially the same as of Tamil, comprising 12 vowels (*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, ai, o, ō* and *au*)—and 18 consonants—(*k, ṅ; ch, ṇ; t, ṇ; p, m; y, r, l, v, ḷ, ḷ, r, n*). *Kuṭṭiyal u kāram* (half-vowel *ṽ*) must also have been in use, as in Tamil. Gemination and combination with nasals etc. were in the alphabet—*kk, ṅk, āṅ; chch, ṇch, ṇṇ; tt, nt, nn; pp, mp, mm; yy, ll, tt, vv, ll, rk, lk* were common. Alveolar letters *t, tt, n, nn* also deserve notice. The following words will serve as examples of the combinations—*kēṭṭka, chelka, koṭka, chelvatu, kuṇṭu, veṇ-chāmaram, kaṇmaṇi, nanmai, pon-vaḷa, cheyka, cheyti, vāḷka, chuṭṭam, aṇṇam*.

Materials for gaining an idea of old Malayalam are scanty, and even in respect of the few items like old records and *Rāmacharitam*, there is no consensus of opinion as regards their representative value. While some scholars hold that *Rāmacharitam* (12th century) composed in a language similar to Tamil, and ancient inscriptions found in different parts of Kerala written in archaic scripts may be taken to represent the language of the period, others contradict it and argue that they only represent the Tamil influence during the period, and there was another form of pure Malayalam quite distinct from Tamil. We may, however, leave the question for future research.

Maṇipravāḷam

A turning point in the history of the language came towards the end of the old period (say 9th or 10th century) when the language assumed a new form which later on came to be known as *maṇiprapravāḷam*. This was due to the impact of Sanskrit popularised here by the Nampūri brahmins. The period of the advent of the Nampūris cannot be definitely fixed, but in all probability, it must have taken place in the early centuries of the Christian era. Although there was the impact of Aryan culture through Buddhism and Pali language long before the coming of the Nampūris, the linguistic influence through the former source was not very profound. The impact of Sanskrit, on the contrary, presents altogether a different phenomenon which tended to the formation of mixed dialect *bhāṣhāmiśram*—the prototype of modern Malayalam.

In the beginning the Nampūri immigrants, with their sense of social superiority, kept aloof from the native population; but, in course of time, social intercourse became unavoidable. The natural consequence was the formation of a mixed dialect in which indigenous words and forms were indiscriminately mixed up with those of Sanskrit. This was at first a conversational jargon in which not only Sanskrit loans with Malayalam endings were used (as in modern Malayalam), but, Sanskrit forms of declension and conjugation were also admitted. Sanskritisation of Malayalam words was also resorted to. See the examples in *Lilūtillakam* (14th century)—*ākil ākarnyatām, kiṭṭiṭṭi puḷṇikurum arpayāmi* etc. Here, note the sentences, and also the form *puḷṇikurum*. Sanskrit accusative *pratyaya* being suffixed to Malayalam word *puḷṇikuru* (tamarind seed).⁵

The mixed dialect, originally a conversational jargon, became a source of humour for jesters in theatrical performance. Thōlan, a courtier of the Chēra king Kulasekhara (9th century) is traditionally associated with this kind of experiment in staging the Sanskrit dramas (*Tapasīsamvaraṇa* and *Subhadrādhanaṃjaya*) of his patron. The mongrel nature of the new mixed dialect may be seen in the Sanskritised forms in the verse given below:

Pupūkirē pantalakattu chūkarās
Chuchūṭirē māla pari-achrōṭtarē
Tatallirē tammil aṭiva ghōramāy
Mamaṇṭirē koṇṭu māṇṭiṭi tanneyum (verse 29)

The ludicrousness of Sanskritisation may be seen in the four verbal forms—*pupūkirē*, *chchūṭirē*, *tatallirē*, and *mamaṇṭirē*—all Sanskritised reduplicated past tense of Mal. roots—*pūk* (to enter); *chūṭ* (to bedeck the head); *tal* (to beat); and *maṇṭ* (to run away). The past tense forms of these roots in Malayalam are *pūki*, *chūṭi*, *talli* and *maṇṭi*.

This sort of hybridity in the early *maṇipravāḷam* called for refinement which it gained during middle Malayalam—the formative period of modern Malayalam. In the process of evolution, (1) Sanskritisation of indigenous words was totally given up, and (2) the use of Sanskrit grammatical forms (of declension and conjugation) was gradually minimised. *Bhāshā Kauṭalīya* (13th century?) *Uṇṇu-nīli sandēśa* and *Līlātilakam* (14th century), the works of Niraṇam school (15th century) and later works all reveal this fact. For a fairly long period, the old indigenous form of the language struggled for existence side by side with the mixed, dialect which, however, ultimately submerged the former, and gradually became the standard dialect. A comparison of *Rāmacharitam* (supposed to be the earliest, poetic work in the language) with *Bhāshā Kauṭalīyam* will show the changes undergone by the language during the transition. *Rāmacharitam* looks like a Tamil poem, whereas *Bhāshā Kauṭalīyam* exhibits *tatsamas* of Sanskrit together with indigenous forms with nasalisation, etc.

Sanskrit Domination

The free adoption of Sanskrit vocabulary as *tatsamas* in *maṇipravāḷam* had notable results in the development of the language. In the old Malayalam, Sanskrit words were borrowed only as *tadbhavas* (Dravidianised forms) as in Tamil. As Dravidian alphabet is deficient in several letters of Sanskrit, Dravidianisation resulted in changes in Sanskrit words to suit the phonology of the former. Thus, Lakshmaṇa became Ilakkaṇan, *rāja* became *arachan*, *rākṣaṣa* became *arakkan*. A full description of the changes in *tadbhava* formation cannot be attempted here. Some of the *tadbhava* forms as *arachan* (king), *arayannam* (*rājahamsa* = a swan) survive even to this day, together with their *tatsamas* which became popular in later times.

But, the language had to face quite a new problem when it began to borrow Sanskrit words in *tatsama* forms. Then it became necessary to borrow all the Sanskrit sounds also, and to adopt a new script, as the old scripts then in use (Vaṭṭeḷuttu,

Kōleḷuttu and Malayāḷam) had no letters for non-Dravidic sounds, peculiar to Sanskrit, (viz. *r*, *l*—short and long—among vowels) and among consonants the middle triad (*atikhara*, *mṛidu* and *ghōsha*) of the five *vargas*; and also the sibilants *ś*, *sh*, *s* and *h*. To supply the deficiency, necessary letters were taken from the Grantha characters then used in South India for writing Sanskrit. The adoption of this script appears to have been a gradual process, as in ancient records, like the copper-plate record of Vira Rāghava-chakravartti, only a few Sanskrit words are written in the Grantha script, whereas the major portion is in Vaṭṭeḷuttu. However, with the development of *manipravāḷam*, the Grantha script (Ārya-eḷuttu) was fully adopted. This must have occurred during the earlier period of Middle Malayalam.

Certain important changes made in adopting Sanskrit words even as *tatsamas* deserve notice. So far as nouns are concerned the *visarga*-ending of nominative case, as well as other case-endings of Sanskrit are dropped. Instead, Malayalam-endings are given according to the rules of the language. To Sanskrit words ending in *a*, the inflection *an* is suffixed in Malayalam in the nominative singular, if it is adopted as masculine, and *am* is suffixed if it is taken as neuter. This difference is due to the fact that in Sanskrit gender is grammatical, and in Malayalam (as in other Dravidian languages) it is natural, (i.e. in accordance with natural order). eg. for *a* ending mas. of Skt taken as mas. in M.—Skt. *Rāmaḥ*-M. *Rāman*; *Śivaḥ*-*Śivan*. For *am* ending in M. see Skt. *vṛiksha*-M. *vṛiksham* (a tree) which is mas. in Sanskrit, but neuter in Malayalam. But, there are a few exceptions also like *sūryan* and *chandran*, which are treated as mas. in Malayalam also. Accusative and other cases of these nouns are formed according to Malayalam grammatical rules - *Rāmane*. *Rāmanōṭṭu*, *vṛikshatte*, *vṛikshattōḍu*, etc.

In regard to Sanskrit nouns ending in *i* or *u* the nominative form without *visarga* is taken as the base and as the nominative form in Malayalam. In other words, for such words no separate Malayalam suffix is necessary in the nominative for any gender; eg. for *i* Skt *raviḥ*-M. *ravi* (Sun); Skt. *kaviḥ*-M. *kavi* (a poet); Skt. *prakṛiti*-M. *prakṛiti* (nature);—for *u*—Skt. *guruḥ* - M. *guru* (a teacher). Here also other case-forms are in accordance with similarly ending Malayalam nouns. Sanskrit nouns ending in *r* (mas. and fem.) take *ā* ending bases, and generally *vṛ* is also, suffixed at the end in *tatsamas*; eg. Skt. *pitṛi* (*pitā*)—M. *pitā*, *pitāvṛ*; Skt. *mātṛi* (*mātā*) M. *mātā*, *mātāvṛ*. Plural forms are *pitākkaḷ*, *mātākkaḷ*, by the addition of *kaḷ*. Other case-forms are *pitāvine*, *pitāvinōṭṭu*, etc. Regarding nouns in the feminine gender, ending in long vowels *ā*, *ī* or *ū*, they (the long vowels) are shortened generally in *tatsamas*; eg. Skt. *Sītā*—M. *Sīta*; Skt. *latā*—M. *lata*; Skt. *nadī*—M. *nadi*; Skt. *vadhū*—M. *vadhu*.

There are several other minor changes which cannot be discussed here.

A word about the *tatsama* verbs may also be added. More than one thousand verbal roots forming more than 1/3 of the total number of verbs in the language have been borrowed from Sanskrit; and they have immensely contributed to the capacity of the language for the treatment of any subject. Only the basic form (root with the *vikaraṇa* increment) is taken from Sanskrit and *pratyayas* (of tenses, moods,

etc.) of Malayalam are suffixed to it. See for eg : Skt *bhū* (to be)—*bhav* is the basic form (*aṅga* with increment) as in Sanskrit *bhavati*, *bhavataḥ*, *bhavanti*, etc. The Malayalam forms are based on *bhav-* as in *bhavikkunnu*, *bhavichchu*, *bhavikkum*

A New form

With the internal changes due to the rules of nasalisation etc., and with the expansion of vocabulary and alphabet adopted from Sanskrit, the language attained a new form different in many respects from the earlier stage. It also became a more attractive and capable literary medium as may be seen from the *maṇipravāṇam* and reformed kinds of *pūṭi* of the later part of middle Malayalam.

The words, ideas and literary wealth borrowed from Sanskrit have immensely contributed to the growth of the language and its literature. The magnitude of the indebtedness of Malayalam to Sanskrit may be gauged from the fact that more than 85 per cent of the vocabulary of modern Malayalam, particularly the literary dialect, are Sanskrit loans, and the bulk of Sanskrit literature. Vedic and post-Vedic, has been adopted either as translation or as models. The influence is notable in all aspects and all the branches of literature. In fact, Malayalam has become one of the most Sanskritised languages not only of the Dravidian family, but of all the speeches of India.

As the present survey is limited to the early and mediaeval stages, it is not necessary to enter on an examination of the language during the subsequent period, i.e. after the 17th century. We may, however, observe that in the 17th and 18th centuries, the influence of Sanskrit reached its zenith, and after that it has slowly declined under the impact of English which became the language of administration and higher education. But, the contributions of Sanskrit to our vocabulary and literature have become the permanent acquisitions of the language.

Foreign loans

Now, reference may be made to foreign loan words obtained by Malayalam through contact with alien nationals who came here for commerce or religious propaganda. Many words from Persian, Urdu and Hindustani came into the language during the period of Muslim ascendancy in North India, through political relationship. Several languages of the Middle East and the West—Arabic, Syriac, Portuguese, Dutch and English—have made valuable contributions to the language. The indebtedness of Malayalam as of other languages of India to English deserves special mention, not only in the matter of loan-words, but in respect of overall influence in the development of modern literature.

Dialectal forms

A brief reference may be made about the dialectal variations also. The several tribes inhabiting the forest tracts on the east speak different dialects of Malayalam, Tamil or Kannada. The different regions (particularly Travancore, Cochin and Malabar), as well as the several communities,—The Nampūris, Nāyars, Īlavas,

Harjans and others—have varying forms of speech, each characterised by certain uncommon words and peculiar modulations in pronunciation.

In the south (near Kanyākumārī) and in the east (along the western ghats and at Pālghāt), Malayalam is influenced by Tamil, and in the north (at Kāsaragōḍḍi) and north-east (near Kōḍagu and Mysore) it has the impact of Tulu and Kannada. Kōḍagu may be considered to be a dialect having close relationship to Malayalam, Tamil and Kannada. Kōṭa and Tōḍa of Nilagiri, and other dialects of several hill-tribes also call for consideration in this context.

The language of the Laccadive islands, lying scattered in the Arabian sea, more than 150 miles west of Calicut, is a peculiar dialect of Malayalam with an admixture of Arabic and Kannada.

Old and Middle Malayalam Literature

No authentic evidence is available about the earliest literary activities of Kerala. But, in all probability, the literature of Kerala, in the early centuries of the Christian era, was not different from what it was in other parts of Tamilnadu. A considerable portion of Tamil literature of the early Śaṅgam, was produced by the poets of Kerala. The ancient Tamil poem *Śilappadikāram* by Ilamkōvaṇṇal, a prince of the Chēra family (second century ?) is a prominent example. Later on, after the advent of Nampūri brahmins, literary activity here was extended to Sanskrit also. The great Śāṅkara, the propounder of Advaita philosophy, and the sage of Vīlvamaṅgalaṁ are two of the most outstanding literary figures in Sanskrit.

Origin

The origin of Malayalam literature is of a very much later period, say the 9th or 10th century A.D., and may be traced to proverbs and popular songs or ballads. But, none of the early specimens have come down in their original form, and so, a historical study based on such materials in their available form will lead one only to wrong conclusions. Devotional and ritualistic *pāṭṭus* (songs)—like *tīyāṭṭu pāṭṭu*, *Sarppappāṭṭu*, *Puḷluvaṇ pāṭṭu*, *Bhadrakālī pāṭṭu*, *Śāsthām pāṭṭu*, *Yātrakālī*, *Nilalkuttu*, *Kṛiship-pāṭṭu*, *Vanchip-pāṭṭu* and several other varieties—came into existence from very early times. While most of these were ritualistic songs or group-songs of amusement, the ballads of Malabar and those of South Travancore were heroic, tragic or erotic folk-poetry.⁶ But, this type of literary enterprise never rose above the level of folk-literature.

Rāmacharitam pāṭṭu

We are here more concerned with works of literary art composed in conformity with recognised canons. The first category deserving our attention is *pāṭṭu* (song), not of the folk-literary type, but of the Tamil conventional form. It is a kind of poetic composition in indigenous metres, and containing only words with Dravidian letters. It should also have rhymes like *etuka*—(repetition of the same letter as the

second syllable of every succeeding foot)—and *mōna* (the rule of beginning the two halves of every foot with the same syllable). Sanskrit metres, which are almost exclusively used in *maṇipravāḷam*, are not admissible in *pāṭṭu*.

Ramacharitam (12th century) is a typical work conforming to this definition, and in this view and also in view of its importance in many other respects, it calls for special study by the students of the language and its literature. It may, however, be added that there is no consensus of opinion about the age and the language of *Rāmacharitam*. Some scholars hold that the poem represents the literary dialect of early Malayalam faithfully, while others maintain that it is a Tamil-Malayalam mixed dialect following the Tamil school. It is a long poem consisting of 164 *paṭalams* (cantos) each containing 11 stanzas (or in some cases 12). Several metres—16 main metres mostly Tamil, together with their variations—are used, and each verse is limited to four feet, probably in imitation of Sanskrit. It deals with the *yuddha*, the great war in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in a very elaborate and artistic manner. Written in an archaic language which looks like Tamil, the poem is unintelligible to an average student of modern Malayalam; but the work is of inestimable value both as a specimen of old Malayalam and as a precious product of literary art.

Rāmakathā pāṭṭu

Another long poem exhibiting Tamil features, but certainly of a very much later date, is *Rāmakathā pāṭṭu* by Aiyappiḷḷai Āśān of Avvāṭutūra, a place near Kōvaḷam, ten miles south of Trivandrum, on the sea-coast. Mahakavi Ullur Paramesvara Aiyar, who brought out portions of the poem in 1916, has stated that the Tamil tinge of the poem is a reflection of the language of South Travancore, and that there is internal evidence that Aiyappiḷḷai Āśān composed his work after seeing Kaṇṇaśśa's *Rāmāyaṇam*. This *pāṭṭu*, deals with the whole story of *Rāmāyaṇa* till the end of *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*.

Bhāṣhā Kauṭaliyam

Next to *Rāmacharitam*, the most outstanding work of the early period is *Bhāṣhā Kauṭaliyam*, a prose commentary of Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*. Prior to this work, prose had not made any considerable progress. The only specimens about which reference may be made were *Āṭṭaparakūra* and *Kramadīpikā* of Tōlan, a courtier of king Kulaśēkhara. The two works of Tōlan embody directions to Chākyārs for theatrical performance of Sanskrit dramas in *kūṭṭu* and *kūṭṭiyāṭṭam*. Besides these, there were several old records and chronicles (*grantha varis*) which, however, do not merit mention in the history of literature. About earlier prose works, if there were any, no information is available.

As a commentary on Chāṇakya's *Arthaśāstra*, *Bhāṣhā Kauṭaliyam* is a work of immense value, but, here our main concern about it is as a prose work of the early period of transition. The language used in it marks a definite stage of advancement in many respects. Besides internal changes of nasalisation, etc., it also reveals the progress made by the language in the profuse use of *tatsama* words. But it is equally

noteworthy that earlier forms including verbal forms with pronominal suffixes are also used. The idiom used in *Kauṣalyam* may be considered to be precursor of Nampyār-Tamil, a mixed dialect of Malayalam and Sanskrit without Sanskrit grammatical forms, used by Nampyārs in narrating Puranic stories.

Līlātilakam

The Middle Malayalam witnessed an efflorescence of *maṇipravāḷam* poetry about which valuable information is available in *Līlātilakam*, a Sanskrit work on *maṇipravāḷam* (grammar and rhetoric) of 14th century. It contains 8 chapters (called *śilpas*) dealing with the following—(1) *maṇipravāḷa lakṣaṇam*—general discussion on *maṇipravāḷam*; (2) *śarīra nirūpaṇam*—consideration of the body, i.e. the mixed dialect, together with brief indications of the declensions and conjugations of Malayalam; (3) *sandhi vivaraṇam*—*sandhi* changes in Malayalam; (4) *dōṣhālōchanam*—poetic defects; (5) *guṇa nirūpaṇam*—poetic merits; (6) *śabdālaṅkāra vivēchanam*—*śabdālaṅkāras*; (7) *arthālaṅkāra vivaraṇam*—figures of speech; and (8) *rasaprakaraṇam*—treatment of *rasas* or poetic sentiments. The presentation adopted is in the form of *sūtras* for indicating the topic and *vr̥ttis* (explanatory notes thereupon). Although the treatise deals with the mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Malayalam, Sanskrit grammar is altogether omitted and the treatment of Malayalam grammar is very meagre.

Even as the earliest work on the language and its literature, the treatise is invaluable, but the general theories propounded there in for the first time considerably enhances its importance. Such for example are the ideas relating to—(1) families of languages, particularly the Dravidian family, (vide *vr̥tti* of *sūtra*—1); (2) derivation of words (II. 15); (3) relationship between Malayalam and Tamil (*sūtra* 22, *vr̥tti*); (4) distinctiveness of Malayalam (*sūtra* 67, *vr̥tti*); (5) fundamental difference between Dravidian languages and Sanskrit (*sūtra* 18, *vr̥tti*) and the importance of spoken language (*vyavahāra bhāṣha*) for linguistic study (*sūtra* 1, *vr̥tti*).

The work is anonymous; but, judging from the contents we conclude that the author was a great linguist and grammarian endowed with very high critical acumen. From the definition of *pāṭṭu* given in it, as a kind of composition using only Dravidian or Dravidianised words, it may be inferred that it was produced before Niraṇam poets who used *tatsamas* in their *pāṭṭu*.

Maṇipravāḷam

Now to *maṇipravāḷa* literature and to some important works belonging to the category. The poets of this school showed a partiality for Sanskrit metres, and freely borrowed vocabulary, grammatical forms and poetic conventions from Sanskrit. That notwithstanding their bias towards Sanskrit, the early *maṇipravāḷam* poets showed little leaning towards religion appears strange. Some of the prominent early works of this class, like *Uṇṇunṭli sandēṣam*, three *chamṇus* (*Uṇṇichirutēvicharitam*, *Uṇṇiyachchicharitam*, and *Uṇṇiyāṣicharitam*), and *Chanṇrōtsavam* (an erotic poem) were composed in honour or praise of beautiful women of noble families

(accomplished *dēvadāsis* according to some). It is a noteworthy fact that many poets of this school revelled in *śṛīṅgāra rasa* (erotic sentiment), sometimes going to voluptuous extremes. The poems of this type may be regarded as works of the romantic school in Malayalam literature.

Among the early *maṇipravāḷam* works, *Uṇṇunīli sandēśam* (14th century) claims special attention, both as a representative specimen and as a poem of considerable merit. Being a *sandēśa kāvya* it is an imitation of Kālidāsa's *Mēghasandēśa*; unlike the Sanskrit model, it goes not in the name of the messenger, but in the name of the heroine. Like *Mēghasandēśa*, it also consists of two parts—*pūrva* 136 stanzas, and *uttara* 101 stanzas—all in *mandākrānta* metre. A *prastāvana*, consisting of 5 stanzas, forms a new feature not found in the prototype. The poem is anonymous, and it cannot be known whether the hero and the poet are identical. The message was sent to Uṇṇunīli, the heroine, who belonged to Kaṭatturutti, a place then in Vaṭakkumkūr state (now in the northern part of Travancore area). According to the poem the hero was taken by a *yakshi* to Trivandrum from Kaṭatturutti where he was sleeping with his consort. At Trivandrum, near the temple of Śrī Padmanābha, he chanced to meet *Ādityavarma*, a prince of Vēṇāḍu (Travancore) who complied with the hero's request to carry the message.

The date of the poem cannot be definitely ascertained, but its priority to *Līlātilakam* is indisputable, as a stanza from that *sandēśa* is quoted in the latter work (*sandēśa* II. 71; *Līlā*-stanza 44). As a *maṇipravāḷa* work, it exhibits some of the early features of that school, such as Sanskritisation, and free use of Sanskrit grammatical forms. Its importance for the study of the history of the language and literature is recognised on all hands. More than that, it also affords invaluable information regarding the political conditions of Travancore during the period.

Here it may be added that *sandēśa kāvyas* formed a main division of *maṇipravāḷam*. Most of them are lost for ever, but some of the illustrative verses quoted in *Līlātilakam* are obviously from such works. *Chakravāka sandēśam*, an incomplete poem, has also been recovered and published (Kerala University publication).

Champu kāvyas

Champu-kāvyas formed another important branch of *maṇipravāḷam* developed under the influence of Sanskrit. Bhōja's *Rāmāyana-champu* is the best known among the works of this category in Sanskrit. Following that model, several *champus* were produced. The three early *champus* referred to above are highly artificial and artistic compositions extolling the heroines whose names they bear.

A noteworthy fact about these as well as later *champus* is that the prose portion in them, generally speaking, is a kind of blank verse in Malayalam, rich in rhymes and other kinds of poetic embellishments. A study of this kind of verselike prose will serve not only for understanding the peculiar literary form, but also for gaining a historical perspective of some of the future metrical developments, particularly in *Tuḷḷal* works of Kuñchan Nampyār.

The early *champus* were characterised by sensuousness, but the later works of

this class manifested a salutary change in this matter. Adoption of themes from the *itihāsas* and *purāṇas* contributed substantially to the improvement of the tone and treatment. Although a large number of *champus* based on Puranic stories were produced during the period, we shall limit our discussion to two of the most outstanding works—*Bhāshā Rāmāyaṇam—champu* and *Bhāshā Naishadham—champu*.

Bhāshā Rāmāyaṇam—champu is ascribed to Punam Nampūri (latter half of 15th century ?). Among the courtiers, known as *patineṭṭara kavikaḷ* (18-1/2 poets) of Mānavikrama, the Zamorin of Calicut, Punam was considered only a half poet (*arak-kavi*), as he was only a Malayalam poet, whereas the others of the coterie were distinguished Sanskritists like Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, a vainglorious but eminent Sanskrit poet. But the remarkable poetic gifts of Punam evoked the unstinted admiration of his contemporaries as well as succeeding generations, as testified by several eulogistic references.

Apparently the name *Bhāshā Rāmāyaṇa—champu* may suggest that the work is a Malayalam rendering of Bhōja's Sanskrit *champu*. But, the Malayalam work is a totally independent *prabandha*, very much longer than its namesake.⁷ Punam is, nevertheless, indebted to Bhōja's *champu*, from which he has taken more than 50 stanzas and some prose passages. Beyond this, there is little in common between the two. Bhōja's work, excluding the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* composed by Lakshmaṇasūri, contains only 481 verses and some prose passages, whereas Punam's work has nearly 1900 (1879) verses, out of which nearly 600 stanzas are from Sanskrit works including Bhōja's work, besides fifty prose passages and thirty *daṇḍakas*, running to nearly 4000 lines. Further, in the presentation and division of subject-matter also there is striking differences. Punam's work has twenty sections, each one presumably designed for one day's performance (of *kūṭṭu*) by Chākyārs. In originality of treatment, in poetic ability of description, in point of humour and in imaginative flights Punam occupies a place of high distinction. One may, however, feel that the descriptions are long drawn out, and that, in spite of rhetorical grandeur, the poem lacks sublimity of thought or profundity of feeling. Some allowance has to be made for the large number of quotations, probably selected and presented for the edification of the listeners; despite this, one cannot but be struck by the magnificent contribution made by the poet.

Bhāshā Naishadham, though shorter than the former, is in no way inferior to it in poetic excellence. Its author is Mahishamaṅgalam (Maḷamaṅgalam) Nārāyaṇan Nampūri, a great scholar and poet in Sanskrit and Malayalam (16th century). Its theme is the story of Naishadha (Nala), a subject which has inspired very many great poets. The *champu* is divided into two parts, of which the first is superior in excellence. *Pūrvabhāga* contains 159 stanzas, 3 prose passages and 3 *daṇḍakas*, and *Uttarabhāga* has 134 stanzas, 10 prose passages and one *daṇḍaka*.

Maḷamaṅgalam is a perfect master of the art of poesy, and he is seldom surpassed in poetic expression, selection of imagery or in presentation of sentiments. It is noteworthy that his dependence on other poets is very little, either by quoting passages or 'borrowing' ideas.

Popular ballads

Popular songs now available are mostly the products of Middle Malayalam. Every region, every community and profession had contributed to this class of folk-literature. The Hindus, Christians and Muslims have their peculiar songs among which the *Śaṅgam Kaṭippāṭṭu* of Nampūris, the *Mārgam Kaṭippāṭṭu* of Christians (relating to the mission of St. Thomas in Kerala), and *Māppiḷappāṭṭukaḷ* (songs of Māppiḷas or Muslims of Malabar in a mixed Arabi-Malayalam dialect) are important. But, among the popular songs of the period the *Vaṭakkan pāṭṭukaḷ* (northern songs, ballads of Malabar) and *Tekkan pāṭṭukaḷ* (southern songs, ballads of south Travancore) claim special notice. Dealing with some love-stories, tragic episodes or exploits of local heroes, these songs reflect the life of the people, and are of great appeal to the masses. Tachchōḷil Odēnan and Puttūrān vīṭṭil Chēkōn are well known figures in the ballads of Malabar, while Iravikkuṭṭi Piḷḷai, who met with tragic death in a battle (1635 A.D.) between Travancore and the Nāyak of Madura, is a most memorable personality in *Tekkan pāṭṭukaḷ*. Most of the *Tekkan pāṭṭus* are *vilppāṭṭus* (or *villaṭichchān pāṭṭukaḷ*) as they are generally sung by a group of singers who beat time on the belled string of a bow. Several native metres of bewitching charm are used in these folk songs. With very little external influence in diction or subject-matter, these popular ballads form a precious heritage. Although, these songs did not exercise any considerable influence on the literature of the sophisticated classes, it cannot be denied that they served not in a small degree to highlight indigenous vocabulary and native metres.

Niraṇam poets

The old literary type of *pāṭṭu* with its Tamil features had long become obsolete, and *maṇipravāḷam* with its leaning to Sanskrit could hardly satisfy the ordinary people. The need for a reformation of the language pattern and literary style was generally recognised. But, any change had to be made only with due regard to the condition prevailing. The exponents of both schools—*maṇipravāḷa* and *pāṭṭu*—realised the tendencies of the times, and showed their readiness to respect the genius of the language while retaining the acquisitions made through Sanskrit. This compromise conduced to (1) the dropping of Sanskrit grammatical forms (while retaining *tatsamas*) and (2) paying greater attention to native meters and vocabulary. The leaders of this reformation were the Niraṇam poets and Cheruśśēri Nampūri, whose main contribution was the adoption of the reformed language of *maṇipravāḷam* for the new type of *pāṭṭus*.

Three celebrated poets known as *Niraṇam kavikaḷ* (from the name of their native village Niraṇam near Tiruvalla in Central Travancore), form a school by themselves, on account of the striking similarity of their works. They are also called *Kaṇṇaśśa Paṇikkars* from the founder of the family *Kaṇṇaśśan* (*Karuṇēśa*) extolled as an *ubhaya-kavīśvara*, a great poet in two languages Malayalam and Sanskrit.

The poets of the *Kaṇṇaśśa* family are taken to be *Mādhava Paṇikkar*, *Śaṅkara Paṇikkar* and *Rāma Paṇikkar*, the first two being sons and the third a grandson

of Kaṇṇaśśa.⁸ The period of the Niraṇam poets is fixed as the 15th century A.D.⁹

Among the works of the Niraṇam school, *Bhagavadgīta* by Mādhava appears to be the earliest. It is a condensed version of the Sanskrit *Gīta*, in 328 long verses as against 700 stanzas in the original. But, it is remarkable that it presents substantially the whole of that immortal work without losing its original spirit. In the closing verse of the work, the author reveals his name as Mādhava, and mentions that he composed the poem with the divine grace of Kṛishṇa of Malayinkīl, a place about seven miles east of Trivandrum. It is said that at the time of composing this poem, he was residing at Malayinkīl, as the manager of the temple of that place. Viewing the poem in all its aspects in the background of the Malayalam literature of the period (including *pāṭṭus* and *maṇipravāḷam*), it may be stated that it marked a remarkable innovation both in form and in content.

Śaṅkara Paṇikkar, the author of *Bhāratamāla*, is considered to be the second of the trio. At the end of the poem the author's name is mentioned as Śaṅkara, but, in an old manuscript of the work, the name is given as Veļļāṅgallūr Śaṅkaran. How Veļļāṅgallūr is prefixed to the name, if the poet belonged to Niraṇam, requires an explanation, as much as the association of the place-name Malayinkīl in the case of Mādhava. Probably Śaṅkara might have been associated with Veļļāṅgallūr through matrimony. *Bhāratamāla* is an abridged version of the *Mahābhārata* in two parts, part I upto and including *Bhīshmaparva* about 700 verses, and part II from *Drōṇa-parva* to *svargārōhaṇam* in 710 verses. It is a work of great literary merit, but what strikes one most is the extraordinary capacity of the poet for selection and rejection from the vast epic of Vyāsa running to a lakh of verses. The metre selected is the *Niraṇam vṛittam*.

The last and the greatest among the Niraṇam group was Rāma Paṇikkar who ranks with the best poets in the language. He also enriched the language by introducing epic and Puranic themes through his great poetic works *Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam*, *Kaṇṇaśśa Bhāratam* and *Kaṇṇaśśa Bhāgavatam*, all composed in the majestic Niraṇam metre. A prose work *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇam* is also ascribed to him, but it does not possess any high literary quality.

Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam, which holds the pride of place among the poet's works containing 3059 verses is an abridged version of Vālmīki's celebrated epic which has 23,400 stanzas. It was Rāma Paṇikkar who presented the whole story of 7 *kāṇḍas* for the first time in Malayalam, and his poem stands out in unique magnificence. The name of the author, Rāma, is found in *Kaṇṇaśśa Bhāgavatam* and *Śivarātri-māhātmyam*, and there is relevant statement to indicate his authorship in *Bhāratam*. *Bhāratam* and *Bhāgavatam* are condensed Malayalam versions of the Sanskrit originals, and are not of a high order in poetic quality. But *Śivarātri-māhātmyam* containing 150 verses in Niraṇam metre, is a most exquisite work, a precious jewel of Middle Malayalam poetry. It is the story of a leud sinner who attained salvation through divine grace when he chanced to worship god Śiva during a *Śivarātri* celebration. The story is taken from *Skāṇḍa-purāṇa*.

The poets of the Niraṇam school deserve the credit of showing the future path of development of the language and its literature. While preferring *pāṭṭu* more suited to the genius of Malayalam, they reformed it by freely admitting Sanskrit *tatsamas*, thus breaking the tradition of Dravidianised type of *pāṭṭu*. This, in effect, was the creation of a new literary form combined the welcome features of *pāṭṭu* and *maṇi-pravāḷam*. In this altered form, the main difference between *pāṭṭu* and *maṇi-pravāḷam* was in respect of metres, the former using only indigenous metres while the latter Sanskrit metres for the most part. This reform effected by the Niraṇam poets had a tremendous effect on the later history of the literature, as it ensured the continuance of *pāṭṭu* which, in its original Tamil form, would not have survived after the development of *maṇi-pravāḷam*. Their language is called *bhāṣhā miśram*, mixed speech, abounding in archaic words and forms having a tinge of Tamil, besides Malayalam words and *tatsamas*. It avoided Sanskrit grammatical forms to a great extent, and preferring Malayalam forms. The long and majestic metre, known as *Niraṇa vṛttam*, popularised by them, also merits reference. Each verse consists of four lines, with thirty-two *mātras* in every foot divided into two equal halves. Their choice of Puranic themes served to elevate and ennoble Malayalam poetry by liberating it from lasciviousness to which it was strongly inclined in early *maṇi-pravāḷam*. They were the earliest poets of the *bhakti* cult in the language, Mādhava Paṇikkar's *Gīta* standing out as a monumental evidence.

The last and by far the most popular poet of Middle Malayalam was Cheruśśēri Nampūri, the author of the well-known poem *K. iṣṇap-pāṭṭu* (*Kṛishṇagāthā*) composed in a peculiarly musical metre called *mañjari*. He was a court-poet of Udayavarma, king of Kōlattunādū, North Malabar (latter half of 15th century). In the colophon of the poem, Cheruśśēri himself has stated that he composed it in obedience to the command of his patron Udayavarma. Although some scholars are of the view that Cheruśśēri and Punam Nampūri are identical, their opinion lacks confirmatory evidence. *Kṛishṇagāthā*, as the name suggests, deals with the story of Lord Kṛishṇa. Endowed with the highest poetic gifts and a very fine sense of humour, Cheruśśēri displays his remarkable originality even in the narration of Kṛishṇa's story which he borrowed from the *Bhāgavatam*. It is a most striking fact that Cheruśśēri, a Nampūri, has shown remarkable predilection for Malayalam, and this has contributed to the great popularity of his poem among the masses. In the use of elaborate similes as well as other figures of speech, and also in suggestiveness, he evinces his great ability. His fondness for *śṛiṅgāra* and *hāsyā* (erotism and humour) adds flavour to his poetry. In picturing the beauties of nature or portraying human character, especially of children, Cheruśśēri reveals his marvellous ability in *Kṛishṇagāthā*.

Another poem, *Bhāratham pāṭṭu* in *mañjari* metre, is also ascribed to him, but in poetic quality it is of an inferior order. Cheruśśēri was also equally great as a reformer of the language which in his hands assumed almost the modern form in spite of some archaic expressions here and there.

Middle Malayalam prose

We have already adverted to the beginning of prose and *Bhāṣhā Kautaliyam*.

A considerable body of prose compositions also must have been produced during the period, as may be inferred from the literary relics restored from oblivion. There was a class of productions called Nampyār—Tamil for *pāṭhakas*—presentation of Puranic stories by Nampyārs. This was designed for the edification of the ordinary people, as *Chākyār-kūṭṭu* was intended for the higher classes. From *Līlātilakam*, it may be understood that Sanskrit *tatsamas* were profusely used in Nampyār-Tamil, but without Sanskrit grammatical forms.

Dūtavākyam, an anonymous Malayalam rendering of a Sanskrit *Vyāyōga* attributed to Bhāsa, is a prose work of the 14th century.¹⁰ That may be taken as a representative specimen of the type of literary prose used by Nampyārs during the period, abounding in Sanskrit words.

Another prose work (produced or copied in 648 M.E.—1473 A.D.) is *Brahmūṇḍa-purāṇam*, about which reference has been made among the works of Rāma Paṇikkar of Niraṇam. In this work also pronominal suffixes may be seen, though not invariably, and there are also forms showing Tamil tinge. There were several other works of this type, dealing with Puranic stories and other themes, but nothing is known about their age or authorship.

Special mention may be made about another work altogether of a different type. It is entitled *Udayampērūr Sūnaha dōsinte Kānōnaka*, a Malayalam version of the canons of the Synod of Diamper originally written in Portuguese (1599 A.D.). The Synod was held under the presidentship of Dr. Alex Menezes, the Portuguese metropolitan, with the object of reforming the religious practices of the Christians of Kerala. The Malayalam version which is published was prepared by Jacob Kattanār of Paḷjurutti in Cochin diocesis. Written in the ordinary language of the masses, particularly of the Christians. The work is of great value to the students of the language.

Many old works remaining in State manuscripts libraries and private collections await discovery and publication.

Eḷuttachchan

We may close here this brief account of old and middle Malayalam, as the further stage opens a new period with the great poetic works of Tuñchattu Rāmānujan Eḷuttachchan, who is revered as the father of modern Malayalam (16th century). His works, particularly *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* and *Mahābhāratam* (both *Kiḷip-pāṭṭus*—parrot-songs), are admittedly the greatest poems in the language. He carried to perfection the reformation begun by the Niraṇam poets and Cheruśṣēri by refining the language and enriching the literature through his precious works. While preferring the *pāṭṭu* form, he adopted the elements of *manipravāḷam* language so as to enhance the power and vitality of expression. He effected also a marvellous transformation in literature by making it a most artistic medium of moral and spiritual refinement. Sublime in spirit and ennobling in sentiment, his poetry served to elevate literature from the miry depth of sensuousness to transcendental heights of spiritualism.

During the post-Portuguese period when Kerala was divided into a number of petty states engaged in mutual warfare, and our culture was threatened with a total eclipse by foreign influences, it was the grand achievement of Eḷuttachchan to hold aloft the torch of enlightenment for the betterment of our society. It was the cult of *bhakti* that served as the motive force of his poetic and cultural mission. Poetic charm coupled with religious fervour made his works the most popular as well as the most valuable literary heritage of the Malayalis.

Notes and References

1. S. K. Pillai (ed.): *Malayalam Lexicon* (University of Kerala, 1965), Vol. I, Introduction.
2. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar: *Malayalam Morphology*, p. 139-40; K. Godavarma: *Kēralabhāṣhā Vijñānīyam*, p. 131.
3. *Kērala Pāṇiniyam*, *Peethika*, Paras, 4, 5 and 11.
4. *Ibid.*, para. 15.
5. S. K. Pillai (ed.): *Līlātilakam—vṛtti of sūtra 1*, p. 3.
6. For a discussion on the subject see—Ullur S. Parameswara Ayyar: *Kēraḷa Sāhityacharitam*, Vols. I and II.
7. Kerala Sahitya Academy Edition (Trichur, 1967), Introduction.
8. Kaṇṇaśān may be contracted form of Kaṇṇan Achan or Āśān. Karuṇēśān may be a Sanskritised form. Paṇikkar is a caste name.
9. P. Govinda Pillai, the first historian of Malayalam literature has stated that he had seen a manuscript of Rāma Panikkar's works copied in 614 M. E. (1439 A.D.). See Ullur, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.
10. A manuscript of *Dūtavākyaṃ* copied in 564 M. E. (1389 A.D.) is the basis for fixing its age.

THE BASIC NOTE IN MODERN MALAYALAM LITERATURE

SUKUMAR AZHICODE

The Indian Background

IT IS HIGH TIME somebody started saying that the study and evaluation of modern writing in the Indian Languages are to be rehabilitated on surer grounds of literary criticism than on what now usually passes for the fashionable norm in inter-literature and comparative descriptions that are ventilated through the medium of English. English appears to be, fortunately or unfortunately, the common forum of inter-provincial understanding in India, even on the literary level. An ordinary reader in one Indian language, unless he is a polyglot which one can seldom hope to be, has to fall back on, as the first and last resort, writings on Indian literatures appearing in English. Such anthologies containing descriptive notices of Indian literatures as *Contemporary Indian Literature* and *Indian Literature Since Independence* (both by the Sahitya Academy) and individual surveys of modern literatures like Assamese (*Assamese Literature* by Hem Barua), Urdu (*A Short Story of Urdu Literature* by Muhammed Sadiq), Telugu (*History of Telugu Literature* by Sitapati), Punjabi (*Aspects of Punjabi Literature* by Harbans Singh) and Malayalam (*A Survey of Malayalam Literature* by K. M. George), for example, do venture forth towards literary criticism, but actually stops short of it.

This is, perhaps, as it should be. If criticism is the voice of maturity emerging from the introspective urge of a literature, one may console oneself by the thought that the English medium is not ripened enough for taking up this task. For the present, the exercises in English for interpreting Indian literatures, especially their modern phases, to one another are beset with all the imperfections inherently peculiar to all pioneering works. They are content with the three C's in lower criticism, by which I mean chronicling, cataloguing and commending.

The immediate liberation from this narrow range of objectives is the emergent task of literary criticism in India. The first job to be done in this liberation-struggle is to curb the ardour of the critics to enlarge upon similarities existing between various Indian literatures. If this excessive ardour for integration is reasonably restrained, tendencies distinctive to each literature would become more and more manifest.

How to achieve this? In the long run, the natural growth and the consequent maturation of English critical writings on Indian works will definitely ensure this. There may be other shorter ways to achieve this end. One idea that occurs to me is this—if the literary critics practising actively in Indian languages themselves author such writings in English without leaving this task free to an adventurist group of writers in English who do not represent the living stream of critical thinking in Indian literatures, the characteristic differences and peculiarities of each literature will adequately get conveyed in their writings.

The Case of Malayalam

The modern phase of Malayalam literature offers a fine illustration to this argument. If one cares to read what is written in English by well-meaning scholars about this subject, one will get almost sold on the idea that the literature of Malayalam in its contemporary setting more or less approximates to the living trends in other modern Indian literatures. True. But that cannot be all! The basic note in modern Malayalam literature is not what is tried to be depicted by these writers. There is a deeper note, far below the superficialities. To me it seems that, in all the fields of creative writing, Malayalam is still struggling to arrive at a balance-point in expression. There is a fight going on between the Romantic style and the new idiom. But still the dominant note seems to me to be more Romantic than Existentialistic or Sur-realistic or Progressivistic. The rhythm of the new style is still eluding its grasp, though heroic attempts are being made in poetry, novel, short story and drama for its realisation, with varying degrees of success in each field.

By and large, the elder poets now writing good poetry are those who had walked in the shadow of the grand trinity, i.e., Asan, Ulloor and Vallathol. Though Romanticism is abjured vehemently by the rising generation of poets and the frantic search for a new idiom of direct communication is afoot, present-day poetry is basically conditioned by the romantic compulsions. Even now much of the poems are lyrical and subjective in spirit, with a direct emotional thrust. There is however visible the emergence of a new climate in poetry which registers now odd metrical or (more correctly antimetrical) patterns, with a new vocabulary of words and images with strange emotive overtones. The poems of Ayyappa Panicker, Akkitham and Sugatha Kumari stand out among these. Nevertheless in comparison the poems of the elders like Vyloppillil Sreedhara Menon, Balamani Amma and Kunhiraman Nair are still ensured of a fine comprehending response from the discerning readers.

The novel also reveals the twilight area of the foreshadowing of the new vision which is said to be trying to demolish the realist-romantic schools of novel-writing. Old names like Thakashi, Kesava Dev. Pottakkat, Basheer and Kuttikrishnan have not lost their powerful charms. But the banner of creativity is now held aloft by the new generation which is spearheaded by novelists like M. T. Vasudevan Nair and O. V. Vijayan. There is a pretty long queue after them. Yet the deeper notes in Vasudevan Nair and Vijayan are undoubtedly based on certain nostalgic feelings, in the true Romantic tradition.

It is over the field of short story that the new experiment has the greatest sway. The old generation has been swept off its feet by the moderns like Kakkanadan, Madhavikutty and Padma Raju. The dejection and ennui ingrained in the contemporary moment is given the most enlarged expression by them. While the romantics sought to picture the spirit of life even in death, the moderns see the face of death even in the midst of life. This is the philosophy of what they call the absurdity of human existence. Notwithstanding such overt declarations, the fascination attached to death has been a perennial theme which was taken up with enthusiasm by Roman-

tics of all ages. It cannot be said that there is something that is very new in the modern attitude.

The echoes of this philosophy determine the nature of the emerging drama in Malayalam. Protagonists like G. Sankara Pillai are apparently trying to give the Brechtian and Ionescoan dimensions to it. But if one is tolerant of their deliberate intellectualism and obliqueness, the basic urge of the Malayalam playwright is unmistakably his exaggerated hatred of sham and hypocrisy, founded on a faith of true eternal ideals like the old Romantics.

There may be difference of opinion about the genuineness and enduringness of the massive output of poets and fiction-writers in these times; but the earnestness and vigour of the present generation of writers evinced in their promiscuous writings can be doubted by nobody. It is obvious that the Malayalam writer has not turned himself overnight into a total rebel, with no links with the creative heritage in his literary past. A modern writer can never be anybody except a rebel and the Romantic has been over the ages the prototype of the rebel. I fail to find any basic opposition between the two.

I am certain that if higher criticism is encouraged in critical writing in English on Indian works, more and more distinctive characteristics of each literature can be revealed to outsiders. We should combat all attempts to impose an artificial pattern of national ethos and common growth upon Indian literatures which fascinate us by their innate individuality and autonomy.

DEVELOPMENT OF URDU LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

MD. YOUSUF KOKAN

SOUTH INDIA roughly means the Deccan from the range of the Vindhya up to the southern coast of Kanyakumari, comprising the present Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Kerala States. The Muslims penetrated into the south long before Sultan Alaaddin Khalji invaded it. After the invasion many people settled down in the various parts of this country. Their official language was Persian, but they were talking and conversing among themselves in a language which has an admixture of Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi words. It came to be known as Rekhta in the North and Dakani in the South. The poets and writers attempted to compose and write short and long brochures mostly on mystical and theological ideologies and themes. The language in the South remained Dakani for a long time using mostly words and phrases from the Hindi origin and not using *ne* in transitive past tense in which the verbs follow the objects in gender and number, rather than following the subjects.

We may sketch the development of the Urdu language under the following periods: 1 Bahmani period (1340-1494), 2 Adil Shahi and Qutub Shahi period (1490-1686), 3 The Mughal period (1687-1726) and 4 The Asifjahi period (1724-1956).

During the Bahmani rule Dakani had become very popular along with Persian the official language. Savants, scholars and poets from Iran and other places had come and settled down in Bidar and other places. Syed Muhammed Hussaini Gesudaraz came from Delhi in 1411 and settled down at Gulbarga, where he expired in 1421 after a stay of ten years. He was the author of *Miraj-al-Ashiqeen*, *Hidayat Nama*, *Tilwat-ul-Wujud*, *Shukar Nama*, *Risala-e-Sel-Bara* etc. Nizami was one of the great poets of the court of Ahmed Shah III (1460-62). He composed a nice *mathnawi Kudam Rao and Paulam*. Shah Sadruddin Mushtaq (d. 1470), the court poet of Sultan Mohammad Shah Bahmani (d. 1516) and Lutfi were the other eminent poets, who have left several short and long poems in Dakani. Shah Miranul Shamsul Ushshaq (c. 1496) was the author of several tracts like *Besharat-uz-zikur*, *Maghze-Marghub*, *Khush Numa*, *Khush Naghz*, *Sharh-e-Marghub-al-Qulub* etc. The Dakani had attained the status of a full fledged language in this period.

During the Adil Shahi and Qutub Shahi periods, the language advanced further and writers like Wajhi Ghawasi, Ajiz, Qutbi, Junaidi Bulaqi, Ibn Nishati, Tab'i, Shah Raju, Muhib, Kabeer, Ashiya Khawas, Ghulam Ali, Sevak, Fiaz, Latheef, Afzal and Fattahi, produced eminent works like *Qutub-o-Mushtari* (c. 1608), *Sab Ras* (c. 1634), *mathnawi Saiful Mulk wa Budul Jamal* (c. 1625), *mathnawi Toli Nama* (c. 1638), *mathnawi Laila Majnoon* (c. 1630), *Tuhfatun-Nasaih* (c. 1635), *mathnawi Mah Palkar* (c. 1653), *Meruj Nama* (c. 1654), *Phul Ban* (c. 1655), *Bahram wa Gul Andam* (c. 1669), *Suhagin Nama*, *Chakki Nama*, *Charkha Nama*, *Mujiza Fatima*

(c. 1676), *Qissa-e-Tamim Ansari* (c. 1678), *Qissa Abu Shahma* (c. 1678), *Qissa-e-Hussaini* (c. 1678), *Padmavat* (c. 1679), *Jung Nama* (c. 1680), *Qissa-e-Rizwan Shah* (c. 1682), *Zafar Nama*, *Mohyuddin Nama*, *Mufeed-ul-Yaqeen* and *Shulab al Iman* etc. Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah (1579-1610) was the first Urdu poet, whose poems were collected and edited in 1615 by his nephew and son-in-law Sultan Mohammed Qutub Shah (1610-25), who himself was a poet of repute and composed poems under the pen name *Zillullah*. His son Abdullah Qutub Shah (1625-71) also composed poems and patronised the arts and learning. Abul Hassan Tana Shah (1671-87), the last king, also was very much interested in the advancement of the learning and arts. His rule came to an end after Golkonda was occupied by Aurangzeb in 1687.

In addition to *Sab Ras* by Wajhi, we have a few eminent works in prose like *Shamail-al-Atqiya* (c. 1667) by Miran Yaqub, *Kanzul Molmmiin* (c. 1678) by Abid Shah and *Dar-ul-Asrar* by Shah Sultan. These works paved the way for further improvement in the language, thoughts and expressions.

During the Adil Shahi rule (1490-1686) several poets and writers rose to eminence like Shah Burhanuddin Janam, Abdul, Muqimi, Ameen, Shawqi, Sanati, Malik Khushnood, Rustami, Dawlat, Shahi, Nursati, Shah Malik, Ameenuddin A'la, Zuhur, Hashimi, Iyaghi, Shughli, Ali, Kareem, Murtaza, Hussaini, Mukhtar, Qudrati, Momini, Qadir, Shah Man and Muazzam, who have compiled several works like *Wasiyyatul Hadi*, *Maghz-e-Marghub*, *Sak Suhla*, *Manfiat-ul-Imam*, *Nav Ras*, *Ibrahim Nama*, *Chandar Badan-o-Mahyar*, *Bahram-o-Gul Andam*, *Fathu Nama-e-Nizam Shah*, *Mezban-i Nama*, *Qissa-e-Be Nazir*, *Guldasta*, *Hasht Bihisht*, *Bazar-e-Husan*, *Khawar Nama*, *Takmila-e-Bahram-o-Gul Andam*, *Kulliyat*, *Gulshan-e-Ishq*, *Ali Nama*, *Tarikh-e-Iskandari*, *Shareeat Nama*, *Muhabbat Nama*, *Rumuz-us-Salikeen*, *Yousuf Zulaikha*, *Diwan-e-Hashimi*, *Najat Nama*, *Pand Nama*, *Pand-e-Dil Nama*, *Nazm-e-Madhiyya*, *Wasl Nama*, *Diwan-e-Hussaini*, *Miraj Nama*, *Mawlu'at-e-Nabi*, *Qasas-al-Anbiya*, *Asrar-e-Ishq*, *Mujiza Khatun-e-Jannat*, *Shajar-al-Atqiya*, *Diwan-e-Muzaam*, *Gunj-e-Makhfi*, *Gulzar-e-Jannat* etc. Muqimi depicted the love story of Chandar Badan and Mahyar in 1639, who are supposed to have been buried in Kadri in Andhra Pradesh. This theme became very popular in the South. Several other poets have later on attempted to describe this story with more and more eloquence and high power of expression. Nursati (killed in 1673) was the most reputed poet and writer of this period, whose services to Urdu language and literature have correctly been estimated and recorded by Dr. Abdul Haq in his book entitled *Nursati*. His works *Gulshan-e-Ishq*, (c. 1657), *Ali Nama* (c. 1665), and *Tarikh Iskandari* (c. 1671) are of great value, as they supply authentic information about the social and cultural conditions of Bijapur of his period. *Marifat-al-Qutub* by Shah Burhanuddin Janam and *Gustar-e-Shah Ameen* and *Gunje-e-Makhfi* by his son Aminuddin A'la, which are in prose, are also very valuable, as they deal with the difficult topics of creed and mystical themes.

Among the Adil Shahi rulers, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, (1580-1627) and Ali Adil Shah II (1656-71) were great patrons of music and poetry. The former compiled

Nav Ras, probably in 1596, about music. The latter has left a collection of poems which has now edited and published under the name of *Kulliyat-e-Shahi*.

As these rulers were Shiites, several poets of this period have attempted to write elegies and recite them during the early ten days of Muharram every year. This created a sort of enthusiasm for learning and understanding the Dakani language among the public.

The emperor Aurangzeb made Aurangabad as his seat of government in the Deccan in 1653. Men of letters from all sides in the North and South were gathered here, which resulted in a great change in the language itself. The Dakani was slowly giving way to Urdu, which contained more words and phrases of Arabic and Persian than they were being used in the Dakani language. Wali Aurangabadi (1667-1707) was composing his poems in Dakani. When he went over to Delhi, he was advised to adopt Urdu as his medium of expression. He thus became a fore-runner to the other poets of the later period. During the short period of 36 years of Mughal rule in the South from 1689-1725, there have been several other poets like Qazi Mahmood Bahri, Zaefi, Turab, Aladil, Hussain, Muzaffar, Zawqi, Mujrimi, Bulbul, Raji, Darya, Abdul Muhammed, Mahboob-e-Alam, Fath, Ashiq, Ashraf, Wali Veluri, Isluati, Ruhi, Mohammed bin Raza, Mohammed Hyder, Bechara, Talib, Firaqi, Tyme Ahmed, Nadim, Shah Tahir, Shah Abdul Rahman, Abdul Jalil and Zakir, who produced works like *Man Lagan*, *Bhung Nama*, *Hidayat Nama*, *Ishq-e-Sadiq*, *Kafan Chor*, *Naseehat-e-Badan*, *Qissa-e-Mulla*, *Iblis Nama*, *Qissa-e-Shamoom*, *Qissa-e-Mehr-o-Man*, *Wisal-ul-Ashiqeen*, *Ghouse Nama*, *Mansur Nama*, *Wafat Nama*, *Man Bap Nama*, *Gulshan-e-Husn-o-Dil*, *Chandar Badagi*, *Nama-e-Ali*, *Wafat Nama*, *Shamail-un-Nabi*, *Punchhi Baja*, *Tuhfa-e-Ashiqeen*, *Makhzan-e-Ishq*, *Mathnawi Dard Nama*, *Zulaikha Thani*, *Pand Nama-e-Luqman*, *Isharat-ul-Ghafilcen*, *Jung Nama-e-Hyder*, *Rawzat-e-ush-Shuhada*, *Rawzat ul-Uqba*, *Rawzat-ul-Anwar*, *Dua-e-Fatima*, *Mathnawi Ratan Padam*, *Deepak Patang*, *Chit Lagan*, *Nech Darpan*, *Tarjuma-e-Qaseeda*, *Addendum to Phool Ban*, *Miratal-Hashr*, *Khawn-e-Yaghma*, *Kanz-un-Nafais*, *Bagh-e-Hussaini* etc. *Man Lagan* (c. 1705) of Bahri, *Gulshan-e-Husn-i-Dil* (c. 1707) by Wajid, *Jung Nama* (c. 1712) by Ashraf and *Rawzat-o-ush-Shukada* (c. 1724) and *Mathnawi Ratan Padam* by Wali of Vellore are very valuable for their noble themes and expression. The language greatly improved during this period. Muhammed Waliullah Qadiri (c. 1753) wrote *Murifat-us-Silook* in 1712 in prose.

Urdu definitely improved when Nawab Asifjah declared his independance in 1724. He himself was a poet and composed poems under the pen name of *Asif* and *Shakir*. His son Nasir Jung (d. 1751) also was a poet and composed poems both in Persian and Urdu. He was a student of Moulvi Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami. Nawab Muzaffar Jung and Nawab Salabat Khan succeeded one after the other. They ruled, for about nine years. After the death of Nawab Salabat Jung, his younger brother Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Asifjah II, was placed on the throne and he ruled for about forty-four years from 1758-1802. During this period of about eighty years there have been several poets and scholars of repute. Some of them came from the North and settled down at Aurangabad, Hyderabad and other places. Of

them Syd Abdul Wali uzlat, son of Shah Sa'dullah, deserves our full attention. He came from Surat and after visiting various places settled down at Hyderabad. He died in 1775. His language is in no way inferior to the well known North Indian poets. Siraj Aurangabadi (1714-62) has left a *diwan* which has been edited and published by Prof. Abdul Qadir Sarwari. He composed a *mathnawi Bostan-e-Khayal*, the copies of which are available in Asifiya and Salarjung libraries, Hyderabad. Other poets like Ashiq Ali Khan, Ima (d. 1758), Nur Mohammed, Asi (d. 1761), Mehr Ali, Mehr (d. 1764), Arifuddin Khan, Ajiz (d. 1761), Dargah Quli Khan, Dargahi (d. 1765), Khawaja Rahmatullah Khan, Rahmat (d. 1780), Hidayatullah Khan, Hidayat, Shah Fazlullah, Fazli (d. 1769), Luffi (d. 1785), Shafooq (d. 1807), Tamanna (d. 1789), Shah Tajalli (d. 1800), Iman (d. after 1810), Khawaja Inayatullah, Futuwwat (d. 1807), Mehrban (d. 1797), Shah Ghulam Hussain (d. 1795) etc. have left short and long poems in pure Urdu which clearly proves that they were attempting now to compose in Urdu rather than in Dakani. At this stage we find a lady poet Lutfunnisa Begum Imtiyaz who has edited her *diwan* in 1797 at the age of 36 years. The manuscript copy of it is available in Salarjung Library, Hyderabad. She has composed a *mathnawi Ghulshan-e-Shuara* a copy of which is found in the Ladies Library, Hyderabad.

In addition to several works in prose and poetry many memoirs of poets were compiled like *Gulshan-e-Gustar* (c. 1750) by Khawaja Khan Hameed, *Tazkirah-e-Shuara* (c. 1751) by Mirza Afzal Beg Qaqshal, *Riyaz-e-Hasani* (c. 1754) by Inayathullah, Futuwwat, *Tazkirah-e-Shuara* (c. 1778) by Lala Lachhmi Narain, Shafeeq and *Gul-e-Ajaib* (c. 1779) by Azad Ali Khan, Tamanna and *Tazkirah-e-Bekal* by Mir Abdul Wahab Bekal. These memoirs contain the life sketches of the poets of South India as well as those of the North at different periods.

After the capital was shifted from Aurangabad to Hyderabad the latter soon developed as a great centre of arts and learning. Nawab Sikandar Jah, Nawab Nasiruddowlah and Nawab Afzuluddowlah succeeded to the throne one after another and ruled about 65 years from 1803 to 1868. Arastu Jah (1772-85), the prime minister, patronised about 200 poets and scholars of his day. When Shah Tajalli compiled his work *Tarik-e-Tuzuk-e-Asifiya* in 1793, Arastu Jah got for him ample rewards from Nizam Ali Khan and other chieftains of his court. Tajalli prepared an anthology of the poets and their compositions in 1800 under the title of *Majmu-a-Fasahat*. He also compiled another anthology *Khazina-e-Sukhan*, a copy of which is found in Asifiya Library at Hyderabad. Arastu Jah patronised also Mah Liqa Bai Chandi, the dancing girl and a poetess of repute. She has composed a few poems in praise of the prime minister. Her poems were collected in 1803 under orders from Arastu Jah. She died in 1820 at the age of 57. Her *diwan* has been edited and published in 1905 by Ghulam Samdani Khan, Gowhar.

Nawab Mohammed Fakhruddin Khan Shamsul Umra II (d. 1801) and his son Nawab Rasheeduddin Khan Shamsul Umra III (d. 1876) were great patrons of learning. Shamsul Umra II was the first to get scientific works translated into Urdu. A Translation Bureau was established in 1825 and continued for several years, in

which 75 works were rendered into Urdu from other languages. The six works known as *Sitta-e-Shamsiyya* and *Amal-e-Kurrah*, on geometry and mechanics and astronomy, which were published in 1837 and after, were once included in the course of studies in the Arabic Madrasas of those days. *Sitta-e-Shamsiyya* was published four times. The last edition appeared from Delhi in 1895.

In addition to these scientific works in Urdu, many books of literary and theological interest like *Misbahal-Salawat* (c. 1815) by Mowlvi Qadir Ali, *Anwar-e-Suhaili* (c. 1824) by Mian Mohammed Ibrahim, *Marghub-al-Tabia* (c. 1832), *Char Derwesh* (c. 1834) and *Hamesha Bahar* (c. 1834) by Syed Hussain Ali Khan, the stories from *Bahar-e-Danish* by Mohammed Ismail were compiled during this period. The well-known Persian work *Gulistan* by Sa'di and the Arabic work *Alf Laila* also were rendered into Urdu.

At the request of Shamsul Umra III, Ghulam Imam Khan compiled the voluminous work of *Tarikh-e-Rasheeduddin Khani*, which was published in 1853. In it the author has discussed the history of the Indian kings and the Sultans of Delhi along with the history of the Deccan upto the time of Nawab Nasiruddowlah Asif Jah III who ruled from 1827 to 1860. He also compiled another work *Tarikh-e-Khursheed Jahi* at the request of Shamsul Umra IV giving the history of the Deccan from 1853 to 1866.

Shah Ali of Adoni compiled his books *Tazkirah* on geometry and *Anwar-e-Badriya* on mathematics in dedication to Badruddin Khan Rafa't Jung III, son of Shamsul Umra III, who was a great poet of Persian and Urdu and composed poems under the pen name of *Tameez*.

Maharaja Chandu Lal Shadan (1774-1844) also was another great patron of arts and learning of this period. He was very much interested in having a wide circle of admirers around him. He invited Shaikh Ibrahim Zawaq to come down to Hyderabad from Delhi. But the latter declined. Poets and scholars gathered in his house every day and the literary amusements continued till late after midnight. Poets and writers were receiving monthly allowances from him. Shah Naseer of Delhi, Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Safa of Lucknow, Shaikh Hafiz of Delhi, Shaikh Wazir Ali Masarret and Mirza Ali Raza Marhoon both from Delhi, came and settled down at Hyderabad. The other poets like Mohammed Siddiq Qais (d. 1814), Mir Hasan Ali Khan, Ima (d. 1814), Mir Abbas Ali Khan, Kafi (d. 1821), Sajjad Ali Khan, Sajjad (d. 1824), Mir Ghulam Mustafa, Natiq Mahdawī, the author of *mathnawi Qissa-e-Shaheedan* composed by him in 1824 depicting the serious clash between the Sunnis and Mahdawis, Hafiz Mir Shujaiddin Hussain, Shuja (1776-1839), Mohammed Ali and Ulfat kept up the torch of literary amusements burning in the country, which made the common people more and more enthusiastic in improving their taste for poetry and arts.

Munshi Qadir Ali Khan of Bidar compiled several works both in Persian and Urdu like *Shams-ul-Mazahib* (c. 1834) and *Shams-ul-Tawarikh* (c. 1843) in six volumes and dedicated them to Shamsul Umra III. There were hundreds of poets in this period and Mir Shamsuddin Faiz (1780-1865) held the highest position among them.

He was the author of several works on poetics and other subjects. His collections of poems have been published under the name of *Chashma-e-Faiz*, *Guldasta-e-Faiz* and *Muraqq-e-Faiz*. He was a great master in composing chronograms. He trained scores of poets in the art of poetry, who kept up the torch of poetry burning in the country for years together.

Raja Makhan Lal Bahadur rendered the quatrains of Omer Khayyam in Urdu in 1843. Another great poet of this period was Mohammed Mohsin. He compiled a work *Guldasta-e-Muhsini* in 1755, at the request of Shamsul Umra III.

Nawab Mukhtar-ul-Mulk (d. 1882), grandson of Mir Alam, who was appointed Diwan, invited many scholars, both from the South and the North, to come and settle down in Hyderabad. He gave them high posts in the State. The students of Faiz like Raja Girdhari Prasad, Baqi (1827-95), Hakeem Muzaffaruddin Khan, Mizaj (1815-99), Sadanand Jogi Bihari Lal, Ramz (1824-1906), Mir Ahmad Ali, Asr (1828-1903), Mohammed Hafeezuddin Pas (1843-1904), Seetal Prasad Khurram (1822-82) were engaged in organising poetical assemblies and encouraging and training young poets.

Nawab Mahboob Ali Khan was installed on the throne in 1883. He composed poems under the pen name of *Asif*. When at his invitation Mirza Dagh (1831-1905) of Delhi came to Hyderabad in 1886 almost all the students of Faiz became his disciples, except Mohammed Ahmadullah Wasil. (d. 1907) and Dr. Ahmad Hussain, Mayal (d. 1903), who did not accept the superiority of the Northerners and went on glorifying the compositions of the poets of the Deccan.

Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Asif submitted his poems to Mirza Dagh for correction. Poets like Raja Girdhari Prasad, Baqi etc. noted above and others like Mir Kazim Ali Khan Shola (1835-90), Mir Azam Ali Khan Shayaq (d. 1899), Moinuddin Iqbal (d. 1902) and Vazir Ali Josh (d. 1908) were engaged in producing the best kind of poetry in Urdu. Vila was the author of several works both in Persian and Urdu. Moulvi Abdul Jabbar Khan Sufi Malakapuri (d. 1925) was another great writer of this period. He is the author of the *Mahboob al Zaman* (in 2 volumes) and *Mahboob al Walan* (in 3 volumes). He has thus recorded the entire history of the Deccan and its culture. Ghulam Samdani Gowher also compiled an important work *Tuzuk-e-Mahboobia* in two big volumes, in which he has recovered the life sketches of about two hundred poets of the period of Mir Mahboob Ali Khan.

Mir Usman Ali Khan (1911-46) the last ruler of Hyderabad, was very much interested in the progress of Arts and Sciences. He composed poems in Persian and Urdu under the pen name of *Usman* and got them corrected by Fasahat jung Jalil (1869-1946) of Manakpur, a student of Amir Minai (d. 1900). During the period of his munificent rule for 37 years, Hyderabad witnessed progress in every branch of arts and sciences. Hundreds of scholars, writers and poets came and settled down here. Osmania University, with medium of instruction in Urdu, was established in 1917. A Translation Bureau was started with the purpose of getting the authentic works in Arabic, Persian, English and French on arts and sciences, translated into Urdu. Moulvi Abdul Haq was appointed its Director. Writers like Moulvi Abdul

Haleem Sharer, Moulvi Masood Ali Mahvi, Moulvi Abdullah Imadi, Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Abdur Rahman, Qazi Talmuz Hussain, Choudhary Barakat Ali, Hashimi Fareedabadi and a host of others translated the historical, geographical and scientific works in Urdu which were published by this Bureau.

A society, under the name of *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu* was established in 1906. Moulana Shibli, Moulvi Habeebur Rahman Khan Sherwani and Moulvi Aziz Mirza became, one after the other, its Honorary Secretaries. Moulvi Abdul Haq took its charge in 1917 and made it more active and popular not only in Hyderabad State but also throughout India. He started the quarterly journals *Urdu* in 1922 and *Science* in 1929 in which articles of a very high order were published. A dictionary of technical terms in Urdu and a standard English-Urdu dictionary also were published by him.

Dr. Muhyuddin Qadiri Zore (d. 1962) started a premier organisation *Idara-e-Adabiyat-e-Urdu*, in 1931, and a monthly journal *Sab Ras* in 1938 which is still serving the cause of Urdu at greater length. He collected the vast treasures of Urdu and Dakani and put them into a library, which has now become a big centre of further research, in Hyderabad.

The Osmania University has produced a long line of scholars who have rightly earned name and fame in the fields of research and compilation. Of them Dr. Zore, Prof. Abdul Majeed Siddiqui, Nascerruddin Hashimi (d. 1964), Dr. Hameedullah, Dr. Mohammed Ghouse, Syed Mohammed, Rasheed Quraishi, Krishna Sinha, Mohammed Shafceddin, Nakara, Ibrahim Jalees, Janaki Prasad, Bala Reddi, Ghulam Panjatan, Dr. Mahshar Abidi, Aziz Ahmed, Aziz, Syed Shamsullah Qadiri, deserve our special note and attention. They have produced excellent works on Urdu language and its literature, well-known through out India.

The modern English education has been responsible to produce many good writers and poets among the ladies. Sughra Begum, Padsha Begum, Sufi, Rabia Begum, Jahan Banu Begum, Zeenat Sajida, Dr. Rafia Sultana, Muneera Bano Kaoosji, Khadija Begum, Mrs. Shanti Bai, Nasira Begum, Shakira Begum are some of the noted ladies who have been writing articles on the subjects of their interest.

Outsiders like Mirza Farhatullah Beg (1883-1947), Dr. Ghulam Yazdani (1885-1962), Dr. Yousuf Hussain spent a greater part of their lives in Hyderabad. Their excellent writings have immensely contributed to the progress and popularising of modern Urdu not only in the State of Hyderabad but also in India.

Maharaja Sir Krishna Prasad, *Shad* (1864-1940), the Prime Minister during the time of Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, was a great patron of Urdu language and literature. He was in constant correspondence with the eminent writers and poets of his period. Sarshar came to Hyderabad at his invitation and died a premature death in 1902. Everywhere poetical forums were organised, where poets were reciting their poems and receiving ovation for their best productions. Several poets earned name and fame in poetry. Of them Syed Ahmed Hussain, Amjad (1880-1961), Makhdoom Mohiyuddin, Makhdoom (d. 1956), Muhammed Ali Khan, Maikash (d. 1948) and Sikandar Ali Wajid are the eminent modern poets of Urdu. The qua-

trains of Amjad are extremely popular in India. Hyderabad has produced several poets among women. Their short life sketches have been given in *Deccan men Urdu* by Naseeruddin Hashimi.

Tamilnadu was once a part of Carnatic ruled by the Nawmits and the Farroquis, known as Wallajah's (1713-1885). It was more influenced by the mystics and mendicants than in the North. Shaikh Nather Vali came along with a group of sufis and the mendicants and settled down at Tiruchinapalli. Shaikh Shahul Hameed Miran Abdul Qadir, a student of Shaikh Mohammed Ghouse of Gwalior (d. 1561) started from Manakpur in U.P. and wandered through the cities and towns of India until he reached Nagore in Tanjore District and died there in 1569. Aurangzeb sent his armies to conquer the South. Nawab Zulfiqar Khan Nursrat Jung conquered Gingee, in South Arcot District which was named as Nusratgarh after him. Nawab Saadatullah Khan reconquered it in 1713 and then established his government at Arcot. He ruled for about 22 years and died in 1735 A.D. As he belonged to Bijapur, several great teachers, scholars and poets came down to Arcot and settled down in various places like Vellore, Ambur, Sathgarh, Pernambut, Vaniyambadi, Tirupattur, Salem, Chengam, Tiruvannamalai, Polur, Gingee, Fathp.t, Agnanur, Arni, Tindivanam, Perumukkal, Vandavasi, Chingleput, Karnnaguzhi, Vriddhachalam, Chidambaram, Kille, Pottonove, Tiruchinapalli and other places.

Those who came from Bijapur knew Arabic, Persian and Dakani. The spoken language was Dakani and hence they composed verses both in Persian and Dakani. Nawab Zainul Abideen, younger brother of Chanda Saheb has composed several poems in Dakani. Syed Shah Abul Hasan Qurbi (1708-68) came along with his father and settled down at Vellore. He was a poet of repute both in Persian and Dakani. His *diwan* has recently been edited and published. Moulana Baquir Agah (1752-1805) was an eminent student of Qurbi. He has left several works in all the three languages. He was a great supporter of Dakani and hence compiled *Hasht Bihisht*, *Tuhfat al Ahabab*, *Riyazul Jinan*, *Rawzat-ul-Islam* in Dakani. He was opposed to the use of *ne* in Urdu with transitive verbs past tense, in which the verb follows object instead of the subject, in gender and number. He considered it as unnatural that the verb should follow the object instead of the subject. But he had to adopt Urdu in his subsequent works like *Gulzar-e-Ishq* and *Khamsa-e-Awj-e-Agahi*, as many of the poets and writers in Carnatic begin to imitate the style of the Delhi prince, Mirza Ali Bakht Azfari, who came to Madras in 1797 during the reign of Nawab Umdatul Umara, Walajah II (1795-1801). Azfari lived here and died in 1820. Moulvi Ghulam Mohyuddin Mujiz (d. 1813) was a student of Baquir Agah. But he adopted Urdu as a medium of his expression, when he came under the influence of Azfari. His son Moulvi Abdul Qadir Nazir (d. 1827) also followed the example. Their collections of poems indicate clearly the influence of Azfari over them.

Hakeem Moose Raza Raiq (1765-1852), Moulvi Ghulam Aazzuddin Khan Bahadur Mustaqeem Jung Nami (1766-1824) composed several works both in Persian and Urdu. Nami wrote *New Bahar-o-Ishq*, *Baharistan-e-Ishq*, *Guni-e-Qudrat* and

Bostan-e-Bihisht in Urdu verse, the first of which has already been published by the Madras University with my introduction. The poets of the period engaged mostly in showing their merit in Persian. But they did not ignore the growing importance of the flourishing language of Urdu.

Nawab Ghulam Ghouse Khan, Walajah V (1841-55) was a great patron of poetry, arts and sciences. The poetical assembly *Mushaera-e-Azam* continued to serve as a forum for ten years from 1845-55 for exhibiting the poetical excellences for the poets of the period. The poets mostly recited poems in Persian only in this gathering. But there were some poets who attempted to write both in Persian and Urdu. Shayaq Ali Khan Shayaq (1787-1832) has left a *mathnawi* in Urdu, under the name of *Rashk-e-Bihisht*. His brother Miran Mohyuddin Waqif (1790-1853) also composed poems both in Persian and Urdu. Moulvi Mohammed Hussain Tamanna (1796-1860) translated into Urdu in 1855 *Takmil-al-Iman* by Shah Abdul Haq Muhaddis of Delhi. He has also composed a long poem in Urdu about the five fundamentals of Islam under the name of *Tareeqat-al-Islam*, which was once very popular in Carnatic. Moulvi Muhammad Mahdi Wasif (1796-1872) was another great scholar and poet of Madras, who has several works in Arabic, Persian and Urdu to his credit. He adopted the pen name of *Miskeen* in Urdu and *Wasif* in Persian. He has composed *Rawza-e-Rizwan*, a collection of his poems in praise of Imam Hussain (1858), *Minhaj-al-Abideen*, a translation of *Kimiya-e-Sadaath* by Imam Ghazali, *Tahseen-al-Akhlaq*, *Shiar-ul-Muttaqeen*, *Khulasat-at-Takmil*, *Mathlub-a-Atibba*, *Diwan-e-Miskeen*, all in Urdu. Moulvi Ghulam Ahmad Ahmadi (1800-1873) was another great scholar and poet of this period, who attempted to write both in Persian and Urdu. He composed elegies which have been printed and published in 1857 under the title of *Gulzar-e-Shaheedan*.

Qazi Badruddowlah (1796-1862) has, in addition to his innumerable works in Arabic and Persian, compiled, in Urdu, *Fawaid-e-Badriya*, a popular work about the life and achievements of the Prophet, *Nathr al-Jawahir*, the biography of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jeelani, *Riyaz-al-Niswan* on theology meant for the ladies, *Tosha-e-Falah* and *Qutul Arwah*, two voluminous works about pilgrimage, *Hasht Gulzar fi Manaqib Rafeeq-al-Ghar*, a biography of Hazrath Abu Bakar, the first Caliph of Islam, *Saif-ul-Muslimeen li Hidayat-al-Kafireen*, *Khazana-e-Madilat*, *Gulzar-e-Hidayat*, *Tarjuma-e-Hism-e-Haseen* and *Faizul Kareem*, a detailed commentary of the Quran, which runs into several volumes.

The interest created for Urdu poetry and literature by Nawab Ghulam Ghouse Khan continued to hold good during the British rule from 1857-1947. There were several presses engaged in bringing out excellent books in Persian and Urdu. Madrasas were established from time to time, where Arabic and Persian and the Islamic sciences were being taught through the medium of Urdu. Provision was made for the study of Urdu in the High Schools and Colleges. The dailies, bi-weeklies, weeklies and monthlies were reaching here and read with great interest and enthusiasm.

Moulvi Syed Mohammed Sadiq Hussain Shareef (d. 1904) was an eminent poet

of the day. He was considered as *Shahr Ustad* (Master of the city poets). All people belonging to different classes and creeds felt great pleasure in sitting at his feet to learn Persian and Urdu from him and getting their compositions corrected by him. He had a wide circle of students and admirers and every one desiring to publish his own writings felt it necessary to get a certificate of appreciation from him. He has to his credit several works like *Shareef-ul-Qawaneen* (1873), *Gulzar-e-Shareef* (1875), *Sharaf-e-Urdu* (1878), *Hadith-e-Shareef* (1884), his *diwan* (in 1887 and 1889). He also published a *mathnawi Sham-e-Ghurbat* in 1889. He also compiled a nice work in Urdu on the History of the Turks with the photographs of Turkish Sultans and Caliphs. Shareef died in 1904. His son Syed Mohammed Jafar Hussaini Hareef also was a reputed poet. He published his *diwan* in 1867 and died one year after his father in 1905. Shareef trained several poets like Nawab Rawoof Ahmed Khan Partaw (d. 1926), Nawab Abdus Samad Khan Mahir (1909), Moulvi Haji Imamuddin Imam (d. 1893), Haji Abdush Shukoor, Shakir (d. 1892) and others.

Partaw has published several *diwans* in Persian and Urdu. His language and style were in no way inferior to the North Indian Poets. He has frequently boasted of his superiority over Ghalib and Dagh. Mahir, Shakir and Imam also have published their *diwans* in Persian and Urdu. Moulvi Abdus Subhan Saheb Dil (d. 1920) and Abdul Quddus Zaw (d. 1946) also have published their compositions in both the languages.

At Vaniyambadi there were two eminent poets who participated in the poetical assemblies in the North and won great admiration for their poetry. They are Moulvi Gundu Abdul Qadir Shakir (d. 1923) and Moulvi Khateeb Qadir Basha Saheb, Badsha. In addition to the collections of poems, Shakir composed a nice *mathnawi Gulzar-e-Shakir*, depicting the love story of Chandar Badan and Mahyar. Badsha published his voluminous *diwan* in 1895 under the title of *Yadgare-e-Badsha*.

Moulvi Ghulam Dastageer Himmatt and Shamsul Ulama Hafiz Luthfullah Saheb Shams Quraishi (d. 1918) were two great teachers and poets, serving in the Christian and Presidency Colleges, Madras, respectively. Many poets in Madras were trained by them. Shams co-operated with the Rev. Father Edward Sell, the Principal of Harris High School, Madras, in bringing out several suitable texts in Persian and Urdu.

Poems in Urdu with the relative literary discussions appearing from time to time in the periodicals, made some of our scholars turn their attention to compose more poems in Urdu than in Persian. Moulana Ghazanfur Hussain Shakir Nayath, who was a product of Darul Uloom Lathceefia Arabic College, Vellore, was appointed as a lecturer of Arabic and Persian in the Oriental Arabic College, Jamia Darus Salam, Oomerabad, North Arcot District in 1925. Till his death in 1967, he was engaged in training the students in the art of poetry. Many attained proficiency in Urdu and proved themselves as good poets and writers. Among them are Habeeb Khan Saheb Sarosh (d. 1964), Syed Azmathullah Sarmadi, Hakeem Abdul Wahab, Zuhuri, Hakeem Fazlullah Shareef Wajdi, Abdul Haleem Qudsi, Moulvi Allah Baksh, Noori, Ismail Rafi, Abdul Ghaffar, Shakir Fawqi, Kaka Abdul Wahid

Azim of Ambur, Syed Hamza Hussain Kufi and the writer of this article Mohamed Yousuf Kokan. Shakir Nayathi, Kaka Abdul Aziz Fahe m of Ambur, Moulana Ziauddin Amani of Vellore, Hakeem Abbas Asi of Tirupattur and a host of others were very much interested in the progress and popularity of the Urdu language in Tamilnadu. They organised periodical *Mushaairas* largely attended by the poets of Tamilnadu and Karnataka.

Moulvi Ghulam Abbas Ali Abbas of Madras was an eminent lyrical poet. His collection of poems has been edited and published by Prof. Hyder Ali Khan, who also composed poems under the pen name of *Hyder*. Moulvi Raheem Ahmed Farooqi Azad, the Arabic teacher of the Government Mohamedan College, Madras, was not only a poet of repute but also a great critic. Syed Hasrat Suhrawardi who has rendered *Tirukkural* in Urdu and translated the short stories of Tamil in Urdu, is a product of this college. He has now published a collection of his poems under the title of *Bu-e-Gul-Nala-e-Dil* and received an award from U.P. Government.

Athim Kurnooli is another great living poet of Madras. His lyrical poems are of a very high order. His language is very sweet and full of emotions. Kavish Badri, Danish Farazi, Dr. Azizur Rahman Tamannai, Moulana Abdul Bari Havi (d. 1972), Prof. Mohammad Jalal, Dr. Abdullah Zawqi, Farhat Kaifi, Kamali and Fidwi of Vellore are some of the noted poets of this period. Tamannai published his sonnets in Urdu under the title *Barg-a-Naw-Khaz*. Farhat Kaifi has recently brought out his troiles in Urdu under the title of *Patta Patta Buta Buta*.

The writer of this article published his stupendous work *Imam Ibn Tymiyya* in 1959, which has been repulished by the Islami Publishing Company from Lahore in 1960. The writer compiled another work *Khanwada-e-Qazi Baderuddowlah*, (Vol. I, 1960) which contains authentic information about the lives and works of 21, savants and scholars belonging to the family of Qazi Badruddowlah. Syed A. S. Usha, former Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, University of Madras has published a nice book on the well-known poet Hafiz Shirazi. Darul Uloom Lateefia of Arabic College, Vellore has published several works in Persian and their translations in Urdu. It has also published *Anwar-e-Aqtab-e-Velure* giving details about the life and works of the teachers and mystics belonging to the family of Syed Shah Abul Hasan Qurbi of Vellore.

In Karnataka also the language was for a long time Dakani. After the conquest of Bijapur by the emperor Aurangzeb in 1686, many people migrated to Sira and from there they spread out to various places in Karnataka. Qasim Khan was appointed by Aurangzeb as the first Governor of Mysore. After the demise of Aurangzeb in 1707, Sira, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Shahnaur became independent. Sira and Arcot came under the control of Nawab Asit Jah. Hyder Ali occupied all the territories of Mysore one after the other and ruled the country with a firm hand until he died on 24th December 1782. His son Tipu Sultan succeeded him and ruled for about 17 years until he was killed in 1799. During the days of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan many poets and schplars flourished who have left their works in Dakani.

At this stage we see the teachings of Syed Muhammad (1444-1505) of Jaunpur

gaining ground in Mysore. Abdul Momin Khan Momin wrote *Asrar-i-Ishq* in 1681-82 about the life and works of Syed Muhammad of Jaunpur who claimed himself as *Mahdi*. Shah Mohammad Sadrudin was a noted mystic. He compiled several works *Man Lagan*, *Mirat-al-Azkar*, *Misbah-al-Nur* and *Mirat-al-asrar*. Mohammed Sayeed Mekhari Asi (d. 1752) was a poet of repute. Hyder Ali had immense faith in Shahmir and his brother Shah Kamaluddin of Cuddapah, who was the author of *Makhzanal-Irfan*, published in two volumes in 1913. Kamaluddin died in 1809. Lala Mahtab Rai, Sabaqt, Ahmad Khan Shirani, Mir Zainul Abideen Shustari, Mohammed Ishaq Bijapuri, Hasan Ali Izzat, Qazi Ghulam Ahmad, Shaikh Miyan Fazlullah Faqeer, Mir Husain Ali Kirmani, Khairullah Shah Qadiri *alias* Mohammed Shareef, Hussain bin Qadir etc. were some of the eminent poets and writers of this period. They have mostly written on mysticism and theology. The language was Dakani.

As the people loved immensely Hyder Ali and Tipu, they were unhappy at the occupation of Srirangapattana by the Britishers and were not ready to co-operate with the British rulers in the country. They felt as if they had lost national honour. They have expressed their dissatisfaction in their poetry at the said state of affairs in the country.

Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, who was installed as the king of Mysore after the execution of Tipu, adopted a sympathetic attitude towards Muslims. He granted *jagirs* to Shah Mir and Shah Kamaluddin and sanctioned monthly allowances to scholars and administrators of the State.

Hakeem Baquir Ali and Munshi Ghulam Hussain were respectively the court physician and the astronomer. The Muslims continued to study Arabic and Persian. There were several poets engaged in producing monumental works in Dakani, which now had become nearer to Urdu. Syed Abdul Raheem Dargahi (d. 1855) was a poet of repute. Mir Hayat (d. 1861) was the author of *Misbahul Hayath*, *Siraj-ul-Hayath*, *Khamsa-e-Hayath* and *Sham'e-Mahfil* and also translated *Qaseeda-e-Burda* by Imam Busiri into Urdu. *Misbah-ul-Hayath* became very popular and it was printed and published several times. Abdul Haq and Ghulam Hyder Sarvar also were great poets of this period.

During the period of the Commissioners Rule in Mysore from 1831 to 1881, there have been several poets and writers, like Ghulam Abid (1806-76), Budhan Shareef Athim (1831-1918), Mohammed Jafar (1810-1907), Shaher Banu Shakira (1827-1901), Mohammed Hayat Qayal (1823-1911), Moulana Shah Abdul Hye Waiz of Bangalore (1818-82), Nawab Mohammed Hussain Ali Sultana Naseem (1839-88), Mohammed Abdur Rahman Dil (1844-099), Shaikh Ahmed Atqan (1840-1901), Syed Shihabuddin Shihab (1824-1905), Ghulam Mohammed Showkath (1845-1945), Mohammed Ghouse Jadu (1831-1907) and Mohammed Alavi Alavi (1868-1931). Some of these poets were in contact with poets of the North like Dagh and Amir Minai and got their poems corrected by them. They have left their *diwans* and other writings. Many of them had by now discarded Dakani and adopted pure Urdu especially in lyrical poems. Moulana Abdul Hye was a student of Syed Abdul

Lateef Qadri, better known as *Qutub-e-Velure* (meaning the pivot of all mystics in Vellore). Abdul Hye has left several works mostly in verse. He was an extempore poet. He preferred Urdu to Persian as it had now become the common language of India. His works won popularity throughout South India, and still are read with great interest.

Mohammed Qasim wrote poems under the pen name of *Shad* (glad) and *'Gham* (sorrow). He organised poetic assemblies periodically. He started a daily paper *Qasim al Akhbar* from 1861. This was the first Urdu newspaper in Karnataka. He was the elder brother of Mohammed Ghouse Jadu, who was also a poet. Qasim composed a *mathnawi* in 1853 lamenting the death of a young poet Sayeed. Naseem also was a great poet. His *diwan* has been edited and published by Prof. Mir Mahmood Hussain, with a critical introduction. These poets and writers paved the way for refining and refreshing the Urdu language.

Qazi Mohammedabdullah Hussain Khalil (1854-1932) was a great teacher and poet. His student Hakeem Mohammed Hussain Shareef Hukmi of Bangalore compiled a work in Urdu in 1891 on Persian grammar under the name of *Dastur namah-e-Farsi* which was published in 1899 by Mujthabi Press, Delhi. It is the most authentic and exhaustive work on this subject.

Muhammad Abdul Ali Farq of Bangalore was a poet of repute. He was in contact with the poets in the North. Haji Abdul Jaleel came from Bombay and settled down at Bangalore. He composed poems under the pen name of *Ajmal*. Mohammed Abdur Rahman Kafi (born 1890) was an expert in writing appropriate chronograms. He published the *diwan* of his teacher, Nasir in 1912. Syed Zamin Mahir (1845-1925), Wali Ahmed Wali (1866-1932), Abdus Subhan Hoshyar, the author of *Tuhfa-e-Subhani* and *Khutbat-e-Islam*, Abdul Qadir Talib (1850-1921), Shah Abul Hasan Adib (1886-1960), Mohammed Sulaiman Parwaz (d. 1955) and others have been the reputed poets of this period. Mirza Nazir Hussain Nazir (d. 1960) has successfully attempted to render the Persian poetical work of Dr. Iqbal viz. *Asrar-e-Khudi*, *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi* and *Armughan-e-Hijaz* in Urdu verse. Mohammed Yousuf Nafees of Bangalore was a well-read person. He had mastered the poetics which enabled him to compose lyrical poems free of defects and win the appreciation of the eminent North Indian poets like Jaleel Manakpuri, Natiq Gulawthawi, Nuh Narwi, Yagana Changezi and Arzu Lucknowi. He is the author of *Mizan-e-Sukhan*, *Matrukath-e-Nashahcer*, *Tasreehat-e-Natiq* etc. He has also left a collection of nice letters and poems which show his command over Urdu language.

There have been a few lady poets and social workers like Ruqayya Bi Kaneez (1926), Safiyya Bi Haya (d. 1978), Batul Bi (1943), Aisha Begum, Ruqayya Begum and Aqeela Begum. But Sayyeda Akthar of Bangalore was the greatest of them. She was a fine speaker and hence participated in the election meetings held all over India in 1937 and recited her poems before the public with such fervour and enthusiasm that she was able to win the votes easily for the candidate she stood for. She conducted an all India *Mushaaira* in 1942 and invited several poets from the North as well as from the South. The excellent performances of the local poets in this

gathering proved clearly that they were in no way inferior to the poets of the North.

Urdu is becoming more popular in the high schools and colleges due to the encouragement of teachers like Prof. Mohammed Khan and his wife, Dr. Amina Khatoon, Dr. Habibunnisa, Prof. Syed Mubarizuddin Rafat, Prof. Mir Mahmood Hussain, Dr. Hashim Ali, Prof. Mohammed Haneef, Saleem Tammanni, Abu Turab Khatai and others. Dr. Amina Khatoon has published *Mysore me Urdu, Tahqiqi Nawadir* and *Gulha-e-Sad Rang*, a collection of letters in Urdu, received by her from noted scholars and writers in India and abroad. Habibunnisa has published *Riyasath-e-Mysore me Urdu ki Nashu-o-numa* in 1962. Mir Mahmood Hussain has published *Maqalath-e-Mahmood* and *Kulliyat-e-Naseem* in 1958 and 1969. Hashim Ali has published *Maghza Marghub*, *Chahar Shahadath* and *Miranji Shamsul Ushaq*. Innumerable Urdu text books are being edited and published from Bangalore which go to strengthen the spirit and popularity of Urdu language, not only in Karnataka but also in the nearby States. Bangalore rightly deserves to occupy supreme place in Urdu-speaking areas in South India.

The Kerala Muslims have a natural aptitude for Arabic. They were not in favour of learning Urdu for a long time. Many of those who joined the military learnt spoken Urdu or Hindi in the army. The others learnt this language when on account of their hotel business they came in contact with Urdu-speaking people in North India. During the second World war Urdu was being taught in Government Brennen College, Tellichery as a second language. The position improved further when many students began to take interest in learning Urdu and appearing for various examinations at different levels. Now Urdu has been introduced in other colleges also. The Malayalee students are passing their M.A. examinations in Urdu. An effort is being made to popularise Urdu in the whole State of Kerala.

Folklore

FOLKLORE OF ANDHRA PRADESH—HISTORY AND PROBLEMS

T. DONAPPA

THE HISTORY OF TELUGU FOLKLORE is replete with serious problems. To write its history is a tedious job, so what this writer meant by the heading of this essay. In point of fact this writer has no regard for mere historical accounts which very often amount to listing out bibliographical data unless such accounts point to an enquiry into the problems involved in the growth of a discipline in the question. This is not to say that this writer has no interest in history, but in his view the kind of accounts mentioned above are less significant in view of the more pressing issues that a newly emerging field as the present ones is confronted with. However, this writer is forced to delineate a short history of Telugu folklore in consonance with the demands of the exacting scholarship.

Folklore study in India is entirely European in its origin. This was emerging as a new field of learning in the West early in nineteenth century. And this was introduced into India by the Indologists who were making strenuous efforts to infuse new blood into our literatures. Besides their exercises, there was again the impact of a scholarly group which has been associated with running the British administration. C. P. Brown was only one of them. This two-fold impact on our life and literatures has resulted in a sort of revitalization and proved extraordinarily productive.

This has been said because Brown, that great scientific scholar of Telugu, was the first man to discover the existence of a literature founded 'on principles different from all other sorts of poetry'. The folklore of which Brown was making a passing reference in one of his essays was actually so named in 1846. He wrote as early as 1841.

"Finally there are other ballads (*cathalu*) of great length framed in a peculiar chant on principles different from all other sorts of poetry. Some of these, as the Bobbilicatha or Ranga Rao charitra, the Nagammacatha and the like are chiefly preserved by oral recitation, without having been until now committed to writing. These are everywhere popular, though despised, as illiterate, by professed scholars'. As has already been pointed out", no 'professed scholar' has paid attention towards this important field of learning.

The beginnings of folklore go back to the period of J.A. Boyle who has collected some folksongs and published an essay on 'Telugu ballad poetry' in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1874. Charles E. Gover had already prepared his *Folksongs of Southern India* but this collection did not make any reference to Telugu songs. So, Boyle is aptly called as the Father of Telugu folklore. A quarter of a century elapsed when interest in folklore was revived. Nandiraju Chalapati Rao published his two volume work of *Sirīla pāṭalu* (songs of women) early in twentieth century. Mangu Venkata Ranganatha Rao issued a revised edition of it in 1905. During the same period

M. N. Venkataswami wrote two essays on folklore in the *Indian Antiquary*. Thus folklore study was slowly gaining ground and began to be favoured by a good number of traditional scholars. Stalwarts like Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, Panchagnula Adinarayana Sastry, Suravaram Pratapa Reddi, Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma and Akkiraju Umakantam evinced keen interest in this field. The latter edited *Bālachandruni Yuddhamu*, a ballad of Palanadu ascribing its authorship to Srinatha, a classical poet of medieval Andhra. A few other ballads have also been edited by Nelaturi Venkataramanayya and the late Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma. Contributions made by Tekumalla Kameswara Rao and Sripada Gopalakrishna Murthy need special mention. The former provided a fairly lengthy introduction to this field in his collection *Pātapāṭalu* (old songs). Sripada Gopalakrishna Murthy's compilations such as *Pallepadālu*, *Strīla Rāmāyaṇapu Pāṭalu*, *Strīla Paurāṇikapu Pāṭalu* added a quantum of literature to this growing field. Chinta Dikshitulu's *Prajā Vāṅmayamu* (people's literature) depicted the qualities of folksongs in Telugu. Hari Adishesu's *Jānapada Vāṅmaya Parichayamu* (An introduction to folklore) deserves to be mentioned as it dealt with the origin and development of folk poetry along with a survey of the works then existing. Prayaga Narasimha Sastry published *Telugu Palle Pāṭalu* and rendered some valuable service. 'Ellora' is a prominent folklore collector who published *Sarāgālu*, *Madhurakavitālu* and *Jānapada gēyālu*. He also added some critical discussion of the genre through his *Mana Prāchīna Kalalu—Puṭṭūpūrvōttarālu* (our ancient arts—their origin and development). Nedu-nuri Gangadharam is a luminary in this field. He did yeoman service to the cause of folklore text collection. It was said that he collected over 4000 songs and his numerous works such as *Mēlukolupulu*, *Maṅgala-hūratulu*, *Selayēru*, *Strīla Vrata Kathalu*, *Jānapada Gēya Vāṅmaya Vyāsāvali*, *Āṭalu Pāṭalū*, *Minnēru*, *Munnīru* attest to his monumental activity in this field.

The overall conspectus of Telugu folklore scholarship shows that from the very beginning it has been studied both by lay and academic men. The phase of academic scholarship may be said to have started with the 1958 dissertation, *Telugu Jānapada Gēya Sāhityamu* by Dr. B. Ramaraju. This writer has also endeavoured to collect literature from the folk region of Rayalasima. His recent work *Jānapada Kalā Sampada* (Treasures of folklore) describes the various facets of folklore and folklife. He is also one of the joint editors of *Trivēṇi* a collection of folksongs from different folk regions of Andhra. Dr. Raju also wrote for non-Telugu reader. His *Folktales of Andhra Pradesh* is published by the Sterling Publishers. Dr. Tangirala Venkata Subba Rao and Dr. Nayani Krishna Kumari worked on ballad poetry. Gene H. Roghair of Wisconsin has worked on ballad under the guidance of this writer and collected 150 folktales which exhibit numerous tale variants and variations in composition. Dr. R. V. S. Sundaram's thesis is based on a comparative study of folksongs in Telugu and Kannada. He is also one of the editors of *Alichippalu*, *Āṇimutayālu*, a collection of folksongs. This has a good discussion on folklore. Dr. S. Gangappa has also contributed some excellent articles on the folklore of Rayalasima. Of late Dr. V. Narayana Rao has produced a thesis under the supervision of this author which sought to apply the oral formulaic theory developed by

Lord to understand the mechanism involved in the improvisation and composition of folksongs and ballad. He has also provided a good discussion on the relationship between the oral and literary traditions.

Largely collected and discussed aspects of Telugu folklore are song and ballad. The other forms like the folk narrative, folk epic, riddle, etc. have not been studied. One reason seems to be that only those aspects of which we have an easy access have been considered. Proverb and proverbial expression is a form of folklore which has also been neglected. Ravipati Gurumurthy Sastri was the first scholar to herald the collection of this genre. He published a volume of proverbs called *Āndhra Lōkōktichandrika*. Later, M. W. Carr translated this volume providing the analogues from languages like Italian, Spanish, etc. The same work was published by the Vavilla Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons under the title *Telugu Sāmetalu*. Nandiraju Chalapati Rao is also known to have collected some proverbs under the heading *Āndhra Lōkōktichandrika*. It is learnt that Dr. C. Narayana Rao made a vast collection, but it has not come to us. Dr. C. Subrahmanya Sastry of Andhra University has produced a dissertation on proverbs in the literary sources. P. Krishnamurti has done some work in this direction and published his collection of proverbs *Lōkōkti Mukṭāvali* in 1955 and there may be some more collections also. *Telugu Sāmetalu* (Telugu proverbs) recently reissued by the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi is the only reference work on the subject. Nedumuri Gangadharam's *Vyavasāya Sāmetalu* and *Pasiḍi Palukulu* include proverbs and proverbial expressions. This writer has also collected *Jāṭiyālu* (folk speech forms), a specialised vocabulary used by *Pagaṭivēshaḡāḷu*, a kind of folk artists. This actually falls under the rubric of folk speech. The riddle is another form of folklore that has not been studied in detail. Archer Taylor wrote an essay on 'Twentythree Telugu riddles from Nellore' in the *Journal of American Folklore* in 1941. Gangadharam's collections include some riddle forms. *Chamatkāra podupu kuthalu* (humorous riddles) often seen in the mass of pavement literature is also an instance of this form. This pavement literature rich in folklore element has to be explored by a future day folklorist. This writer has also made a collection of some 700 riddle forms from Rayalasima folk region but this collection has not been published as yet. Narratives such as *Sahasraśirachchhēda Apūrvachintāmaṇi*, *Bālanāgama Katha*, *Paramānandayya Śishyula Kathalu*, *Nijamaina Kāśi Rāmēśvara Majilī Kathalu* are to be explored with a view to understanding the components of folklore that made them what they are. Brown's *Tāṭāchārla Kathalu* edited by 'Bangore' is an obvious instance of folktales that have gone in making literary tradition.

The interesting aspect of modern literature is that folklore is explored and used by writers and poets of different persuasions. Many poets such as Bapiraju, Basavaraju, Kavikondala, Konakalla, Sivudu, to name only a few, have successfully imitated the characteristics of folk poetry. Konakalla's highly popular song *Mokkajonna Tōḷalō* that echoes in the hearts of Telugu people derives its strength from its folk element. Folklore is also explored for the purpose of political and ideological propaganda. Indeed, the Communist Party and the recently emerged revolutionary

poets are relying more on folk models with a view to appealing to the popular sentiment. It is this pattern that is picked up by the cine-writers who employ the features of folklore to achieve the maximum effect. The most popular movie songs are those that have been cast in the folk models. It should also be noted that folklore is employed by the poets of lesser order who occasionally compose songs when some natural calamities occur. I am instancing the songs that abruptly came into being after the boat accident that befell the pilgrims on their way to Bhadrāchalam.

Of late, folklore has been taken up for study and research in various capacities by various institutes. The Telugu Departments of Andhra and Osmania Universities have introduced a paper on folklore as optional. The Public Relations Department of Andhra Pradesh Government has constituted a folklore committee with the object of collecting the folksongs throughout the Andhra. Andhra Sangita Nataka Akademi has also started a program for collecting folksongs. Dr. Ramaraju, Dr. Nayani Krishna Kumari, V. Sitadevi and others have founded the Andhra Pradesh Jānapada Sāhitya Parishad with an avowed desire of promoting the collection and study of folklore. Besides, folklore is being popularized and propagated by the All India Radio of this region. All these developments speak of the growing interest in this field.

This essay does not attempt to make a complete survey of all the aspects of Telugu Folklore scholarship and it is not also possible to do so in this short compass.

With over a hundred years of history behind it, Telugu folklore study which came into being as a new literary genre under the impact of European researches has not attained academic status as yet. Further, it may come as a surprise that the existing collections do not show any stance for systematic study and analysis. Moreover, the fact that the growth and evolution of a discipline has been stunted not because of any inherent difficulty but because of lack of interest and enthusiasm calls for a searching analysis of the situation.

Folklore study in this region has been of an occasional interest to scholars and even today there is no sustained and serious effort to making this study scientific. In spite of continuous outward influences, this field has remained in a condition of remarkable neglect. This studied neglect is only a part of a round inertia that has enveloped our minds so consequently our research centres. And it is difficult to expect a change in the situation without a corresponding change in our attitude and mental outlook. Ours is a traditional society and as such there is little scope for innovation and exploration. But the basic fact one has to recognize is that research can flourish only in a society that values knowledge for its own sake, encourages free, critical enquiry.¹ The scientific method and the scientific temper are the pre-conditions of the growth and development of ideas in any society. The key to the adventure of ideas in the West lies in the fact that the Western mind seeks to study and understand other cultures not only for its own sake but also for a proper appreciation of one's own culture. This also explains why Western scholars like C. P. Brown were able to pioneer the Indian studies even within the limitations and struc-

tural constraints imposed on them by the society in which they were working. It would be unfair to praise them without trying to understand the factors that promoted their research activity.

Indeed, the study of folklore has been nudged into being not so much by the academics as by a group of amateurs who occupy their leisure hours by working on this field. In the Universities also folklore gained a foothold only during the 1960s. Very few post-graduate research centres are considering this for study nor is research profusely encouraged. As a consequence of this, folklore study has been in disordered condition. The questions of origins, diffusion, classification, form and functions of folklore have remained unduly speculative on the one hand and no theory has been evolved in the absence of well-established facts on the other. Research is highly handicapped by the lack of theoretical framework and critical apparatus. Not only that. There has been no attempt to evolve the methodology of study though it should be pointed out that mere methodology cannot make a discipline scientific. Largely absent in this field are the viable patterns of enquiry to be employed in the fundamental research.

Folklore is apparently universal. Every society is known to have incorporated folklore in some form or other. However, the trouble as Hockett points out is that an indigenous classification must be sought for which is consciously accepted by the participants of the society in question.² What I mean is this. A neat classification evolved in the West may not fully explain the forms of native folklore. It is true that we have to depend on Western models until an alternative classification is evolved. But all the same, it should be possible for us to attempt a viable pattern of enquiry. Another point that strikes me is that folklore studies in India should cut across the barriers of language and region. This involves the subsumption of various theories worked out in different parts of India into a general, comprehensive theory of Indian folklore. This assumption is based on the fact that the components of folklore, myths, motifs, symbols are likely to be identical that go into the making of literature of different folk regions because the dominant Hindu World view is manifestly present throughout the land. This is an hypothesis that may be verified by the future folklorists.

Since folklore originates, lives and grows in oral tradition, field work is of supreme importance, and so the folklorist must be adept in different skills, perspectives and methods. Little is done by way of systematic collection and study. The early collectors did not possess the essential field techniques. As a result, the major portions of these collections are inextricably mixed with the spurious and inauthentic texts. As has been mentioned previously, in spite of certain defects, the private scholarship has done excellent service in text collection. But it should be pointed out that stalwarts mentioned elsewhere in this essay were a band of scholars who had been romantically attracted toward this 'literature of illiterate masses'. Their conception of folklore was very naive and unscientific. In their view, folklore is derivative and so assigned a secondary place to it. But in reality oral tradition is some how more basic than literary tradition, the emergence of which

coincides more or less with the invention of writing system. Moreover, there is no society any where in the world which does not have literature in the form of folklore. One of the most misconceived areas of knowledge seems to be the relationship between language and literature. The problems of folklore are also intimately connected with the problems of language.

Another misconception among the academics here is that folklore study proper belongs to the departments of language and literature. Such conception is fraught with serious consequences. This is wholly a unhistoric and unscientific view. Any one familiar with the intellectual history of the West knows that quite a number of seminal theories have been put forth by scientists in knowledge areas other than their own. It is not without reason that many American scientists have established themselves in disciplines other than their own. This implies that knowledge knows no isolation and cannot thrive in restricted and fragmented cells. In fact, this aspect is more relevant in the Indian context where the minute specialization is a hoped for ideal. Not only that, current theories of folklore involve an interdisciplinary approach and an eclectic view seems to be an inevitable development tending towards a monistic concept.

It should finally be noted that much of our research activity is not free from religious overtones. This is a hangover of our spiritualist tradition which is almost an obsession with our researchers and academics. The tendency to spiritualize knowledge with scant regard for scientific method leads to self-arrogance. The knowledge in modern times is based on scientific method which presupposes the cultivation of scientific temper of mind. Since these two factors are interdependent, nothing can be achieved in the field of ideas in the absence of either. There is also another difficulty that poses a problem. This society just coming out of the medieval stupor has not yet developed a critical tradition that acts as a corrective. In the absence of such tradition, the distinction between knowledge and non-knowledge is always blurred.

Notes and References

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FOLK ARTS OF ANDHRA PRADESH

B. RAMARAJU

THE HISTORY OF ARTS and crafts of Andhra Pradesh goes to remotest antiquity. Pre-historic caves and finds in Andhra Pradesh prove the artistic ventures of the early inhabitants of this region. Archaeological monuments and literary and religious documents stand a proof of mural paintings and drawings of folk type that were in vogue in the ancient days. Even today the village women decorate the walls of their houses with different paintings and drawings during wedding ceremonies and other auspicious occasions like *vratas* and religious functions. Almost all the temples of Mahākālī and Śakti in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad are painted with dreadful figures of Mahīśāsūramardini, Mahākālī, demons and other devotees. Some of the mythological themes are illustrated on these temple walls. There are particular castes which perform this job with skill. Painted earthenware of different kinds and sizes, terracotta figures and well polished pottery unearthed in the excavations in Andhra Pradesh are exhibited in Amarāvati, Nāgarjunakonda and Hyderabad museums. They reveal a continuous tradition of clay art. They are excellent specimens of Telugu folk art which provide a rich commentary on the social life of Andhras.

Muggu known as *raṅgavalli* in Sanskrit, is another folk art known to every village girl and woman. Powdered rice or rice paste or *sudda* (white clay) is the material used in this art. This art is a daily feature throughout Andhra. Every courtyard and house floor and the platform of *tulasi* plant are decorated daily in the morning with different designs of *muggu* and its absence is a sacrilege for any Hindu family. This art is an eye feast particularly during *Saṅkrānti*, wedding ceremonies and other festive and auspicious occasions. Different designs of the line-drawings, geometrical shapes like triangles, circles and curves, floral designs, lotus creepers, temples, chariots, peacocks, parrots, symbols of sun and moon, Lakshmi and Pārvati, conch and trident, Nandikēśvara and Nāga, Tantric and other mystic symbols are amazingly artistic in composition and colour complex.

The following illustration indicating the meaning of a verse in Muṇḍaka-upaniṣad is a climax of Andhra genius in this folk art.

*Dvā suparṇū sayujā sukhāyū, samānam vṛikṣam pariśasvajāte
tayōranyaḥ pippalaṃ svādattya nannanyō abhichākaśīti.*

Muṇḍaka-upaniṣad. III-1-1

(Two birds, inseparable friends cling to the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fruit, the other looks on without eating).

Tattoo is another folk art in Andhra. Almost all the tribals and hillmen and women tattoo their bodies for decorative purposes. The villagers also consider tattooing as a mark of beauty. A small star either on the chin or the cheek, a flower design on the forehead, the name of the beloved on the forearm really adds beauty

and charm to any village woman. There is a folk song in Telugu wherein a vivacious girl asks her beloved to have the figures of Sīta's footprints and Rāma's arrows tattooed on her thighs, by paying four and half annas. Able-bodied men and wrestlers tattoo their forearms, biceps, thighs and chests with different designs and figures of lions, eagles, *nāgas*, Hanumān, clubs, swords and full-blown lotuses. There is a particular caste known as *pachchaboḷavāru* whose profession is tattooing.

Mask-making is another folk art of Andhra. Masks required for *peddammala-vāḍu* (a professional beggar who goes round the villages showing different deities in a box, cutting his own muscles above the elbows and dripping the oozing blood on his face so as to present a ghastly scene and thereby evoking the sympathy of the onlookers and lashing his own back with a long whip while his wife beats the drum) requires a coloured face mask while he presents his dreadful dance. Besides such masks, the full-sized masks of various gods and goddesses, and different animals and birds required by the dancers are also coloured and beautifully painted. This folk art provides bread to many families particularly in coastal Andhra.

Kalamkāri (printing on sarees and cloth) is in vogue from years before Christ in Andhra. The printed sarees of Bandar (Machilipatnam in Krishna District) had a good market in West as well as in East in the days of yore. The Raṅgrez community has mastered this art. They prepare charming designs on paper then cut it on wooden blocks and then print on sarees by pressing these wooden models with fine indigenous dyes. Different designs have different local names. Even to-day this is a flourishing and lucrative folk art.

Palm tree is nicknamed as *kalpavṛksha* of Āndhradēśa. Every part of it is useful. Nothing of it goes waste. Its leaves were used for writing when paper was not invented. Though the leaves are no more used for writing purposes in modern days they are still useful for hundred and odd other purposes. They form the main roof for shelter in every village. Once ear ornaments i.e. *kammas* and *tāṭaṅkas* were made of palm leaves. Palm leaves are used for making rain coats, umbrellas, baskets, doll boxes, fans, mats, sails and other sundry things. The strong and fine fibre of palm trees is used for preparing flower baskets, ornament boxes, vermilion boxes, mirror boxes and vanity bags.

Needle work, an additional qualification for any marriageable girl of high or low birth, is still looked upon as a pride in Andhra. Floral designs, peacocks and parrots, deers and antelopes and a variety of flora and fauna, the artistic creation of feminine fingers that hold the needle, decorate pillow covers, bedsheets, door curtains and blouses of women folk in Andhra. Embroidery is an ancient folk art. Jackets and blouses sewn into with small polished glass pieces cut into squares, triangles and circles, or stitched with floral designs, creepers, birds and geometrical motifs and patterns with colourful threads, or coagulated with small glass beads of variegated colours are enviable art pieces of Andhra womenfolk. Once the royal sergios too patronised this folk art and as a result it developed neatness and refinement, substituting the folk material by pearls, diamonds and golden zari. Even the ultra-modern civilisation is not averse to this folk art.

Dolls and puppets of Andhra Pradesh are marked for their simplicity and beauty. Every house either big or small in olden days used to have a *bommarillu* i.e. doll-house where children of that house kept their dolls, performed their marriages and arranged mock dinners. Though the modern constructions do not provide any corner for such doll-houses, the dolls and puppets are still supposed to be decorations and show pieces in any house in Andhra. *Dasara*, *Dīpāvali* and *Saṅkrānti* are the special occasions when each house in Andhra arranges *bommalakolu* i.e. dolls' court and exhibit all the finest dolls and puppets thematically. Nowadays modern themes regarding our country and our national life are substituted for the old puranic mythological events. These festivities therefore have provided good opportunities for the development of the folk art of dolls and puppets.

Dolls and puppets are made of a variety of material easily available in different parts of Andhra. Sea coast and river beds provide cockle shells, nail shells, turtle shells in abundance. Coconut trees are largely grown in coastal Andhra. All these shells are used as raw material for different kinds of dolls in these areas. Carpenters in every village make dolls with any kind of ordinary wood. Chittoor District is famous for dolls and puppets of redwood. All the shops at Tirupati, the famous pilgrim centre in Chittoor District, exhibit a variety of dolls and other utensils made of red and black wood. Every boy or girl naturally buys a doll box which contains a set of household utensils and many other things. Wooden dolls of various gods and goddesses particularly of lord Venkaṭeśvara and His consort are special features of Tirupati. Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam Districts have thick forests and forest animals. That is why dolls made of bison horns are available in these parts. This has been developed into a modern craft and a variety of things like lamp stands, flower vases, ash trays, combs, cigarette cases, snuff boxes, birds like cranes, swans, animals like deer and elephants and human figures are made of horn in these districts.

Of all the dolls and puppets, Koṇḍapalli dolls and puppets have earned name and fame for Āndhradēśa. Koṇḍapalli is a historical place in Krishna District near Vijayawada. There is a particular community which has specialised in doll-making at Koṇḍapalli. The artists at Koṇḍapalli use ponika wood which is available, in the nearby hills and jungles and make different varieties of toys. Different colours are also prepared by the artists with the help of indigenous materials like indigo, vermilion, red chalk, white clay and their combinations. They also use glittering golden powder and liquid for painting the figures of gods and goddesses and the borders of the costumes used for these dolls. The painting is not only artistic but natural and realistic. Very popular among the dolls of Koṇḍapalli are those of elephant, elephant with howdah, palanquin, cradle, lotus, Lakshmī, Pārvati, Sarasvati, toddy tapper on a palm tree, cultivator, labourer, police constable, school boy, cow, cart, set of Daśavatāras, Rādhā and Mādhava and feminine figures.

Rural Drama

Pāṭkuriki Sōmanātha, one of the earliest Telugu poets, made mention of the variety of Telugu folk dramas that were in vogue during his time in his celebrated

work *Paṇḍitārūdhya-charitra*. Some of these forms are still preserved and some have become extinct. The rural dramas and other performing art forms coming down from generations are:

Yakshagāna (Pl. XIX, A and B)

The name *Yakshagāna* suggests that it was only a recitation of *dēśi* music by a Yaksha or Yakshiṇi in its earlier state and after some time evolved into a narration of episode with the aid of more than one character and finally developed into an opera with different kinds of songs, dialogues and numerous characters. In Andhra, the Yakshas known as Jakkulu are found in Anantapur, Kurnool, Guntur, Krishna and Godavary Districts. From times immemorial it is a dancing and theatrical caste. The early Yakshagānas contain *dēśi* compositions like *jampe*, *tripuṭa*, *aṭatāḷa*, *ēkatāḷa*, *dvipada*, *ēlā*, *śōbhana*, *dhavala*, *maṅgalārati* besides dialogues. Later, *Yakshagānas* developed many nuances and adopted some of the features of classical Sanskrit drama. The period of the Nāyaks of Tanjore is the victorian age for, *Yakshagāna* literature in composition as well as production. *Yakshagāna* can be described as an operatic ballet play. There are songs intercouched sung to varying rhythms for effective conveying of the mood of the episodic situation. There is conversation, mostly a lively one, even when the subject matter is philosophic. There are the characters who make speeches, sing verses and songs. The subjects chosen are mostly from the puranic lore. The highlighted roles therein do attract the attention of the audience. One or two characters are introduced, without any reference to the mythological story, for the purpose of sustaining interests in the audience. These characters are always the favourites of the spectators. The structure of the playlet is always simple. It opens, develops, reaches a climax and then the denouement is worked out. In some conversations, certain passages are uttered extempore, which always have a topical bearing. Sometimes a local incident is woven into the dialogues. The audience never feel the anachronism, but it regales them. The simple folk audience feel satisfied with the performance.

Pagaṭivēshālū (Pl. XIX, C)

Some of the stock characters that are introduced into the *Yakshagānas* to portray local incidents have gained individuality and are often taken out of the plays themselves and enacted as single-item pieces. They are called *Pagaṭivēshālū*, which literally means day-characters. They are called so because these portrayals are shown during the day time. The actors, often not more than two or three, go round from village to village. They stay at a village for a week or ten days and each day they portray one role (*vēsham*) and on the final day go about the village begging alms. This has been necessary since the actors who entirely depended upon their *Yakshagāna* performances could not have full performances during the rainy season. Some of the most important day characters are Dādinamma, Sompayāji, Sōmidēvamma, Koravaṇḍji, etc.

Kalāpam

Kalāpam another type of traditional drama is a precursor to *Yakshagāna* for it is simpler in its thematic development and direct in its moral appeal. Like *Barika* it is a mono-play, mainly characterizing one main person and another less important one. Each of the characters enters with a self-introduction. The *sūtradhāra*, not only conducts the play by his running commentary, on the sequences of the play, but plays the role, often, of an attendant, whose main duty is to respond, question and fill in the dramatic gaps left out by the main character.

Most important of this type of traditional drama are *Bhāmākalāpam* (Pl. XIX, D) and *Gollakalāpam*, which are said to have been composed by Siddhendra-yōgi of the 17th century, who, in order to divert and purify the art of dancing from the prostitute-dancers had initiated and trained a whole clan of Brahmin boys into the art of dancing.

Different traditional dramatic troupes produce these playlets. *Kūchipūḍi* dance troupe is one such. Tradition and discipline guide their theatric activity. The most popular play they produce is *Bhāmākalāpam*.

In *Yakshagāna* structure, in several of them, a very popular character is introduced. He is similar to that of the Fool. He accompanies the chief character and holds jovial conversation. The spectators feel enlivened. They enjoy the whole show.

Koravañji

The basic feature of this type of operatic playlet is metaphysics. Didactic delineation is the main pattern of this playlet. The characters are symbolic in their significance. *Jīva satī* represents the life monad (*jīvātma*); *Kriyā kānta* represents the actions indulged in by creatures; *Siṅgaḍu* represents the primeval nature, *Koravañji* is the gnostic enlightenment and *Sūrya* is the original kinetic energy of the cosmos. The folk are repeatedly instructed in philosophy through the medium of such operatic playlets. The fundamental tenets of the religion are amusingly reported through this dramatic media.

Koravañji also means the female soothsayer. Traditionally some women of a particular class are trained to impart the knowledge of the coming events. In realistic life, there are these women, who for a pittance of a measure of rice, paddy or grain or cash foretell events, avidly sought for by clients. Her cry, *eruka* can be loosely translated into awareness, to become known to the Ultimate Reality of existence. A traditional rigmarole song is recited. It consists of an invocation to the gods and goddesses of the nearby places, mostly of the villages. Next obeisance is offered to the master. Then commences the soothsaying. It is spoken in riddles or enigmatic epistles. The lines recited apply to many that are worried over mundane matters which require a solution. The clientele are mostly anxious over-worried householders, persons that lost property or those that are desirous of securing property, those that have lost the domestic animal which has strayed away, those whose

dearest and nearest are sick. Seeking the *eruka* affords them a consolation par excellence.

Such a person is introduced into the folkplay. The arrival of *Koravañji* on to the stage is the most expected pleasing feature in the play production. Her cry, *eruka*, releases the tension of the previous scene, wherein the anxious lover is pining. Particularly this character of *Koravañji* is introduced in romantic plots. Sometimes, the lover himself puts on the rôle of *Koravañji*, soothsayer, and gains audience with the pining love. The meeting assures them of fulfilment of amorous experience. All the spectators, young and old, take to this with utmost pleasure.

Vidhināṭaka (Pl. XX, A)

It is a play in the streets, i.e. an open air dramatic performance. The classicists of dramaturgy have classified *Vidhi* as a type of play. But the rural drama called *Vidhināṭaka* is something different. This type of play was introduced by the Saivite poets with missionary zeal. The subject-matter of the plays is drawn mostly from the epics. Some characters are recognised favourites of the audience. These open air theatres produce the *Yakshagānas* above referred to. Several troupes get their training hereditarily. They are itinerary professionals, but the performance is never restricted by the demand of any payment. The lord of the village or the chief of the village invites these groups to give a performance. After the play the actors in their costumes go round the houses and collect whatever is given. History has recorded that *Kūchipūḍi* players existed even from the 15th century. They were patronised and amply paid by the emperors of Vijayanagara. Later on, during the Kutb shāh-kings of Gōlkonḍa these players were encouraged and were amply paid.

Bommalāṭa

Puppetry (*Bommalāṭa*) is one of the most ancient Indian Folk Arts and Andhra History records that this art was in vogue during the Sātavāhana period. Art critics opine that the art of puppetry spread from the Andhra to Indonesia, Cambodia, Malasia, Thailand, Burma, and from there to Africa, Greece, Macedonia and, Byzantine empire. Puppet is always managed and controlled by a puppeteer. The whole performance and all things connected with it is puppetry. Figures and figurines are made of wood carvings, to resemble the characters in a play. They are also made out of seasoned leather, which are particularly selected. Their translucent state helps for the show. Illumination from the backside lends a realistic picture when the puppet is projected over the lighted screen. *Bommalāṭa* is the play produced by puppets handled by the expert puppeteer. These are made of wood, cotton etc. *Tōhubommalāṭa* (Pl. XX, B) is the play conducted with puppets made of seasoned leather. But the styles of presentation of these puppets vary. There are four main divisions in puppetry.

Marrionettes or String Puppets

The manufacture of the puppet involves separate limbs attached and their movements are manipulated by strings. The strings are pulled either by fingers

deftly or by hands in an expert manner. The study of the human postures and attitudes, which are suggestive of the changing sentiments and emotions is so minute and thorough that the puppeteer manages the strings in a realistic manner.

The puppets are manufactured with wood and the piece is shaped into the required effigy. The joints of the body are tied to strings and the manipulation serves well to bring about the movements. Several strings are tied to a handle and the deft pulls of the strings produce the realistic effects.

Travelling individual soothsayers, mostly women, carry in their kit some of the marionette figures. They weave out the text for a skit and begin to show them before their prospective clients. This is a prelude for attracting the clients to demand from the puppeteer forecasting the future.

Another variety consists of **TODUGU BOMMALU** or glove puppets. The palm is thrust into the hollow of the figure and the fingers manipulate the movements of the various limbs, which are loosely tied by strings.

The third type consists of **ŪCHA BOMMALU** or rod puppets. The whole figure is mounted over a rod and strings are passed through.

The fourth variety is **TŌLU BOMMALU** the coloured shadow leather puppets. These are manufactured out of deer or goat leather, well tanned and seasoned.

These shows are produced during nights. A screen is tightly tied. A lamp with good illumination is placed at a distance, behind the screen. The distance is fixed by experience and the same depends upon the intensity of light. There will be three or four puppeteers handling the figures. Two of them are always women. The control over their voices is admirably practised. They simulate any sound, human, animal or otherwise. The skill exhibited is perfectly controlled. The speeches made, the songs rendered in music accord precisely to the action i.e. the change of postures of the figures. This continuity gives to the audience the illusion of the play produced.

Tradition guides the troupe of the puppeteers. They travel over the country and make their living. The stories are mostly taken from the epics and *purāṇas*.

Vālakam

This is a play, the text of which is given out impromptu. Four seasoned actors gather on the stage and on the spur of the moment think of a topic extempore and deliver the same dramatically and effectively. The subject is mostly the topical incidents of everyday life. Humour is the dominant motive that is rendered. They weave out fun and frolic from the ordinary life incidents. The courtfool (touchstone) dominates the play. His speeches whet the intelligence of the spectators. Social evils are grotesquely spoken out and the audience feel entertained. Social inequities and idiosyncrasies of the individuals are wittily emphasised and projected and this rendering enhances the merriments of the audience. The village officers, tax collectors, the dandy, the miser are the targets. Their character is portrayed skilfully. The speeches have the effect of neat whipping. The ridicule is made sufficiently pungent.

This type of folkplay is prevalent only in Visakhapatnam District.

Burrakatha (Pl. XX, C)

This is a story telling with the aid of percussion instruments and cymbals. The party consists of three in the minimum. They are minstrels specially trained. It is their family trait. They engage audience the whole night. The story narrated is song deals with a heroic figure. The heroes are mostly of Telugu land. Their memories are commemorated in this manner.

This narration in musical tones is traced back to the days even prior to the days of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Later on, as ages passed this rhapsodic tradition continued taking regional forms and the main aim was to preach, entertain or to create a pastime to the rural folk. During the reigns of the various dynasties of Andhra this entertainment by minstrels had a hold on the folk. During and just after the Kākātīya times Saivite missionary zeal has monopolised this pattern of recitations in song and music. Śiva worshippers known as *jaṅgamas* particularly practised this musical recitation before the masses. Tales about lord Śiva were a galore in their repertoire.

To rival and match these Saivite narrations in song, the devotees of Viṣṇu began these recitations. They can be classed into four. The format of the recitation troupe is the same and their technique remained the same.

Gollas, i.e. cowherds specialised *Kāṭamarāju Katha* (Pl. XX, D). A chieftain of the Yādava rulers had to fight against the forces of the Telugu-chōḷa chief, Manumasiddhi of Nellore. This battle gave rise to the extempore compositions of songs. The folks were provided for with amusement and the triumph of Vaishnavism is projected.

Pichchugunṭlas are another group of such minstrels. These groups generally engage themselves in reciting the ballad of the heroes of Palnāḍ. This is about an internecine battle that took place near about Mācherla, Gurajāla and Kārempūḍi. The heroic deeds are described in powerful musical language and the narration still remains a popular ballad.

Bavanṭlu another group of rhapsodists specialise in the narration of *Ellamma katha*, the story of the parents of Paraśurāma.

Jakkulu is another group of these folksingers. These narrate during day time about Kāmeśvari sisters. The song is a part of a ritual of worship.

Saga of traditional stories are the main topics for these various groups to entertain the folk. They are professionals. Even now those families are surviving, but as the listeners have gone after the western pattern of culture, the encouragement has lessened and the minstrels are taking up other types of employment.

But in modern times this medium is very much exploited by different political parties all over the country for the party propaganda and electioneering. The government also is using this medium for the propagation of its plan and other activities.

Harikatha

Harikatha, along with *Burrakatha*, is the most popular entertainment in the rural areas. As the name indicates, it is a story of Hari, the god, but in form it is

very close to *Yakshagāna*. In fact it is nothing but a narrated *Yakshagāna*. The literature, the mode of writing and the style are all similar both to the *Yakshagāna* and *Harikatha*, the only difference being that in *Yakshagāna* several characters assume the role of different personages, whereas, in *Harikatha*, only the man i.e. the narrator by his gestures and comments assumes (of course, without make-up) all the characters and reads out the dialogues of all the characters in a dramatic style.

The name is derived from the early tradition of singing songs in praise of Hari, but is soon extended to the narration of stories with Śaiva, Vaishṇava and historical importance. The narrator must be an alround genius and properly narrated it will have all the force of a dramatic presentation.

Bhajana

It has been recorded in *purāṇas* that devotees in their ecstasy and exuberance of self-surrender forget themselves and sing songs in praise of the lord. It is said so of Prahlāda and Nārada. Chaitanya the great Vaishnavite saint sang in utter devotion. This gave rise to singing in group and utterance of the name of the lord in the text of the songs is repeated by the chorus and said in encore by the other members of the group. Cymbals made of different kinds of wooden planks, which could be easily held in hands are used. The singing accords to the time beats. This practice is continued in a marathon time-sequence and whole nights are spent in singing. Sometimes, they do this *bhujana* moving in circles. They do it in processions. The unity in diversity is manifest in these types of *bhajan*s. During festivities those groups are invited to perform these. The songs are mostly of great saint musicians and *bhaktas* like Tyāgarāja, Bhadrāchala Rāmadāsa, Narasimhadāsa, Nittāla, Prakāśadāsa, Tāṭaṅkam Veṅkaṭadāsa and others. The members of the party are musicians and their ecstasy is marked during their performance of the *bhajana*.

Bahurūpa

This type of playing on the stage is an item in the repertoire of the folk plays. One actor who is adept in acting, singing, and good at delivery of speech takes up the role of many and gives a show and creates various interests to the audiences. Writers of Dance texts classify *bahurūpa* as the folklore variety.

These various folk forms give a picture of the ethos of the country people.

Modern dance concerts and theatrical performances do include in the programme some items of folk art forms. But those performances are too artificial. They create a diversion in the agenda of the concert. But the real spirit of the folk form is absent. The stage of the metropolis is illfitted for the production of folk forms. The original milieu of the countryside alone provides for the genuine enjoyment of such performances.

Folk Dances

In Andhra one can notice a complex of folk dance forms. They vary in several details. Dance as practised by primitive peoples, seems to be an evolutionary and a derivative one.

There are nearly 33 kinds of foresters, hillmen and tribals in Andhra Pradesh. And they have their own dances also. These dances can be broadly divided into three groups: (i) religious, (ii) social, and (iii) pastime

The Gusāḍi Dance of Goṇḍ

Dīpāvaḷi is the biggest festival for the Raj Goṇḍ of Adilabad District. As the harvest is over and the season is cold and congenial the Goṇḍ dressed in colourful costumes and decorated with ornaments go to neighbouring villages in troupes singing and dancing. Such troupes are called *daṇḍāri* dance troupes. The *daṇḍāri* dance troupe consists of twenty to forty members. *Gusāḍi* is a part of *daṇḍāri* and consists of two to five members. This commences on the fullmoon day and goes on till the 14th day of dark fortnight of *Dīpāvaḷi*.

The Mango Dance of Koṇḍa Redḍis

The Hill Redḍis or Koṇḍa Redḍis, also called the Redḍis of the Bison Hills, dwell in Khammam, East Godavari and West Godavari Districts. These parts are famous for mangoes also. Mango is the favourite fruit of the Koṇḍa Redḍis. Before plucking the mango fruits Koṇḍa Redḍis have a ceremonial festival and a community dance. They neither decorate nor paint their bodies like the *gusāḍis*. They dance rhythmically to the accompaniment of drums and worship Mutyālamma and Koṇḍadēvata. This dance commences during nights.

The Peacock Dance of Khoṇḍ

Khoṇḍ also called Sāmantas are the most backward hillmen, dwelling in the inaccessible hilly regions of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam Districts. During weddings and a festival coming in the month of April the Khoṇḍ indulge in the peacock dance. Piroḍi, a kind of flute and the tinkling bells around the ankles are the only accompaniments. All the dancers put on white *dhōtis*, tie bells called, *muyyaṅgam* to their feet, wear turbans called *tōyaṅgam*, made of cyperus rotundus grass, tugged with colourful rags and fasten bunches of peacock feathers to their backs at waists so as to look like peacock tails whenever they bend down forward.

Dimsa Dance of Araku Valley (Pl XXI, A)

The Araku Valley is the most charming hilly region in Visakhapatnam District. Vālmiki, Bagata, Khoṇḍ and Kotia tribes inhabit this valley and other agency areas of this district. The favourite dance of these tribes is *dimsa* which is performed during the month of Chaitra i.e. March/April, weddings and other festivals. Old and young, men and women all take part in the *dimsa* dance. During festivals, people go from one village to another village to participate in the *dimsa* dance. There are eight varieties of *dimsa* dance. They are: (i) Boda Dimsa, (ii) Guṇḍeri Dimsa or Usku Dimsa, (iii) Goḍḍi Beṭa Dimsa, (iv) Potār-Tola Dimsa, (v) Bhāg Dimsa, (vi) Nāṭikari Dimsa, (vii) Kundā Dimsa, and (viii) Bāyā Dimsa.

All the dance forms described above belong to the tribals and hillmen. The united community viewpoint is the essential feature that is found in these tribal dances. Either in theory or practice they cannot be included in any classical dance forms of India. They are the natural outcome of their joyous, blissful, spirited and excited heart and mind. Almost all these dances conform to the rhythm of either *āditāla* or *rūpakatāla*.

Lambādi Dance (Pl. XXI, B)

The semi-nomadic tribe that is ubiquitously spread all over Andhra is *Lambādi*, also called *Baṅjāras* or *Sugālis*. The *Lambādi* dances are simple but charming and are inspired by the movements associated with daily tasks like harvesting, planting, sowing and so on. The costumes, embroidered with glass beads and shining discs, are picturesque and a great deal of ornate jewellery is worn. The jingling brass anklets, the chowry bunches hanging and the ivory bangles worn from wrists upto elbows provide natural rhythm to their dances. *Dasara*, *Dīpāvali* and *Hōli* are the festive occasions for the *Baṅjāras* going about home to home and dance for receiving alms.

Siddi Dance

The Siddis, originally Africans but domiciled in Hyderabad city, present tribal dances during marriages and festive occasions. Their dances depict the tribal warfare of their homeland in all its ferocity. Armed with shining swords and matchlocks and dressed in their exotic primitive costumes they dance with vigour and force.

Batakamma Dance

Batakamma is the most popular festival throughout Telangana and some parts of Rayalasima also. It commences on the first day of the lunar month, *Āśvini* and ends on *Mahā-navami* i.e. one day before *Dasara*. This is in worship of goddess *Lakshmī*, born as *Bratukamma*. Every housewife after taking bath arranges different kinds of flowers of various colours in the shape of a *stūpa* on a platter of reeds or bamboo or brass metal and on the top of it goddess *Lakshmī* in turmeric is installed. This is called *Batakamma*. After worship it is kept in the corner of a room and during evenings all the housewives well-dressed and decorated carry *Batakammas* either to a temple or lake or riverside. On an even ground all the *Batakammas* are placed and the womenfolk singing songs and clapping their hands bending and rising move in a circle around the *Batakammas*. Lastly, they leave *Batakammas* in the water with playful singing. The festival goes on till nine days and the last day of the festival is called *Chaddula Batakamma*.

Bodḍemma

The *Bodḍemma* festival commences nine days prior to *Batakamma* festival and concludes on *Mahālaya-amāvāsyā*. As *Batakamma* is a worship of goddess

Lakshmī, Boḍḍemma is a worship of goddess Gauri. This is the festival of unmarried girls. Boḍḍemma is prepared with ant-hill earth with seven layers in the shape of *gōpura*. It is decorated with flowers, turmeric and *kumkum* and placed in the courtyard cleaned and decorated with designs. All the girls belonging to that street gather around the Boḍḍemma during the evenings and dance and sing praying to Gauri for their early and successful marriages. This festival is a counterpart to *Gobbillu* popular in coastal Andhra.

Tappeta Guḷḷu (Pl. XXI, C)

It is a real folk art form consisting of workers and farmers as the chief dancers. This is slowly becoming extinct and is in vogue at present in a few villages of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam Districts. The whole troupe while singing dances to the changing rhythm of *tappeta guḷḷu*, an instrument hanging down the neck of each dancer.

Dappu Dance (Pl. XXI, D)

The *dappu dance* is a vigorous type of dance as the *dappu* is a powerful percussion instrument, belonging to the outcastes i.e. Harijans. During marriages and other festivals the Harijans singing *lellepūṭalu* present *ḍegā'a* i.e. Hawk Dance. The beat of the *dappu* and the footwork of the dancers synchronise with each other so perfectly that from a slow moving, low-beating performance, it reaches its climax when the quick moving foot-work goes along with the fast beating drum. They play several kinds of rhythms followed by different kinds of dances jumping from one side to another side with complicated footwork, and shaking of the bodies.

Pulivēsham or Tiger Dance

This is a popular one-man dance form performed during *Dasara* and *Moharam* festivals. Able-bodied man with a modesty cloth around the waist and the whole body painted with stripes that of a tiger and fabulous make up and having a long tail dances vigorously with tiger strides and wild jumps while a *dappu* or *mṛidaṅgam* provides the required rhythm. In some parts of Andhra a second man behind the dancer carries the artificial but heavy tail tied at the back of the dancer.

Butṭa Bommālāṭa (Pl. XXII, A)

The art of the marionette is the oldest surviving art form in India. The marionettes are made of different materials and get their names according to the material. *Butṭa bommalu* are made of dung, husk and hay. They are very cheap also. Presented to festive gatherings on car festival days or marriage ceremonies, the puppets are big enough to serve as full masks for men and women who dance to the rhythm of a *dappu* or *mṛidaṅgam*.

Gobbi Dance

This is a popular dance in coastal Andhra during *Saṅkrānti* festival. The courtyards of all houses are cleaned and decorated with different kinds of *raṅgavalli*.

Gobbiḷḷu i.e. balls of cowdung are placed in the middle of these designs and worshipped with flowers, *kumkum* and turmeric. During evenings young girls gather together around these *gobbiḷḷu* and dance while singing. Scholars opine that *gobbi* is a derived form of *garbha* described in the dance treatises.

Horse Dances

Horse dances are popular in Guntur District. Horse puppets of real size are prepared with dung, hay and husk and coloured exactly so to look like real horses. These puppets have man size holes in the middle. Dancers—men and women—enter into these holes from beneath and come up. When standing these look like people riding over horse backs. In solo as well as in groups they take some love theme and dance. In Guntur District besides the dance of horse puppets, the dance of real horses is in vogue. Horses are trained particularly to dance according to the rhythm of the drums. Tinkling bells are tied to the feet of the horses. During marriages and fairs the horse dance is a popular pastime in Guntur District.

Kāruva Dance

Kāruva dance, popular in East Godavari District, resembles the *karshani* of dance treatises and *rāsaliḷā* of North India. All males eight dressed as *gōpikas* and eight dressed as *Kṛishṇa* stand in a circle alternately. In the middle of the circle two more dancers dressed as *Rādhā* and *Kṛishṇa* stand. While moving in circles they dance in different rhythms. The movements in this dance are most important.

Kōlāṭam

Kōlāṭam otherwise known as *daṇḍika* and *daṇḍalāsyā* in dance treatises is very common in Andhra and Karnataka regions. Every village in Andhra has at least one troupe who can perform *kōlāṭam*. The troupe consists of 12 or 16 or 20 dancers. Girls also play *kōlāṭam*. There are 30 to 40 styles of *gatis* and step-work in *kōlāṭam*. Every dancer holds two sticks in his hands and strikes them with that of others on both sides in a circle or at times in two circles—one inner circle and the other outer circle moving in opposite directions. Every one has tinkling bells tied to his feet. The troupe while singing *kīrtanas* or *bhajans* or duets of *Rādhā* and *Kṛishṇa* dance in slow as well as quick movements. There is another type of *kōlāṭam* called *jaḍa kōlāṭam* or *vēṇī kōlāṭam* wherein the troupe plays *kōlāṭam* under a tree and the ropes hanging from the branch above are tied to the sticks in the hands of the dancers. The circle's movements inside and outside are adjusted and twisted in such a way that the ropes hanging from the top become plaited or braided and form a *jaḍa* (*vēṇī* in Sanskrit) or plait. When the troupe dances anticlock-wise, the ropes get loosen again.

Garga Dance

During *Dēvi Navarātri* festivals, or offering sacrifices and obeisance to the village goddess the *garga* dance is presented with enthusiasm and vigour. *Garga*

is a vessel either of metal or earth. It is decorated with colourful clothes, turmeric and *kumkum*. A five hooded serpent of brass shades the mouth of the vessel. The dancer holding neem leaves dances vigorously to the rhythm of drums or *ḍappulu*. This is very popular in both the Godavari Districts.

Viranṭyam or Heroic Dances

Hero-worship is one of the ancient features of Andhra Pradesh. In every ancient historical site we find sculptures of ancient heroes. The heroes that layed down their lives in the battle of Palanāḍu, the heroes of Kākatīya age, the heroes of Pañchalīṅgalakoṇḍa battle and many others have been immortalised in sculpture and painting. In places like Karempūḍi, Gurujāla and Mācherla the heroic dances are still in vogue. During the time when Vīraśaiva cult had its sway this dance system became very popular. In the sacred places of Virasaivism these dances are patronised during festivals like *Mahāśivārātri* etc. The dancer holding a sword in one hand and a shield in another hand dances with heroic postures and gestures stepping and striding to the rhythm of *vīraṇam* or *vīraṅgam* a kind of drum which produces sound of war drums. While dancing he recites verses and songs called *khadgālu* meaning swords. This heroic dances belongs to the *tāṇḍava* type of dances.

The classical dance forms of Andhra Pradesh are mainly *Kūchipudi* and *Bhāmākalāpam*. Though they belong to the ancient school of *bharatanāṭya* they have developed some regional traditions, variations and naunces. The temple dances and the court dances too have their own styles in Andhra.

THE STUDY OF FOLKLORE IN KARNATAKA

J. S. PARAMASHIVAIAH

THOUGH THE STUDY of folklore has a history of more than 150 years in Karnataka, its earnest scientific study developed only during this decade. Most of the scholars made a random survey of folklore here and there and published the original material with a brief introduction and suitable notes, till recent times. Though the conception of folklore in general is not seen in any of the works published in the pre-independence period, good number of collection of songs, proverbs and ballads with introduction and notes were published here and there at random. It is interesting to note that more than five hundred works on folklore have been published in Kannada, according to a survey made by H. M. Nayak. Being a profound scholar in the field Nayak has listed as many as 532 published works of various genres of folk literature with proper notes, and accurate dates wherever available. In this famous bibliography, *Kannada Jānapada Grantha Sūchi*¹ (A bibliography of Kannada folklore books), the genres include (1) Folk poetry and Ballad (2) Marchen and Legend (3) Tale: Translation and adaptation (4) Proverbs and Riddles (5) Folk dramas and theatre (6) Analysis and Research and (7) Miscellaneous. The last chapter includes books on customs, festivals, folk-medicine, folk-dances, folk-beliefs, field trips, lexicography and so on, depicting different facets of folklife. After 1974 also the publication of books on folklore has continued on a large scale, and within the span of five years, rare works have been brought out, covering all aspects of general folklore.

As noted above the study of folklore has a history of more than 150 years and it could be divided into 4 periods:

1. The age of inception (1800 to 1925);
2. The age of awakening (1925 to 1947);
3. The age of progress (1947 to 1960); and
4. The age of scientific methods (1960 onwards).

Of these the first period, fathomed by time value appears quite extensive. In the beginning of the 19th century the study of folklore under the name of Popular Antiquity² was in a developing stage. The achievement in any part of the world was not encouraging. Until W. J. Thomas coined the word 'Folklore' to replace the words Popular Antiquity or Popular Literature in 1846, this subject was considered as a branch of Indology or Cultural Anthropology. After 1850's, thanks to the efforts of the great team in England, headed by Andrew Lang,³ folklore emerged as an independent discipline. The Folklore Society was established in England. German and Finnish scholars gave a lead in this direction. In India also many scholars evinced a great interest in the collection of material. They collected songs, ballads, proverbs and tales in various parts of the country. They studied customs and festivals. Even during these early studies Karnataka gave a lead in initiating the collection of folklore material. Many Western and native scholars together

took to field study and succeeded in digging out rich material of folklore. Dēvachandra (1770–1841) a Jain poet who is said to be a co-worker with Lord Mackenzie, in his work *Rājāvaṭī Kathe* has compiled a vast material on folklore along with mythological and historical material. In this respect Dēvachandra could be regarded as a pioneering folklorist of Karnataka. His work throws light on many folk and legendary heroes like Mādēśvara, Karibaṇṭa and so on. In addition to such works many research papers on *Bhūta* cult (Devil worship), hero-stones, Vokkaligas and Kuḷavāḍis were also published in *Indian Antiquary* and other journals. Scholars like Narasimha Iyyengar, Kittel and Mackenzie also collected data and published them in the form of papers. These papers attracted many scholars to the great heritage of folk culture in Karnataka.

The contribution of Western scholars to the field of Karnataka folklore during the 19th century is of great importance. Actually the folklore movement in Karnataka was initiated by these scholars. Among the Western scholars, the name of John Laydon should be mentioned in the first place. Laydon was a born folklorist who assisted Sir Walter Scott in collecting the ballads of Scotland. He came to India as a doctor for the commissioners and worked in Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa in the beginning of the 19th century. He collected many Kannada folk songs and ballads in 1803 and translated them into English. Two such pieces based on the fall of Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa are available. The original Kannada song is no more heard now and we have to satisfy only with the English rendering of this.⁴ Laydon died at a premature age of 36 in 1811. The original collection of this young doctor should be traced in British manuscript collections.

Another great name in the galaxy of Karnataka folklore collectors is the name of Abbe-Dubois⁵ a trustworthy authority on the state of India from 1792 to 1823. His principal book *The Hindu Customs, Manners and Ceremonies* published both in French and English is very popular and quoted with respect. It contains the views of an eye-witness of a man singularly free from prejudice and of a scholar with sufficient knowledge. He lived for several years among the natives and studied their customs and manners. Though this book covers all aspects of Hindu life, both learned and folk, it is still considered to be the first work which throws light on Indian folklife in a foreign language.

Abbe came to India from France as a missionary in 1792 at the age of twenty seven and laboured for nearly thirty one years as a Christian missionary. He was entrusted with the work of reconverting and re-organising the Christian community which was forcibly perverted to Mohammadanism by Tippu Sultan. He stayed in Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa for several years and then proceeded to Seṭṭihalli near Hassan. In Seṭṭihalli he was popularly known as *Doddasvāmi* (the big master) because of his sincere service to the people there. He had a keen interest in the folk traditions of the area he lived and studied the customs very closely. Though Abbe was in other parts of India, he stayed in the midst of Kannadigas for a long period and naturally he compiled the folklore of the people he knew. So, most of the folkloristic material that has been included in his famous work is from Hassan and

Śrīraṅgapattana areas The life and culture of the common folk is very well depicted in this book. Folk tales, proverbs, feasts, funeral ceremonies, life of tribal and nomadic people, worship of animals, *satī* system and many other folklore items were compiled in this work in addition to the vast material on Brahmanical culture, *Vēdas*, *Purāṇas*, *Kāvya*s etc. In short the live culture of South India is studied by him in detail. The folk-cultural aspect, the main current of the various castes and creeds, is vividly described in this work.

Many more European scholars like Charles E. Gover, John F. Fleet, Mary Frere, Rev F Kittel, Richter, W Graeter and Moegling have to be remembered for their contribution to the study of folklore. Most of them were working as missionaries or officers in different parts of South India mainly in Karnataka. Richter and W. Graeter⁶ who served the Coorg State for the cause of education also collected many songs from that region of Karnataka. The English rendering of these songs appeared in the *Coorg Manual* before 1850 and later they were included in the book of Charles E. Gover under the title *Folksongs of Southern India*.⁷ This book was first published in 1871. Gover collected the folksongs of South India from various sources and translated them for the Royal Asiatic Society in 1870. Some of the songs were also read before the learned body of this society. Later on he compiled the songs in the form of a book. Before this a few songs also appeared in *The Cornhill Magazine*. Though this is a collection of songs, Gover presented them in the form of essays. Songs from Kannada, Badaga, Coorg, Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu languages are included in this collection. The introductory part of each section in this collection is very valuable. Gover has collected interesting information regarding the folksong traditions, and their social context elaborately. Unfortunately, many of the songs in Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam languages are not genuine folk songs. He has collected them through second hand sources. The original contributors were probably misled by the various singers who sing the songs of literary sources also as oral songs. For instance, most of the songs from Kannada are *kīrtanas* of Dāsa tradition in Karnataka which has a literary background. But the songs pertaining to Kodava and Badaga cultures are of genuine nature. Badagas who migrated to Nilgiri hills from Karnataka, some hundred years ago have a rich treasure of folksongs. Kodavas, the heroic race from Coorg State which is now a part of Karnataka have their own culture. The songs depict the various cultural aspects of Coorg tradition.

Moegling and Rev F Kittel are remembered for their contribution to the area of Kannada proverbs.⁸ Moegling is the first scholar who compiled Kannada proverbs in the year 1848. This is the first independent collection in Karnataka. *Kannada Gādegala* (1852), *Sahasagūhāmṛita kalasavu* (1874), *Kodava Padima* (1886), all published from Mangalore and *Sāmatī saṅgraha* (1894) by H. G. Joshi published from Belgaum are four more collection of proverbs in the last century. Kittel who pioneered in compiling his exhaustive Kannada-English dictionary has also rendered valuable service to Kannada folklore. He has included more than four thousand proverbs in his dictionary which was published during the year 1894. These pro-

verbs are used here to give a comprehensive knowledge with regard to the perfect usage of every word and for this purpose Kittel has collected proverbs from popular sources.

John F. Fleet who was an officer in charge was working in the Kannada-speaking Districts like Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur in the Bombay Presidency. He was a great scholar and epigraphist. During his official tour in these areas he not only collected epigraphs but also folk literature. Of the eight ballads collected by him five are published in *Indian Antiquary* (1885-90).⁹ He has edited these ballads scientifically and has supplied the necessary background material in the form of notes and with English renderings. The ballads sung by some professional singers are based on historical events around 1850-80. These beautiful ballads reveal the reaction of the natives towards British rule during those days.

In the area of folktales the name of Mary Frere is to be remembered in the first place. She was neither an officer nor a worker in Karnataka. Being the daughter of the Governor of Bombay Presidency she accompanied her father in his tours in Karnataka area. Her native maid servant Anna-Liberta D'souza, originally belonging to Liṅgāyat caste narrated many folktales to Frere during such tours. Attracted by the beautiful tales narrated by Anna, Mary Frere collected some of them and published them from England in 1881 after she left India.¹⁰ This book, *Old Deccan Days* by name, is very popular even today and contains 24 folktales. Mary Frere's introductory note regarding the tales and the informant is really interesting. No doubt folkloric activities during the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th was dominated by European scholars whose contribution was of immense value. Many Indian scholars also worked independently. Annaji Rao Gulvadi (1850-1920) published *Folksongs of Canara*, a collection of folksongs and *Folktales of the West Coast*, a collection of tales in English. Many Kannada books were also published during this period. D. Subbayya Sastry's *Arjunajōgi Hāḍu* in five chapters was brought out in 1896. This long poem centres round Arjuna's trip to holy places and his return to his mother. This is a very popular song sung by various professional singers, especially by the *Kinnari-jōgis*. *Būgilu Taḍeyuva Padagaḷu* is a collection of wedding songs published in the year 1893. *Lāvaṇi Padasaṅgrahavu* is a collection of ballads belonging to Kalgi and Tura tradition.¹¹ On the same tradition of ballads another book *Turalāvaṇi Javābugaḷu* was published in 1902.

A fruitful step to study Karnataka folklore was set in 1924. It is in this year that Nadakeriyanda Chinnappa published his significant work *Paṭṭōle Paḷame* which covers the whole of Kodava culture. He gathered all the available folklore of the people and compiled it in a big volume. Thus he lighted the candle of a new era of folklore study in Karnataka. He studied all the traditions and customs of his people and introduced them to non-Kodavas. Chinnappa's narrative part is in Kannada while the texts of ballads, songs, proverbs etc. are in original Kodava language, presented in Kannada script. The word *Paṭṭōle Paḷame* refers to the traditional material that has come down from oral sources. Chinnappa had no

opportunity to develop the true conception of folklore by studying Western scholars. Still his work has all the qualities of a folkloristic study.

The next name to be remembered is of M. L. Srikanthesa Gowda, a munsif by profession, who as a great writer in Kannada dominated the Kannada literary field during the first two decades of the 20th century. He is one of the pioneers of modern Kannada literature who has translated Shakespeare's works into Kannada. In addition to these translations he has also published some original works. He has studied the life around him very closely and borrowed folklore material in plenty and has used them in his works. He has collected tales also from oral tradition.

A true study of folklore began only from 1925 onwards. In the period 1925-47 a number of Kannada writers of the era, lured by the splendour of Kannada folk-songs, began harvesting them from fields. Leading scholars and poets like B. M. Srikanthaiah, D. R. Bendre, Masti Venkatesha Iyyangar and others were also fascinated by the richness and beauty of the folklyrics and encouraged whole heartedly the young collectors. Halasangi brothers¹² gathered beautiful songs from Bijapur District, edited them and brought out the first collection of folksongs in Kannada in the year 1931, under the title, *Garatiya Hādu* (song of the chaste woman). This work created a new thrill in the literary world. Simple and smooth, each song with its rich innate beauty of meaning captured the hearts of the Kannadigas.

The first collection of women songs of Karnataka thus gave an impetus to further study, and two more collections *Mallige Daṇḍe* (1935) and *Jivana Saṅgīta* (1933) were brought out by the same brothers. *Mallige Daṇḍe* is a representative collection in which varieties of folksongs from North Karnataka area are found. *Jivana Saṅgīta* represents another tradition known as *Kalgi Tura* or *Savāl Javāb*, ballad tradition. Two groups of singers, one representing the bride's party and the other of the bridegroom's, participate in singing on the same platform and this concert continues for hours in the form of *savāl* (challenge) and *javāb* (answer).

Scholars in southern part of Karnataka were also busy with the folklore activities. B. M. Srikanthaiah and Masti Venkatesha Iyyangar wrote inspiring articles which drew the attention of many writers to the greens of folksongs. Gorur Ramaswamy Iyyangar, B. N. Ranga Swamy, Archaka Rangaswamy, Matighatta Krishnamurthy entered the field of folklore and began to collect songs here and there. Archaka Rangaswamy, a priest of the Hēmagiri Raṅganātha temple and a Sanskrit scholar somehow took a fancy to folklore and studied all the folk traditions of his village Baṇḍihoḷe. He compiled all his material covering all aspects of folklife in the village and under the title *Haḷḷiya Hādu*, brought out a book in the year 1933. This book is a rich treasure of true folkloristic value. It reflects in all its colour the natural life and culture of the people in the village surroundings. This being a regular survey of a village for folkloristic value is an unique model for the future workers.

Gorur Ramaswamy Iyyangar's *Haḷḷiya Hādugaḷu* (1936) is one of the finest collections of folksongs. He has collected songs from Mysore and Hassan area and has classified them under various headings. B. N. Rangaswamy who worked with,

Gorur afterwards published an independent collection *Haḷḷiya Padagaḷu* (1940) in which songs from Kolar and Mandya areas have been added.

In addition to the above collections another significant attempt was made by Devudu Narasimha Sastry during the same period. Devudu, instead of bringing out a new collection of folksongs, utilised the material that was already published and tried to analyse it and interpret Karnataka culture. In this book *Karnāṭaka Saṃskṛiti*, a pioneering effort has been made to explain the scope and nature of folklore. Devudu's discussion of the subject as early as 1936 is really a significant step in the history of our folkloristic study. The chapters on songs, ballads and proverbs also provide some original material probably collected by Devudu himself.

Nūḍapadagaḷu (1945) is an important collection of folksongs by the Matighatta brothers. For the first time this collection supplies the finest folklyrics pertaining to various traditions. Songs such as grinding songs, *Kōlūṭam* songs, rain-ritual songs, historical ballads, songs of the Brahmin women and *Basavana Aṣṭami* songs, bring out the variety and colour of the Kannada folksongs. The scientific editing of this work with ample notes and introduction for each Section of songs serves as a useful guide to the future workers in the field. Matighatta Krishnamurthy, one of the Matighatta brothers, worked sincerely for four to five decades and collected a vast material both in south and north Karnataka areas.

In spite of pioneering efforts made by various scholars to popularise folk songs, the number of collections that appeared was very meagre. Most of the collectors of this period were working in the literary field which was their main area. The collection of folklore was only of casual nature and the material was collected only with a sense of curiosity. They even made a selection of the original songs for their literary beauty and other aspects of folksongs were ignored. At this juncture B. S. Gaddagimath, K. R. Krishnaswamy and the present author started their folkloristic activities as whole time workers. In north Karnataka area Gaddagimath made an extensive survey of folksongs and ballads and published several collections. Krishnaswamy sacrificed much for the cause of folklore in south and collected hundreds of songs and ballads. He has brought out more than 25 collections of songs and ballads thereby bringing to light plenty of new material. The present author made several field trips in various parts of south Karnataka and wrote a good number of articles introducing different traditions of Karnataka folklore. P. R. Thippeswamy a well known artist and art critic also worked with Krishnaswamy in assisting him in the field work. The combined efforts of these three were mainly responsible for the popularisation of folklore in Karnataka in 1960s.

Real scientific methods were applied for the study of folklore only from 1960. Till then efforts were confined to songs alone. The present author in a write up to a special issue of a festival of dances in 1966 made an appeal to the folklore workers to devote their attention also to other areas of folklore like tales, epics, customs, festivals, proverbs, riddles, folkarts, beliefs etc. H. M. Nayak, in a seminar held during 1966, presented a paper on the scientific study of folklore wherein he has discussed elaborately the modern conception of folklore. It is in this paper

that he suggested the word *jānapada* as synonym for folklore in Kannada. This word has been accepted by the folklorists of Karnataka, and now is in currency. He has also discussed the other genres of folk literature and suggested Kannada names for them. D. Javare Gowda who is responsible for the introduction of folklore as an academic discipline in Mysore University published several articles explaining the wide range of folklore and the importance of its study. A. N. Krishna Rao and D. L. Narasimhachar presiding over literary conference also pleaded for the timely collection of folklore. Many scholars utilised folk literature for their literary and cultural value, in their doctoral theses and other workers like K. R. Lingappa and Karim Khan propogated the beauty of folksongs throughout Karnataka singing and explaining the value of folksongs with illustrations.

Thus a very good ground for future study of folklore and research was prepared. The progress of folklore study after 1966 started with a new dimension. It is true that the study of folklore of Karnataka began on scientific lines only in the University of Mysore. The far sight of D. Javare Gowda and H. M. Nayak carved a niche for folklore in the post-graduate studies (1966). A paper in folk literature was introduced in the post-graduate degree course of Kannada and in 1968 it was changed to a full folklore paper, under the title "Principles and Methods of Folklore". Another paper on an allied subject, Cultural Antropology, was also introduced as an additional subject, in 1969. A post-graduate Diploma in Folklore was introduced in 1972. A separate post-graduate course in folklore for the first time in India, was introduced in the Institute of Kannada Studies in 1974. Gradually, the study of folklore came into the folds of the Institute of Kannada Studies of the University of Mysore and encouraged all kinds of folklore activities in the state.

A folklore museum was brought into being by the efforts of D. Javare Gowda and H. M. Nayak. The museum is now fully developed by the restless and painstaking efforts of the present author and P. R. Thippeswamy. The relics collected and exhibited here reflect the culture of generations. The sections of marionettes and leather-puppets are a rich treasure of the museum. Sections of musical instruments, agricultural implements, pottery, basketry, utensils, traditional ornaments are also interesting. Dresses and costumes of all types of *Yakshagāna*, with South Indian prototypes, are collected and well preserved here. Wooden sculptures of Mekkekatte of South Canara District are of great artistic value. The folklore wing of this Institute has got a recording section also and research assistants of this section are making a regular survey of folklore throughout Karnataka. More than fifty volumes of works on folklore have been broughtout from this section.

Kannada Adhyayana Pitha of Karnataka University is also doing notable work in this respect. Four folklore conferences were held under the auspices of that Institute. A Post-graduate degree in folk literature has been introduced which has been considered equal to Kannada M.A. The publications of that University are also of folkloristic interest.

Kannada Department of Bangalore University has also introduced a paper

on folklore in the post-graduate degree course in Kannada. Books on folklore are also being published by this University.

Kannada Sahitya Parishat made a brief survey of folk-dances of Karnataka. Its research assistants have toured in many districts of Karnataka to collect the data on folkarts. District level folkarts' meets were organized by the Parishat.

Apart from the enthusiastic activities of the above Institutions the name of the Karnataka Janapada Parishat which gave a lead in this direction cannot be ignored. All Karnataka folklore conferences were held in Tarikere (1967), Mangalore (1969), and in Nāgamaṅgala (1972), on a large scale. *Jānapada* a research journal edited by H. M. Nayak and the present author is being published by the Parishat. Folklore Fellows of India, a national body of the folklorists, has been established and its centre is also in the Institute of Kannada Studies.

We may classify Karnataka folklore so far studied into various divisions: (1) Folktales (Myths, legends and marchens), (2) Songs, ballads and epics, (3) Proverbs, riddles and nursery rhymes, (4) Folkdramas and dances, (5) Folk beliefs and customs, (6) Idioms and Phrases, (7) Research works on Folklore, (8) Folk people—life and culture, (9) Folk dramas, and (10) Folk arts.

A great feature of this decade is that the attention of our collectors is focussed on folktales in prose. The discovery and collections of folktales of all types like, supernatural tales, magic tales, romantic tales, realistic tales, stories of cleverness, animal tales, proverbial tales, riddle tales, formula tales, cumulative tales, endless tales etc. have been traced and big volumes scientifically edited and classified have been published. The only field that has been neglected in prose narratives is the field of legends and myths. The work that has been done in this respect is very meagre. Translating folktales of other languages has also been done considerably in Kannada. H. K. Rajegowda and others have contributed much in this direction.

The next important field is the area of ballad. Historical, realistic, romantic, wonder, humorous and other types of ballads have been discovered and are available in many versions. The ballad of Uttaradēvi is now available in more than 25 versions in Karnataka. The ballad variant of Bayalnād is different from that of Malnād and a different version is found in North Kanara District. Such variants have been of great help in a comparative study. Both from North and South Karnataka hosts of ballads have come into light. Districtwise, regionwise and dialectwise collections have also been brought out. Studies have also been made on all the professional singers of Karnataka. Various traditions like Anṭige Paṇṭige, Bhāga-vantige, Kalgi-Tura, Gee-Gee, Kamsāje, Karapāja, Nīlagāra, Heḷava, Jōgi, Telugu Jaṅgama, Dombidāsa, Gondali, Juḥjappa, Gorava, Chaudike, Bhūtārādhane and so on have been scientifically studied and the literature pertaining to each tradition has been brought out. Epic poems like Maleya Mādēśvara, Maṇṭeśvāmy, Battle of Periyāpaṭṭana, Guṇadamma, Kāḷiṅgarāya, Kere Honnamma are now published and this rich treasure of Kannada folk-poetry is attracting the attention of scholars.

Extensive studies on beliefs and customs are taken up and they are in rapid progress. Three collections on beliefs with good introductions have come out. An admirable work has been turned out in the sphere of riddles and proverbs during this decade. Many enthusiastic workers have collected them both from literary sources and oral tradition. Though a commendable work has been done in this area right from 1850, collection of riddles and proverbs is yet to be taken up in South Kanara, North Kanara and Malnāḍ areas. If this is done the task of survey in these areas will be fulfilled and further investigation could be done on the large body of material thus collected.

Apart from the well known forms of folklore mentioned above, some new forms are discovered and brought to light. One of them is *Oḍapu* in which the name of a newly married bride and bridegroom is not told directly, but it has to be understood by a sentence woven symbolically or by a prolix or by a short poem. Nursery rhyme is another form. A large number of nursery rhymes are collected and few collections are also published. Idioms and phrases, traditional abuses and curses of folk language play an important role. A dictionary of idioms and phrases has already been published by T. V. Venkataramanaiah.

The study of folklore includes interpretation of folkloric genres on various view points for different values. Collections of many research papers and essays on literary appreciation of folklore have also appeared in Kannada in large numbers. Commemoration and felicitation volumes based on folklore deserve a mention here. '*Kabbina Hālu*' is a commemoration volume brought out to mark the 60th birth day of K. V. Shankara Gowda. In this volume scholarly articles on folk-theatre of Karnataka have been published which give a comprehensive picture of the field. *Grāmajyōti*, a felicitation volume presented to K. R. Lingappa, covers various aspects of folklore apart from literary types. *Honna Bittēvu Holakella* is an encyclopaedic work on folklore published in the year 1967 as a commemoration volume of first All Karnataka folklore conference held in Tarikere. Karnataka University is regularly bringing out '*Jānapada Sāhitya Darshana*' series containing research papers read in the annual folklore conferences since last five years. The Institute of Kannada Studies of Mysore University has brought out *Jānapada Samāvēśa*. It contains studies on songs, ballads and folk theatre.

Several scholars have published works on theoretical folklore. H. M. Nayak's *Jānapada Svarūpa*, J. S. Paramashivaiah's *Jānapada: Kelavu mukhagaḷu*, *Jānapada Sāhitya Sameekshe*, *Jānapada* and *Jānapada Saṅgama*, D. Javare Gowda's *Jānapada Adhyayana*, Rame Gowda's *Jānapada Rūpagaḷu*, Father C. C. A. Pai's *Jānapada Vaijñānika Kshētra Kārya*, Gorur's *Jānapada Sāhitya mattu Dharma*, D. K. Rajendra's *Jānapada Sañchaya*, Shivarūma Karanth's *Janapada Geetagaḷu*, C. P. Krishnakumar's *Jānapada Pratibhe* and *Jānapada Saraswati*, Somashekhara Imrapur's *Jānapada Vyāsaṅga* and *Jānapada Vijñāna*, T. N. Shankaranarayana's *Jānapada Vichāra*, Basavaraja Nellisara's *Jānapada Sankalana*, Chandru Kalenahalli's *Jānapada Pravēśa* and *Nagara Jānapada*, Chidananda Murthy's *Grāmīṇa*, Kyathanahalli Ramanna's *Jānapada Vihāra*, L. R. Hegde's *Jānapada Jivana mattu Kale*, H. S. Rama-

chandra Gowda's *Kēraḷa Jānapada*, V. Seetharamaiah's *Janapada Sāhitya* are some of the important works worth mentioning on theoretical folklore and folklore research in Kannada.

Still, with all this, the research activities are to be intensified utilising the folklore material for scientific analysis. With the vast material collected so far this will be covered without any doubt in the decades to come.

Notes and References

1. In this bibliography (1973) many unknown books on folklore published in Karnataka both in the 19th and 20th centuries are listed. It has unearthed some rare folkloristic works in Kannada.
2. Terms like 'Popular Antiquity' and 'Popular Literature' were in use till W. J. Thomas suggested a new term in 1846 covering all aspects of traditional knowledge. Different forms of folklore like ballads, proverbs, legends, tales were studied as different subjects till this new word was coined. Thomas brought all such oral traditions under a single heading i.e. folklore.
3. The great team under the leadership of Andre Lang is mainly responsible for the development of folkloristic study in the end of 19th century. Scholars like G. L. Gomme, E. S. Hartland, Alfred Nutt, Edward Clodd met regularly in The Folklore Society of London founded in 1878. This Team developed the definitions and methods of folklore on scientific lines.
4. No ballad on Tipu and Hyder are heard now except in *Kalgi Tura* tradition of south Karnataka. The ballad, said to have been composed on the eve of Tipu's fall, has not been traced till now. Only fragments of it are available. The ballad collected by Laydon is really significant in this respect though the Kannada version is missing.
5. Abbe Dubois though not a folklorist is considered as one of the pioneers who studied the folk-traditions of India. His book contains, besides materials on Hindu life and culture, specific folklore material.
6. These two scholars gave their original collections to Gover for his book. In addition to this material a collection of Coorg proverbs lithographed somewhere in the middle of the last century is also available. This collection has been traced by the Institute of Kannada Studies and is preserved in the folklore section.
7. This fails to give genuine folksongs in all the four major languages of South India, like Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil. But the compiler's sincere efforts could be seen in gathering the background material, which is very valuable.
8. In every culture proverbs occupy an important place. In Karnataka during the 19th century most of the proverbs were collected and translated into English. The European scholars contributed much to this particular area of folklore.
9. A collection containing Kannada rendering of the five ballads, collected by Fleet, with suitable notes has been published in the Folklore series of the Institute of Kannada Studies.
10. This collection of folktales from Canara is yet to attract the attention of scholars.
11. *Kalgi-Tura* is a popular ballad tradition in Karnataka which is also known as *Haradesi Nagesi* and *Saval-Javab* tradition. This ballad tradition which is of recent origin is also popular in other parts of India.
12. These brothers, Revappa, Channa Mallappa and Lingappa hail from Halasangi in Bijapur District. Revappa is also known as Kapase Revappa. Channa, popularly known as 'Madhura Channa', was a reputed poet. Lingappa, who is now known as Simpi Linganna is a famous writer and living folklorist of repute.

FOLK ARTS OF KARNATAKA

D. K. RAJENDRA

ALTHOUGH THE ORIGIN OF folk arts in Karnataka cannot be clearly traced, it is known that they have a rich heritage. These folk arts are very much entwined with religion and rituals. For the sake of convenience these folk arts could be divided into five groups on geographical basis as: 1. South Karnataka, 2. North Karnataka, 3. South Kanara District, 4. North Kanara District and 5. Coorg District.

The difference depends on the religious and socio-cultural background as also geographical environment. The table below gives the region-bound arts.

1. SOUTH KARNATAKA: *Yakshagāna bayalāṭa, Sūtradagombeyāṭa, Karapāla-mēḷa, Chaudikemēḷa, Bīsukamsāle, Raṅgadakuṇita, Vīragāsekuṇita, Paṭakuṇita, Goravarakuṇita, Pūjākuṇita, Gūrudikuṇita, Suggikuṇita, Chiṭmēḷa, Līṅgada-bīṭana-kuṇita, Nandidvajakuṇita, Doḷḷukuṇita, Onakekuṇita, Kōḍaṅgikuṇita, Kīlukudure-kuṇita, Karaḡadakuṇita, Mārikuṇita, Maragūḷukuṇita, Hulivēsha, Kōlāṭa, Kōle-basavana-āṭa, Pāḷegūravēsha, Puṇjinakuṇita, Vīramakkaḷakuṇita, Aṇṭike-panṭike, Dombarakuṇita, Nīlagāruru, Togalugombeyāṭa, Sōligarakuṇita, Nagārimēḷa* and so on.

2. NORTH KARNATAKA: *Sūtragombeyāṭa, Togalugombeyāṭa, Doddāṭa, Saṇṇāṭa, Śrīkṛishṇapārijāta, Karapālamēḷa, GīGī mēḷa, Gondaligaramēḷa, Chaudīke mēḷa, Dummālimēḷa, Dombidāsaramēḷa, Nandidhvajakuṇita, Doḷḷukuṇita, Pura-vantike, Vāghimuraḷi, Hajjemēḷa, Kambikuṇita, Karaḡimajalu, Koḷadakuṇita, Kōlāṭa, Chaudammanakuṇita, Dattikuṇita.*

3. SOUTH KANARA DISTRICT: *Yakshagāna bayalāṭa, Sūtradagombeyāṭa, Tāḷamaddale, Bhūtanṛitya, Dudikuṇita, Nāgamaṇḍala, Koragarakuṇita, Kandīlu-kuṇita, Ottekōla, Karaṅgōla, Jōdivēsha, Panāarakuṇita, Soṇajōgi, Vaidyanṛitya, Hūlinṛitya, Kōlāṭa, Siddhavēsha.*

4. NORTH KANARA DISTRICT: *Bayalāṭa, Tāḷamaddale, Gumatekuṇita, Gūpu-kuṇita, Alagumkuṇita, Suggikuṇita, Hūvina makkaḷakuṇita, Pugūdikuṇita, Bēḍara-kuṇita, Maṇḍalakuṇita, Simhakuṇita, Kōlāṭa.*

5. COORG DISTRICT: *Ummattāṭa, Korthiāṭa, Kombāṭa, Balukāṭa, Dūlupāt, Bāḷapāt, Jōyisāṭa, Eravarakuṇita, Kōlāṭa, Kaitalai.*

These arts can be classified into four groups from the applicational point of view as: 1. Folk dance, 2. Folk dance-drama, 3. Folk *mēḷas* and 4. Miscellaneous.

Dance is common to all the above categories. Various types of dances can be found in dance-drama and *mēḷas*. The first two categories are merely dance-oriented whereas categories three and four are story-oriented, with an element of dance. Dance is a universal art, exhibited on different occasions in different styles. Scholars opine that dance stands out as one of the oldest forms of folk art. It is worth noticing that this art developed as an instrument of entertainment and worship. This can be classified into two categories. 1. Religious dances, 2. Secular dances.

Religious dances can be classified as Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta on the basis of their origin.

Dances like *nandidhvaja*, *vīragāse*, *līṅabīra*, *gorava*, *ṭṣukamṣāḷe* and *pura-vantike* are a few important dances belonging to the Śaiva cult.

The rare and heroic form of dances which can be found in many parts of Karnataka is *nandikḍhukuṇṭita* or *nandidhvaja* dance. Even though there are few differences between south and north Karnataka art, both of them are heroic. These dances in their fullest grandeur can be seen at the time of processions of gods of Śaiva cult. The *nandidhvaja* or *nandi* flag, of Karnataka is a long bamboo pole about 20 to 25 feet in length. At the top of the pole, a silver or copper *kalasa* is fixed. At the middle of the pole a bracelet like metallic ornament (*gaggara*) and colourful tassels are tied. The idol of Nandi is fixed just below the central part of the pole.

The dress of the people who carry the pole and dance is simple and attractive. They tie a turban, hem the dhoti and wear a shirt. They tie a small sack around the waist, hung on the belly. Sometimes they insert the bottom end of the pole in this sack and dance. They apply *vibhūti* (holy ash) to their forehead and carry the pole with great devotion. *Nandidhvaja* being heavy and long is likely to fall down. Hence one or two persons stand beside the dancer as a precautionary measure to avoid the fall.

If this dance is full of vigour and skill, *vīragāsekuṇṭita* is impetuous and pervading. This is a dance in chorus with a mythological background (Pl. XXII B.). Dakṣabrahma infuriated Śiva and his wife by disregarding Śiva. The latter created Vīrabhadra. Born with hundred and one weapons, he carried out the order of Paramēśvara, destroyed the sacrifice of Dakṣabrahma and killed him. The art of Vīrabhadra dance originated with this background of the incarnation of Vīrabhadra. This dance displays the wrath and pervasiveness of Vīrabhadra.

This is a dance in chorus. Six or seven people dance together in different postures. They describe the incarnation of Vīrabhadra. *Karade* is the important musical instrument used in this dance.

Līṅabīranakuṇṭita also belongs to the same cult, but differs in certain aspects. This dance involves one or, at the most, two people. One cannot find chorus dance as in *vīragāse*. But the same wrath and pervasiveness can be found here also. The dress of the dancer is attractive and creates horror at the same time. The dancer wears *rudrākṣi* (*Elaeocarpus berry*) necklace, and the garland has 101 *līṅgas*, mask of Dakṣabrahma, lion's forehead and brass medals. The dancer holds the sword in the left hand and Vīrabhadra metallic plank in the right. The plank is held close to the chest. He ties the belt to his waist which is fixed with the heads of Dakṣabrahma and Narasimha. He ties *chauri* (made up of the tail of *Bosgruniens*) on both sides of his waist.

Ṭṣukamṣāḷe (Pl. XXII, C) is another rare art belonging to Śaiva origin. This art, which is in the southern parts of Karnataka, is a thriller. The skill shown in

dance is astonishing. The dancers are the devotees of Maleya Mādēśvara. These devotees are called *dēvaraguddas* also. These artists belong to the professional singers group. They sing melodiously and at the same exhibit their dance with *bisukaṃsāḷe* in different postures. This is an eye-catching and heart-touching show which astonishes each and everyone. *Kaṃsāḷe* is a kind of elliptical instrument with two parts. One is tied with a long thread and a tassel at the end. Another part is broader and is held in with the left hand. The dance which resembles *kōlāṣa* requires more care than *kōlāṣa*. Otherwise there are chances of getting injured. The artists need quick movements. They wear *rudrākṣi* around the neck and ears. They tie a cloth to the waist and let the loose end to fall. They wear anklets, hem the dhoti and wear *jubba*.

Goravas are the devotees of Mailāraliṅga. The pilgrimage of Mailāraliṅga is found in many parts of Karnataka. Though this art belongs to Śaiva cult, people of many castes and creeds can perform this art. The dress and the dance of *goravas* is very attractive and exhilarating. They wear a cap of bear skin, a long black coat, a cross belt on the long coat stitched with *kavade* (a type of shell). They hold a flute in the left hand and a drum in the right. *Vibhūti* is applied on the face. They tie anklets to the legs. Their style of dance is a distinct one. *Goravas'* chorus dance is very attractive. They dance in a rhythm. The performance, usually conducted in the night, creates a distinct atmosphere with the noise of the drum (*ḍamaruga*).

Puravantike is another art belonging to Śaiva cult. This is exhibited more in North Karnataka. Even though this resembles more *viragāse* and *liṅgabīranakuṇita* of South Karnataka, there are some distinct features of its own. The artists are called *Puravantaru*. *Puravantike* dance also has the same background as *viragāse-kunīta*. This dance also exhibits valour. The dress is also very attractive. The dancer pierces his body with iron rods with sharpened edges, without feeling any pain. This miracle is thrilling.

Like the dances of Śaiva cult, we have also dances belonging to Vaishṇava cult. *Bhāgavantike*, *Paṭakuṇita*, *Bāṇadēvarakuṇita*, are a few to name in this category.

Paṭakuṇita (Pl. XXIII, A), a group dance, is a popular art in many parts of South Karnataka. Colourful clothes are rolled to a pole of 10–15 feet length. A silver or brass umbrella is fixed at one end. Small anklets are fixed around the umbrella. This is called *Paṭa*. Even though it appears on *nandikōlu* it is of a different kind. The length, size and weight of the pole are lesser than that of *nandikōlu*. Nor does this require as much strength or skill as is the case with *nandikōlu*. The colourful tassel tied around the pole throughout, flutters and dances hither and thither. This gives a special decorum. Probably these are the symbols of Vaishṇava cult.¹

The dress of the dancers is simple, yet attractive and complimentary to the decorations of the pole. They wear white dress from top to bottom, tie white turban, long shirt, hem the *dhoti*, tie colourful belts to the waist and anklets to the legs. They hold white clothes in one hand. This gives a grip to hold *navāra* (a sack) pole. The bottom of the pole is inserted inside this sack and the pole is caught in

the other hand. The beating of drums and kettle drums gives special effects to the dance. The artist dances in a trance.

Bhāgavantikemēḷa (Pl. XXII, D) has probably originated from Mēlukōṭe. Primarily it is believed to propagate the Vaishṇava religion. *Bhāgavantike* is a chorus consisting of 10–15 people. The chief of the chorus the central figures is called the *bhāgavata*. Others are story tellers. They sing standing in two rows. Another attraction here is the entrance of the clown, with a peculiar dress, who dances according to the time of the signs and attracts everyone.

Śaktidaiva's dance is another type of religious dance. The gods here are wrathful or cruel. The reason and devotion arises out of terror. Because these *śakti-dēvatas* can bestow or bellow, hence they should be kept in satisfaction. Even a bit of carelessness causes trouble to the human beings. If the devotee who has complete faith in that god behaves improperly those gods may take out their lives. There are many ghosts also like the gods that can favour or devour the devotees. They always need good treatment from the devotees.

Some of the dances through which these gods are worshipped are *Mārīkuṇita*, *Sōmanakuṇita* (Pl. XXIII, B), *Kāḍemmekuṇita*, *Chaudammanakuṇita*, *Vīramakṣala-kūṇita*, *Karagadakuṇita*, *Chauḍike*, *Urimārammanakuṇita*, *Kombāṭa*, *Billāṭa* and the like. *Mārammanakuṇita* also called *raṅgadakuṇita* is observed in grandeur by all the people of the village. But *Urimārammanakuṇita* belongs to nomads who carry the goddess from village to village. Māri festival is conducted usually after the harvest season and is observed for three days.

Even though the most prominent instrument used in this is *tamaṭe* (one sided big round drum), two drums are also used simultaneously. Twenty to thirty pairs of legs dance according to the tune of *tamaṭe*. This is a rare dance.

The *Urimāramma* dance is full of fury. The idol of Māramma is kept in a box and carried from village to village. These dancers move with their families. The wife carries the box on her head beating a drum which is tied to her waist. The husband wears a hemmed *dhōti*, and applies *vibhūti* and vermilion. He carries a strong whip with which he beats his own body and dances according to the noise of the drum. He sings songs also at the same time.

Karagadakuṇita is more or less of similar attraction and makes the spectators run out of breath. It provides good entertainment. Non-religious dances are devoted entirely to entertainment giving pleasure and happiness to the people in their hours of leisure. Compared to the religious art these are few in number. *Kōlāṭa*, *chirmēḷa*, *maragāhukuṇita*, *chennukuṇita* are few to name.

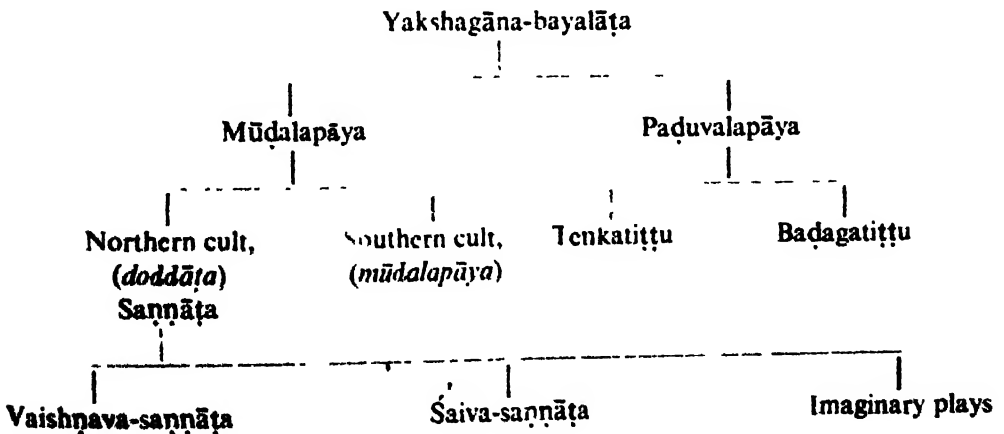
Kōlāṭa is a popular art found throughout Karnataka. The *gejje-kōlāṭa* of Kāḍugollas is more popular. *Kōlāṭa* is the only art that can be played any time without much hurdles. Nor does it require much preparation. Men with muscles, sticks and anklets are enough to start the game. In certain regions people play this by wearing attractive dresses. The Hālakkigāḍa's *kōlāṭa* dance in North Kanara District can be cited as an instance. At the same time the dresses of Koḍavas

in *huttari-kōlāṭa* are also attractive. But the colourful dresses are eye-catchers and hence they lessen the effect of the sound of the sticks upon the ears. To appreciate this art one should witness the Kāḍugollas' *kōlāṭa*. The sound of the beating of the sticks and the tinkling of the anklets creates a beautiful atmosphere. The dress is secondary with this people. Songs, dance and rhythmic beatings are primary.

Chiṭmēḷa is another type of attractive entertainer. *Chiṭ* means small or tiny, *chiṭmēḷa* meaning small chorus, the chorus which exhibits few bits of *doddamēḷa* (big chorus). Dressed attractively these artists attract the spectators with *karāḍe*, *samēḷa*, *ḍhumuki* and many other instruments.

Two more non-religious dances are *chennukunṭa* and *maragālukuṇṭa*. Here prominence is given to physical exercise rather than grandeur. They fix three to four feet long wooden legs and not only dance but also bend down to take out coins on the earth from their tongue and also from eye lashes. This skill is really unusual.

Folk Dance Dramas: The general opinion of folklorists is that folk dances are the base for the folk dance drama. The proto form of folk dance drama can be visualised from folk dance. The *bayalāṭa*, *sūtradagombeyāṭa* (puppet show) and *togaḷugombeyāṭa* are a combination of music, literature and dance. These are mainly story-oriented arts. Even though one can find some outward differences basically they are of the same origin. One can certainly identify them as belonging to Dravidian group of art. The *terakkūttu* of Tamilnadu and *vīdhināṭaka* of Andhra are cognate arts. *Bayalāṭa* can be found throughout Karnataka with some differences, due mostly to local influences. In some cases the differences are so much influenced by regionality that they even bear different names. *Bayalāṭa*, *yakshagāna*, *yakshagāna-bayalāṭa* (Pl. XXIV, A), *aṭṭadāṭa*, *āṭa*, *mēḷa*, *prasaṅga*, *doddāṭa*, are a few. Viewed from regional differences *mūḍalapāya*, *paḍuvalapāya* are important ones. *Mūḍalapāya* is an art found in South Karnataka and North Karnataka districts with little variations. *Paḍuvalapāya* is further divided into *tenkatittu* and *baḍagatittu*. The differences between these are very meagre according to some scholars. The *bayalāṭa* of Karnataka can be classified thus:



The themes used in all these plays are similar, but the difference is found only in their structure. The themes are usually selected from *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Bhāgavata*, and *Śivapurāṇa*. Few folk stories have also supplied the themes. *Mūḍalapāya* and its related arts are different in their structure. In this both prose and poetry are the creations of poets. But in *Paḍuvalapāya* both *teṅku* (south) as well as *baḍagu* (north) *pāya* only poems are composed by poets. The prose part of it will be composed by the characters themselves based on the poems.

There are some noteworthy differences in the singing style and musical instruments. *Chañḍe* is the prominent instrument for *paḍuvalapāya* as is *mukhavīṇe* for *mūḍalapāya*. *Tabala* is used by both the *pāyas*. But in *teṅkatiṭṭu* of *paḍuvalapāya*, *jāgaṭe* is used. These differences are probably due to the songs and the styles made use of and they seem to be inevitable.

Differences and diversities can also be seen in dance styles. *Mūḍalapāya* (Pl. XXIV, B) has attained special significance in the horrifying dances of demons, the delicate dances of females and majestic dance of kings. The *baḍagatiṭṭu* and *teṅkatiṭṭu* of South Karnataka, *dodḍāṭa* of North Karnataka, *mūḍalapāya* and, *ghaṭṭadakōre* have the basic tradition in common. But they have maintained certain differences. The quick movements, the style of surrounding of *teṅkatiṭṭu*, the turning of the knees, the *udaṅ* of *mūḍalapāya* are indigenous qualities of the respective arts. The female characters of *mūḍalapāya* start dancing in a sitting posture and gradually get up and dance. But the female characters of *paḍuvalapāya* start their dance in the standing posture itself.

There is a lot of difference in the dress also. The wide contrast found in the dresses of all the characters except the *kundalige* (crown) of the female demon is an example. One can certainly find difference in the elements used in the dress. At the same time one cannot reject the influence of *Kathakkaḷi* of Kerala on the role of the demon of *paḍuvalapāya*.

The *dodḍāṭa* of North Karnataka, the *saṇṇāta* its offshoot as also Vaishṇava and Śaiva-*saṇṇātas* are well known. These arts are alive in these regions only. *Śrī-kṛishṇapārijāta* is also an important art.

Sūtradagombeyāṭa (Marionette show) (Pl. XXIII, C) and *togalubombeyāṭa* (leather puppet shows) are also important arts. Scholars are of the opinion that *sūtradagombeyāṭa* has a greater antiquity. It is said to be the forerunner of dramas wherein men themselves started acting. This appears to all categories of people irrespective of the class, creed or age group. "The male and female, child and adult, high brow and low brow, rich and poor all fall for the charms"² of the puppet show. This is how, right from its beginning up till now it has won the hearts of the people. The origin of puppet show is not known.

Human beings take part directly on the stage in *bayalāṭa*, whereas dolls take part in *gombeyāṭa* but with equal effect. Apart from this there are no differences either in dress or in theme. There is slight difference in the musical instruments used in *togalugombeyāṭa* and *bayalāṭa*. These differences are significant to trace out the regional differences.

The Marionette show of Karnataka can be divided into two parts, *mūḍalapāya* and *paḍuvalapāya*. Puppets are made of wood. Lighter wood is selected for carving out other parts of the human body except the face for which teak wood is used. Since this part of the body stands exposed while the other parts are covered by clothes, it is but natural that good varieties of wood are to be used to prepare the face so that it can stay long without decay.

The skill of the carpenter who prepares these dolls and of the *sūtradhāra*, who creates the fantastic world out of these lifeless dolls is really wonderful. The various parts of the dolls are so adjusted that any part of it can be made use of by the *sūtradhāra* according to the situation. They are usually tied with black thread or small metal wire or by the horse-tail thread. Small iron rod is also used to connect some parts. This is called as *nārācha*. There are seven freely moving points. Two bamboo sticks are fixed to enable the dolls to move. *Sūtradhāra* is the source of life to the dolls. The grandeur of the play depends on his skills. He can create a world of fantasy. Puppet show can be performed by any people irrespective of caste or community.

The stage arrangement of the puppet show is very simple and different from that of *togalugombeyāṭa* or *bayalāṭa*. On all four corners of an elevated platform of about 20 × 25 feet wide bamboo poles are erected. Three sides are covered with cocoanut leaves while the front side is covered with a 2½ feet screen, leaving two to three feet space. This is called as *antarapaṭa*. Another screen will be tied from the bottom so that it touches the bottom of the first screen. This is called as *mantina kōlina parade* (screen of churning-rod). These two screens will be separate and cover the player, so that only dolls are seen by the spectators. Light is projected from the front.

Togalugombeyāṭa is found throughout Karnataka except in the west coast and Malnad area. This is a rare art compared to *bayalāṭa* and *sūtradhāra*. This creates completely a different atmosphere and attraction. This fulfils many of the shortcomings of other two arts. Both in the puppet show or in *bayalāṭa*, characters have to appear on the stage to act and dance. Sometimes it may fail to create the required environment. But *togalugombeyāṭa* completely embraces the audience. The manipulators and the singers never appear on the stage. There will be light only on the screen, projected from inside the theatre. This art is reserved for a particular sect of people known as *kiḷḷekyātaru*, *gomberāmaru* or *gombeyāṭa-davaru* etc. *Kiḷḷekyāta*, a comic character, appears on the stage as Hanumanāyaka in *bayalāṭas*. The performers call themselves *marāṭha vokkaligaru* and speak a dialect of Marathi, suggesting that they hailed originally from Maharashtra. Usually people belonging to the same family perform the play. Husband, wife and children take part with equal responsibility. All of them participate in singing in chorus. They are experts in making puppets themselves. In olden days they used to hunt the deer for the skin. Nowadays they use goat skin or buffalo's skin. Even in this regional differences can be traced, based on the structure and style of the dolls and in the technique in which they are played. There are three classifications in this

puppet art, the *mūḍalapāya* (Karnataka, Andhra border region), *baḍagalapāya* (North Karnataka region) and *teṅkalapāya* (Old Mysore state). The structure of the puppets belonging to *baḍagalapāya* and *teṅkalapāya* is similar. The dolls being small, stage arrangement is made accordingly. These dolls are made to dance by the seated manipulators. The manipulators, singers and instrumentalists sit together inside the stage. The stage is covered by mat or by cocoanut tree leaves. The front portion is covered by a black blanket of two and half feet at the bottom. The remaining part is covered by white dhoti, whereupon the actions of the puppets are exhibited. The light effect is made from inside. The light falls on the puppets and the colourful image is reflected to the spectators.

The stage of *mūḍalapāya* is bigger, as the puppets are also bigger. Some puppets are as big as human beings. The player of these dolls has to stand and play. Sometimes the player also dances by flirting the anklets. All other techniques are identical.

In narrating the story both Telugu and Marathi languages are mixed with Kannada. The success of *togalugombeyāṭa* completely depends on the players who play the puppet.

Folk Minstrels

Professional folk singers play a dominant role in the folk art of Karnataka. They can be classified as religious and non-religious singers. The former confine themselves to a particular deity and they seek their livelihood by singing ballads on their own deities. Non-religious singers also are professional singers though they do not stick to any particular type of ballads.

Two to three people join together and sing the ballads to the tune of special musical instruments. They also perform light dances. They attract people by their melody. *Nīlagāraru*, *chauḍikeyavaru*, *kaṃsāleyavaru*, *tambūriyavaru*, *gaṇeyavaru*, *dombidāsaru*, *heḷavaru*, *karapāḷadavaru*, *gondaligaru*, *ēkatāriyavaru*, *gīgī mēḷadavaru* and the like found throughout Karnataka belong to this category.

Nīlagāraru (Pl. XXIV, C) and *kaṃsāleyavaru* are religious professional singers belonging to South Karnataka. These professionals are famous for singing long ballads for days together. Found in Mandya, Mysore and Bangalore Districts and the Nilagiris they are the devotees of Maṇṭesvāmi, a religious leader believed to have lived 800 years ago. Siddappāji and Rāchappāji are disciples of Maṇṭesvāmi and they are also worshipped. *Tambūri* is their important instrument while *tāḷa* and *dammaḷi* are also used as accompaniments. Two *maṭhas* belonging to this tradition are found in Maḷavalli and Bapparāyanapura even now.

Kaṃsāḷa guḍḍas are devotees of Maleyamāḍēśvara. They are found specially in Mysore, Mandya and Bangalore Districts. *Māḍēśvara kāvya* is a long poem sung for days together, in great devotion, by these devotees who are called *guḍḍaru*. It has become a tradition to select at least one person from each family as a *guḍḍa* who later on completely dedicated himself for the *svāmi*.

The artists of *chaḍḍike mēḷa* (Pl. XXIV, D) found throughout Karnataka are devotees of Yellamma of Saudatti in Belgaum District which has become an important centre of pilgrimage. *Chauḍike* is a musical instrument, made out of wood, metal and skin. Legend goes that Rāma after killing Kārtavīrya made this instrument using his skin. There are both male and female artists called respectively *jōgi* and *jōgiti*.

The *tambūriyavaru* (Pl. XXV, A) so called because they carry with them the *tambūri* a stringed musical instrument sing both religious and non-religious ballads. They move from village to village with *tambūri* and *chiṭike*, and a *jōḷige* (a square cloth gathered at the corners, into which alms are put) hung on their shoulder singing narrative songs. They look like messengers of culture.

Gondaligaru, specially found in North Karnataka are originally from Maharashtra. They are stated to have come to Bijapur as spies of Śivāji, but later on settled here only. They sing in a chorus of three people of whom one carries *tāḷa*. The other two carry *gummaṭe* and *śṛiti*. They conduct their chorus performance on an elevated platform throughout night. They sing not only folk ballads but also historical and ethical ballads.

Gīgī mēḷa is another art which has won the hearts of many people in North Karnataka. Three artists are found in this. *Gīya*, *gīya*, *gīya* is repeatedly sung after every stanza. These artists are impromptu poets who compose poems on any subject. Another form of this art, found in north Karnataka is *kalgi-tura* or *hara-dēśi-nāgēśi*. These artists divide themselves into two parties of the bride and the groom. Their songs will be in the form of questions and answers.

The *dombidāsas* holding *ēkatūri* in the right hand and the *chiṭike* in the left are found in many parts of Karnataka. They are basically nomads from Andhra Pradesh. Earlier they had made their name in *bayalāṭa* also. They sing historical and pauranic ballads. They beg in the day time and sing in the night.

Karapālamēḷa (Pl. XXV, B) is a trio of music, literature and dance. This was famous earlier in North Karnataka and later passed down to South Karnataka. Three people start with light dance and later start singing. The show is centered around the man who stands in the middle. Other two who are his disciples stand by his sides. The dialogue will be very attractive. The sub-stories in this *mēḷa* are another attraction. These non-religious singers are mainly entertainers who are invited by the people to give performance at the time of festivals, fairs and professions. They are referred to as *karapallavadavaru*.

The *heḷavas* (Pl. XXV, C) know the whole history of few families and narrate the family trees of the people. They go to the village at the time of harvest as though it is their right. There are many legends about the origin of this people.

One can find many more forms of folk arts in Karnataka apart from those recounted above.

Many of these arts are dying out at present. Most of these artists have made them the source of their livelihood and without much support by the people, they are seeking pastures anew. Some attempts are made to retain these arts and this should be geared up by the public and private institutions and agencies.

Notes and References

1. Dr. J. S. Paramashivaih: *Jānapada: Kelavu Mukhagaḷu* (Kannada).
2. John Bussell: *The Puppet Theatre*, p. 16.



A Ardhanārīśvara (Front View),
Government Museum, Madras



B Ardhanārīśvara (Rear View),
Government Museum, Madras



A. Bhavāni witnessing the Dance of Śiva, Panamalai. Painting



B. Chēramān Perumāḷ with Queens, Tanjore Paintings



C. Rājarāja and Karuṇadēvar, Tanjore Paintings



D. Pāṇḍya Paintings, Tirumalaipuram



B. Yakshagāna



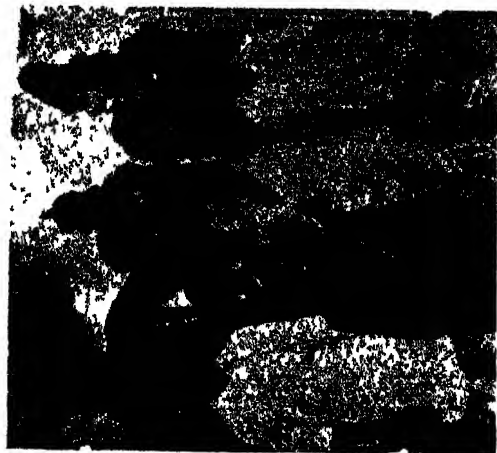
D. Bhāmākalāpam



A. Yakshagāna



C. Paṇṭiśālu



B. Tölubommalaja



A. Vidhinätakam Draupadi-Vāstrapaharana





A. Dimsa Dance



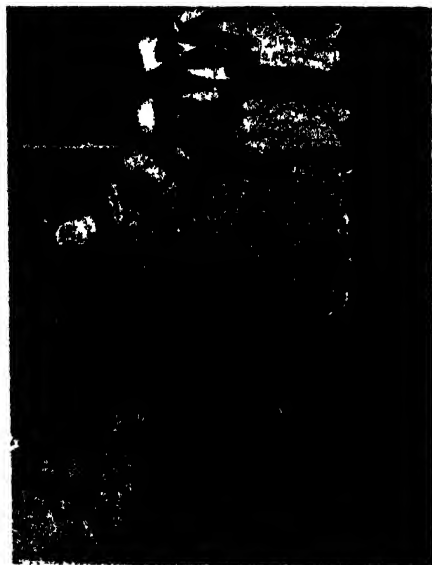
R. Lambidi Dance



C. Tappela Gullu



D. Dappu Dance



A Buṭṭa Bonmalu



B Viragāṣe Kuntla



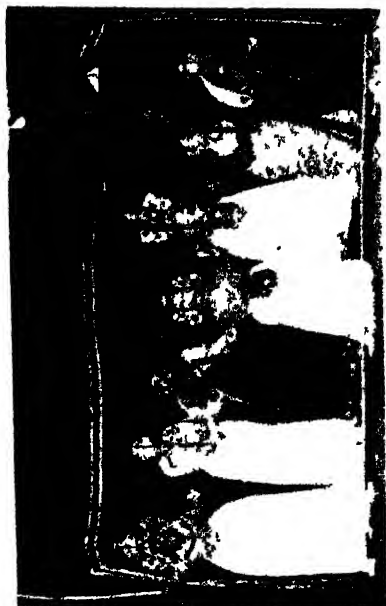
C Biṣu Kamsak



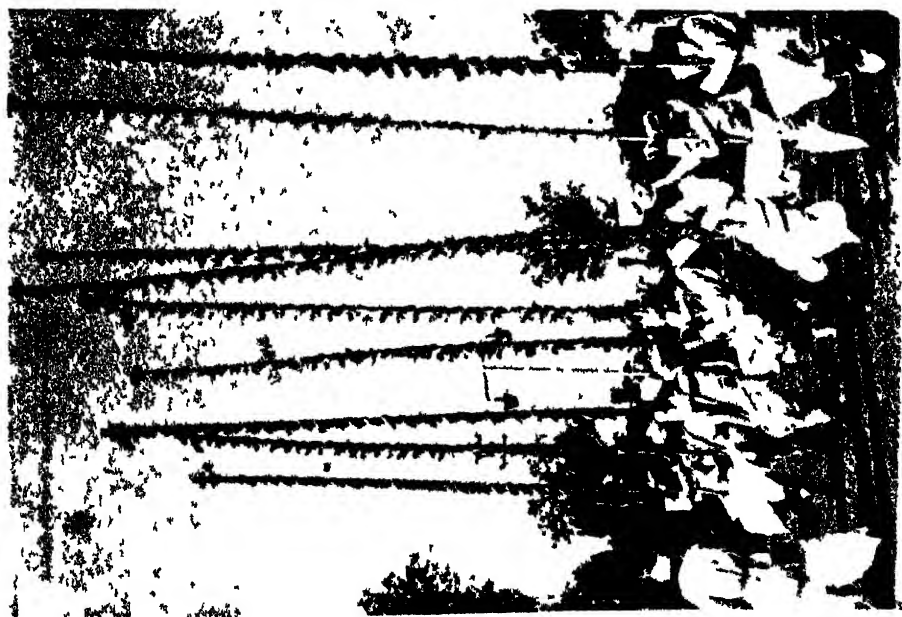
D Bi -1



B Soma Kuntia



C Sūtradagombeyāṭa



A Pata Kuntia

PLATE XXIV



A Yakshagana Bayalaja



B Yakshagana Mudilapāva



C Nilagāru



D Chaudikeyavaru



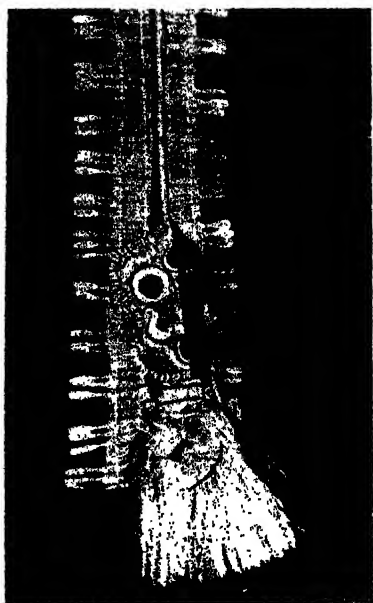
C. Hejavaru



B. Karapalamija



A. Tamburiyavaru



A. Gulikan



B. Vishnumūrti



C. Vēḍan



D. Kozhal, Chappā and Edantala



A Kolattam



B Kāvadi Dance



A. Karagam



B. Puravi-attam

FOLK LITERATURE IN MALAYALAM

CHUMMAR CHOONDAL

ANCIENT KERALA was the proud possessor of a folklore which for richness and variety, was very nearly unparalleled. But literary men did not pay any serious attention to this field which has remained almost unnoticed and ignored so far. This may be the case with almost all Indian languages; but some research scholars are trying to give it its rightful status among the people and their literature. If folklore is treated as a special branch of literature, the analysis of folklore will become a part of literary study. Folkloristics must be distinguished as a special branch of literary study because of the peculiar nature of folklore (oral creation, constant recreation, transmission and collection and analysis of the ever fluid texts).

Folklore is preserved by the non-progressive classes in a progressive society. It represents, in the midst of a civilised race, the primitive ideas out of which civilisation has evolved. Malayalis had their own folk traditions in their beliefs, customs, rituals, arts, songs and other socio-cultural activities. Some are common to the Dravidian groups of languages in which there are proverbs, riddles, fables, narrations and sayings. The literature of Kerala folklore falls into two classes, synthetic works and collection of folklore, of which the latter is more numerous.

Pañchatantra stories have been current among the Indian folk for centuries. The original collection of the stories, in Sanskrit, numbered eighty-four. But in their endless travel through the ages in India and abroad, the stories underwent many changes not only with regard to their form, colour and setting, but even as to their total numerical strength. *Pañchatantra* stories are retold in Malayalam in verse by a great poet Kunjan Nambiar of 18th century. Subsequently the same stories have appeared in prose form. It is very to note the influence of *Pañchatantra* characters in the stories written for children by Mahi, D. B. Kurup, V. Balakrishna etc.

Kathāsaritsāgaram written by Sōmadēva, the great Sanskrit poet, had great influences on the people of Kerala. We are grateful to Kuttippurathu Kittunni Nair who translated all the stories into lucid Malayalam prose and compiled them in two volumes. A number of prose translations came out later in various Indian and foreign languages. P. C. Devassia's translation of *Kathāsaritsāgaram* is a valuable contribution.

King Vikramāditya of Ujjain has an important place in Indian History. Stories of Vikramāditya deal with the expeditions during his long reign in Pāṭaliputra. His generous character influenced his subjects in the olden days. The stories were written in the manner of conversation between the king and his ministers of contemporary great men. The story of Kālidāsa shows his inseparable fraternal link with the king and the latter's encouragement extended to him in the literary field. N. K. Rajan translated the *Vikramādityacharitam* independently. Anyway Malayalis remember those stories very well.

Kottarathil Sankunny was a veteran fabulist in Malayalam, the only man who made original contribution to the language. His major works are on the common fables of Kerala. *Aitiyamālā* (Volumes 1 to 8) contains almost all folk tales, superstitions, beliefs, customs, nick-names, folk arts etc. Popular heroes like Kayamkulam Tacholi Otenan, Kunjali Marakkar, Katamattathu Kathanar, all live through these stories. Nambūdiri satirical stories are abundant. In short, social, cultural, historical, religious and literary atmosphere of ancient Kerala is pictured clearly in the series. It is a golden treasure house of folk literature in Malayalam. After the publication of these works some men of literature have compiled some other folk tales.

Arabi Kathakaḷ (Stories of Arabian Nights) is popular among the Muslims in Kerala. They had their own folk songs, *Bhadarpāṭṭukaḷ* and *Māppilapāṭṭukaḷ*, in a large number. Mahākavi Moinkutty Vaidyar and T. Ubaidu have done remarkable fieldwork for collecting those songs. A special feature is that they are written in a separate dialect known as Arabi-Malayalam.

Regarding the Christian community, after the arrival of foreign missionaries, Syrian Christians adopted some songs and art forms parallel to Hindus, and *Kāraḷ-mān charitam*, the story of the Emperor Charlemagne penetrated into the Christian folklore. They performed socio-religious ceremonies with the help of songs and folk arts. *Marthomanpāṭṭu*, *Kalyāṇapāṭṭu*, *Paḷlipāṭṭu* and other Syrian Christian songs are important among them. The songs described the so called biblical stories and the history of Christianity in Kerala. Streaks of Hindu culture and literature are found in Christian folk culture and literature in a very predominant way. Besides, foreign influence has gone a long way in the development of the language and literature. Dr. Gundert, P. J. Thomas and a good many foreign missionaries as well as native scholars have made creditable contributions in this field.

Proverbs, folk-sayings and riddles play a major role in the folklore of a country. They are perhaps the best expressions of its culture and tradition. They represent the accumulated wisdom and experience of ages and they photograph the 'village wisdom'. They preserve and suggest some of the basic qualities of the old language. From the linguistic point of view, they had great influence in the evolution of language. In the later part of the 19th century European scholars made a critical study of Dravidian languages and realised their importance.

Malayalam proverbs throughout Kerala have remarkable similarity not only in thought but in the mode of expression as well, although there are some local variations and language peculiarities.

Dr. Gundert, P. C. Kartha, Vallomkulath Karunakaran Nair, Velayudhan Panikkassory, Kunjunni and others have collected proverbs and riddles in Malayalam. But the proper study of these has not been made so far.

Kerala's folk culture lives in folk arts folk plays, dances and songs in general. C. P. Govindha Pillai, C. I. Gopala Pillai made a romantic approach to folk songs and they cared only for poetic as well as literary flavour of it. With the publication, in 1938, of Dr. Chelanat Achyutha Menon's *Ballads of North Malabar*,

called *Vaḍakken Pāṭṭukaḷ* under the auspices of the University of Madras, a new interest was created in the study of folk culture of Kerala. A full treatment of the folk culture will include the study of the social and the religious life of Kerala, of the practices and beliefs of the masses, and of their social organisations. The bulk of the old songs are no longer extant, but the few that have survived the centuries tell us much about peasant life, the customs and manners of different communities, of ancient times.

Scholars like Dr. Gundert, Chelangat Achyutha Menon, Kilimanoor Viswambharan, K. P. Karuppan, Appan Thampuran, Vattiyar M. Premanath, G. Sankara Pillai, V. M. Kuttikrishna Menon, A. D. Hari Sarma, G. Bhargavan Pillai, Kanjiramkulam Kochukrishna Nadar, M. C. Appunni Nambiar, Moiyinkutty Vaidyar, Avinissery Nambissan, C. M. S. Chentherara, S. Guptan Nair, Dr. S. K. Nair, Dr. P. J. Thomas, Chummar Choondal and others have collected various kinds of songs and published them. The collections so far made comprise the following categories: (i) Labour songs (ii) Dirges (iii) Lullabies (iv) Religious songs (v) Children's lore (vi) Love songs (vii) Wedding songs (*Kalyāṇa pāṭṭukaḷ*) (viii) Family Life (ix) Social Themes, etc.

Every village in ancient Kerala had its own songs. Different communities which engaged themselves in work and worship, have traditional songs. These are the heartbeats of the life of the Malayalis of those ancient days in a realistic manner, of their rough and ready ways, and of their bold and straight dealings and also indicate a stage in the development of the language.

The songs of the *Cherumas* and *Cherumies* the youths and maidens of castes like Pulaya and Paraya (deemed as the lowest in the social order of Kerala) who toil in the paddy fields—brim with buoyancy—seldom paralleled by the other categories of songs. These songs of immemorial antiquity preserve all the traits of an archaic style and instance adequately the naivete which characterises folk songs in general.

The *Purakkalipūṭu* of Tiyas of North Kerala, and the songs of Pulluvas, Panas, Velas, Kuruvas, Mannans, Chakkilians and Kusavas are very ancient among them. Besides these, a number of folk dances, dramas and other art-forms developed with the help of these songs. Temples were the places for festive gatherings and centres for cultural activities. There would be processions, dancing and drumming, music and piping, drama, *kūṭhu*, *pāṭakam* and sports of various kinds, all of folk origin. The songs that accompany the entertainments and the performances were the outcome of folk literature.

The important festivals of Kerala are the most suitable occasions for these folk songs and dances. *Ōnam* is traditionally associated with the mythical Mahābali who reigned over Kerala in the prehistoric past and who is believed to have been gracious to all people. New forms in folk literature and theatre were probably inaugurated in those periods in Kerala. *Ōnappāṭṭukaḷ* (Songs of *Ōnam*) are very popular in Kerala.

Vaḍakkenpāṭṭukaḷ (Ballads of northern Malabar) is a vast and exhaustive branch of folk literature of Kerala which includes many songs extant today. Heroes like Armol Chevakar, Tacholi Otenan, Aromunni, Thacholi Chandu and Palattu Koman, and heroines like Unniyarcha and Matu are all historical characters who lived in Malabar area. Malabar, of course, possesses many popular songs which exhibit the influence of Sanskrit and the Dravidian Languages. It shows a dialect quite distinct from literary Malayalam and corresponds to the language still spoken by illiterate people. Another group of songs dealing with Kunjali Marakkar and other chieftains of the Zamorins, belongs also to this period.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that there is a sizeable body of folk literature in Malayalam. The unsophisticated folk of Kerala gave expression to their day-to-day life through the folk tales, proverbs, folk sayings etc. long before the advent of *Maṇipravāḷa* school. Folk literature was seldom written down, but transmitted orally from generation to generation.

We have been treating the indigenous folk stories, legends, proverbs and old beliefs, and it is often complained that no regional language of India can claim an indigenous literature of an all-Indian stature. Tamil is perhaps an exception. The advent of Sanskrit study has been, to a great extent, responsible for this as Sanskrit was, for long considered the language of the cultured, and the word itself indicates its meaning. Regional languages were, at best, considered by educated Indians the hand-maids of Sanskrit. Consequently, till late in the 19th century every Indian language had almost the same story to tell regarding its literary growth and development. Even Tamil was not free from the Sanskritic influence during this period.

The above mentioned facts connected with the folklore and literature of Kerala, if properly studied, would work as a redeeming feature for those who feel ashamed of the cultural slavery of our language and literature. The impact of this indigenous literature of Kerala had however its influence on some new branches of our cultural output like *Vaṅchippāṭṭu* (Boat songs), *Thullalpāṭṭu*, *Pana* and such other dominant literary genre which at present is treated as the indigenous literature of Kerala. Another point to be noticed here is that the authenticity of the collected folk songs by the scholars is disputed. Sociological, ethnological, linguistic and historic studies must be encouraged in the scientific manner.

FOLK ARTS OF KERALA

RAGHAVAN PAYYANAD

KERALA IS RICH in folk arts. In almost all aspects especially in language, customs, ceremonies and rituals Keralaites have preserved their tradition, even if there have been some slight changes from time to time. In Kerala, the relation between art and religion, whether it is folk or classic, is important. Without the influence of religion, Kerala did not give birth to any art. Pure folk plays like *kaikottikkali* and *poorakkali* also have been influenced by religion; it is performed around 'a bell metal lamp' after invoking god and the lord Agni and the subject of the song sung is puranic or epic. Ritual is the undercurrent of almost all folk arts of Kerala. All rituals are accompanied with songs which explain the rituals. Modification of folk arts reached an extreme with *Kathakkaḷi* which is purely symbolic. *Kathakkaḷi*, the great and beautiful art of Kerala, is the sophisticated form of *theyyam*, *thirayāṭṭam* and *muḍiyēṭṭu*. The dance in *Kathakkaḷi* is the combination of various types, religious, martial and artistic, prevalent in Malabar from very ancient times. Folk arts of Kerala can be classified as: 1. Musical performances, 2. Graphic arts and plastic arts, 3. Folk dances and 4. Folk plays. Further classification in each category also is possible. *Kūttu*, which is performed in the premises of temples in which the Nambiar tells the *purāṇa* or epic stories and himself acts, has been familiar throughout Kerala. But it is not of the folk. This Nambiar, the authority of the temple, belongs to the upper class.

Single Musical Performances

In single musical performances, a single person sings songs with the accompaniment of certain instruments, stringed or percussion, in a rhythmical tune which he has acquired hereditarily.

Two such traditions are available in Kerala —the *pulluva* and the *pana*.

PULLUVA: The Pulluvas, considered socially backward, earn their livelihood, particularly in the harvest season, carrying their familiar musical instrument named *Pulluva-viṇā*. On the eve of *Ōṇam*, the national festival of Kerala, and *Vishu*, the Malayāḷam New Year day, Pulluvas go from door to door giving musical performances. Sometimes females also participate in the performance with a small percussion instrument called *pulluvakkudum*, by beating which she keeps the rhythm. They sing the stories of *Santānagōpāla*, *Kaṁsavadham*, *Śrīkṛṣṇalīlā*, etc. Their tunes and their songs are very charming and pleasant as all of them are traditional folk tunes endowed with sweet harmony.

Pulluva-viṇā is a simple small stringed instrument made out of a bamboo stick $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 feet long, fitted on one side with half a portion of a cocoanut shell, covered by animal skin. From the other end of the stick to the centre of the cocoanut shell over the stick is tied a brass wire making it a bowl-like instrument. The wire when rubbed gives an enchanting musical tune.

Pulluvakkudum is also a simple folk instrument consisting of a small global shaped clay pot, a piece of string and a stick. The bottom part of the pot is cut in round and is covered by goat skin. The string, one end of which is tied in the centre of the skin, is tied tightly to a stick that is under the feet of the performer. Over that string the performer beats slowly and rhythmically with an instrument called *jheru* and it gives a peculiar sound.

PANA: Panas, nowadays seen throughout Kerala and in Palghat District are believed to be the descendants of the saints Vararuchi and Parayi.

Generally, in the month Karkidaka, the month of famine when there would be heavy rains, or during the *Ōṇam* festival, in the early morning, generally two or three hours before the dawn itself, *pana* and *patti* the wife of *pana* appear before the Hindu households announcing themselves with two or three beats on his *thudi* which is one of the accompaniments for his song. They sing in chorus, using two simple instruments *kinnan* which gives a metallic sound and *kaimani* a jingling sound. According to folk belief their songs ward off Mūsetta (the goddess of dirtiness, ugliness and misfortune) and welcome Mahālakshmi, the goddess of wealth.

Group Musical Performances

Among group musical performances *Ayyappan pāṭṭu*, also known as *Śāstām-pāṭṭu* and *Uḍukkupāṭṭu* is the most familiar.

This is performed by a group of at least five members who are devotees of lord Ayyappa. They wear black *dhoti* and *rudrāksha* necklace and use the instrument *uḍukku* and cymbal. They erect a pandal decorated with tender leaves of cocoanut and put a *pīṭham* (low stool) and a bell metal lamp in the middle. The *Ayyappan pāṭṭu* begins with an invocation to goddess Sarasvatī and god Gaṇapati for removal of obstacles. People irrespective of caste and age participate in the performance.

Kalam Pāṭṭu

Kalam-pāṭṭu is a pure ritualistic performance familiar in North Malabar performed by Kaniyars and Peruvannas. It is known by various names.

Kalamezhuttu pāṭṭu is performed by Kallattakuruppanmar as a ritualistic dance. It is a temple art which has no relation with any ritual.

A *kalam* is drawn with flours of four different colours and the figure of a Bhadrakālī (or Vettakkorumakkān, Ayyappan or Anthimahākālān) in it. A woman who is affected by evil spirit enters the *kalam* accompanied by a married woman. At that time Kaniyars sing a particular song known as *Kalamirakku pāṭṭu*. After some rituals they begin to sing *Badhachalana pāṭṭu* and after that the story of *Balivijayam*, *Kalyāṇa-saugandhikam*, *Naṭacharitham* and last, the songs from *Sanjānagōpāla* and this ritual comes to an end with *Polivu pāṭṭu*.

Small jingling bells, cymbals are the accompaniments of the song and the *nathuni* the stringed instrument is played. The *velichapadu* presents a good rhythmic dancer and he erases all the drawn figures in a systematic manner, one line after another by his dance-nace.

Kanneru Pāṭṭu

Kanneru pāṭṭu is a ritualistic performance or an exorcistic performance to ward off evil eye performed by the Malayas in Cannanore District. The songs are sung by women and instruments (*cheṇḍa*) are played by men. The performance goes on from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M. The stage is the courtyard of the house where they prepare *muthircha* with rice, beaten rice, popcorn and tender cocoanuts. A bell metal lamp is lit by the person who is the victim of the evil eye, and the Malaya women sing the songs by which it is believed that the deities are pleased. According to the rhythm of the song they dab the victim with tunings of plant called *karinichil*. The song comes to an end with the appearance of *thēyyam* called Guḷikan. (Pl. XXVI, A). Now this ritualistic performance is very rare and the art is losing its popularity as people consider it a superstition.

Kurundini Pāṭṭu

Vaṇṇāns are another set of people who perform *thēyyam* dance and engage themselves in a particular ritualistic performance called *Kurundini pāṭṭu* meant for getting children. It is seen only in Cannanore District. A pandal decorated with tender leaves of cocoanut tree, four hanging lamps in four corners and a *nilaviḷakku* within completes the light effect for the stage. The childless woman is seated in the centre of the *nagakkalam* drawn in the middle of the pandal. The performer sings songs dealing with the birth of Garuḍa and the poisoning of the king Parikshit etc., with the accompaniment of only one instrument, *maddala*. At the end of the songs the dancers represent the goddess Kurunthini Kāmadēva, Kanni and Kuthiramelkama in their dance.

Bhagavatipāṭṭu

Performed by a Kuruppanmar in the Brahmin households and temples of Central Kerala once in a year. *Bhagavatipāṭṭu* is a ritualistic art needing at least seven members. It starts with the delineation of the *kalam* of Bhagavati. The singers sit in *pattu kottil* which is the place arranged for the singers. *Cheṇḍa*, *vīṇā* and cymbal are the instruments used in the background.

The stage is decorated with the tender leaves and flowers of cocoanut tree and all round the *kalam* bell metal lamps are lit. Oracle dance is a part of this ritual. The oracle, wearing heavy anklets, belt with tiny bells around the waist, a symbol sword in the hand dances around the *kalam* according to the rhythm of songs and instruments. It lasts for two hours and comes to an end with the speaking of oracle in the name of god.

Villaṭichānpāṭṭu

Villaṭichānpāṭṭu is the only social musical performance familiar in South Kerala. This art is said to have migrated into Kerala. It is a musical performance to the accompaniment of a particular instrument i.e. a bow and some tiny bells. At least seven members are needed for this, each of them representing certain characters in the full makeup, crowns, anklets, costumes etc. The *guru* is in the middle and others

sit on both sides before a long bow. At both ends many tiny bells are fitted. The *guru* keeps a two or three feet long stick and beats on the string of the bow rhythmically according to the tune of the song that he sings and it makes a jingling sound. He just begins the line and the group proceeds. After that all others repeat the same line. They narrate the story in a conversational manner, and the *guru* asks some questions. After the song one of the members gives an answer humourously. The cymbal is a common instrument for this and nowadays they use several new instruments.

GRAPHIC ARTS AND PLASTIC ARTS

Pure folk painting, folk carving etc. are very rare in Kerala. As part of the ritual *kalams* are made before the temples and households. Delineation of *kalams*, something related to 'tantric' cult is seen in one or other form throughout Kerala as a part of ritual. In North Malabar Malayas are experts in this. They are exorcists and *thēyyam* dancers. As seen above *kalams*, have been delineated in musical performances.

Though *raṅgōli* is unusual in Kerala, it is seen on certain occasions. For e.g. in *Ōṇam* the national festival of Kerala, *makam* the day to propitiate Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, *kalams* are drawn with rice-paste both in the middle room of the house and in the courtyard of the house and these are decorated with flowers in different colours.

Mask and face-painting, and crown-making are symbolic representations of certain abstract ideas by means of which the dancer can keep off his identity and the audience is able to impute certain unearthly character to the dancer.

Generally mask is seen in primitive people; in all their rituals some of them disguise themselves or represent themselves as gods by wearing masks. Face-painting might be the later development of wearing masks. In the case of *tirayāṭṭam* face-painting is highly traditional and at the same time in certain respects the artist can make use of his imagination. There are more than 20 varieties of face-paintings, each with its own name, mode of delineation and symbolic representation. For a category of gods or goddesses the same method of face-painting is followed. The face-painting of Bhagavatis or incarnations of Śakti or Pārvati are called *prakkezhuttu* which means 'dove-writing' in which on either cheek of the dancer a dove is drawn. For gods of ferocious nature, the painting called *Kattaram pulli* is used.

All the colours used for face-painting of the *theyyam* dancer are natural. Rice-paste for white, oil lamp charcoal for black, red arsenic for red etc. Red is the important colour used for face-painting. First the dancer burnishes the face with lightly pink colour which serves as a good background for the delineation of lines and figures with other colours. Eyes are drawn in different sizes and shapes for different face-paintings.

Compared to *thira*, *muḍiyēṭṭu* and other folk dances and dramas the face-painting of *theyyam* is very colourful and fantastic. *Muḍiyēṭṭu* also needs an elaborate make-up. For *tirayāṭṭam* mainly white and black colours are used.

Crowns or head gears used in different folk dances and dramas are of different sizes and shapes and the material used for these also vary from one dance or drama to another and there are regional variations also. Important folk dances and folk dramas in which crowns or head gears are used are *thēyyāṭṭam*, *tirayāṭṭam*, *pūtham kāḷi*, *mudiyēṭṭu*, *Arjuna-nṛittam*, *kummatti*, *kothamuriyāṭṭam*, *Garudan thūkkam patayani*, *villaṭichānpāṭṭu* etc. A comparative study of the crowns of folk dances and sophisticated dramas particularly *kathakkaḷi* reveals that *kathakkaḷi*-crowns are later modifications of folk crowns and head gears. But borrowing is not completely one sided. In a few cases borrowing is in reverse direction. For e.g. in *thēyyāṭṭam* the *thēyyam* Vishṇumūrti (Pl. XXVI B), wears a crown which is highly sophisticated and highly colourful, but in all respects resembles the crown of Kṛishṇa in *kathakkaḷi*.

Light wood is carved out in respective shape and decorated with small cuts and after that coloured (mainly red, orange and yellow) foils are pasted on it by means of wax. For glittering look coloured mica sheet is pasted here and there. Sometimes the border of crowns are decorated with garlands of cysanthus flower.

Crowns are rare in number compared with head gears. Head gears are of two kinds. The frames of both are made out of bamboo sticks, one is covered with coloured cloth and the other is with tender leaves of the cocoanut tree which gives a light greenish white colour on which decorations are made by different colours. This gives a pretty look. These head gears are in different shapes, round, 3 to 6 feet in diameter, protruded where it rests on the head, cone-shaped, 6 to 20 feet long mostly used by the *bhagavatis*. The head gears of *mudiyēṭṭu*, *tirayāṭṭam*, *pūtham kāḷi* look more primitive and not so colourful.

FOLK DANCES

One of the characteristics of folk dances of Kerala, in general, is its vigorous nature. In other words, all are *tāṇḍava-pradhāna* and need some physical training. Naturally the accompaniments also must be vigorous. *Chēṇḍa* is the most common percussion instrument used in these folk dances. It comprises a wooden hollow cylinder both sides of which is covered with the skin of goat. This gives a tremendous voice. Cymbal is another instrument which can produce metallic jingling sound. Both these together with other various instruments are capable of creating an unearthly and vigorous atmosphere.

SINGLE RITUALISTIC DANCES

These are performed by a single person to the accompaniment of certain instruments, as a part of any ritual. Being parts of a ritual, we cannot say exactly how much time a particular performance will take. Song is not an important factor, dance strictly following only the rhythm of the instruments particularly the *chēṇḍa*.

Arjuna Nṛittam

Once this ritualistic art form prevailed in all the Bhagavati temples of central

Travancore. Arjuna who was noted for his skill in dance is said to have danced before goddess Bhadrakālī to please that goddess.

The *ezhavas* and *piṅkuruppas* perform this dance which lasts throughout night. The face of the dancer is painted with green and he wears a peculiar crown which resembles the crown used in *Kathakkaḷi*. The body and hands are covered with red shirt-like cloth. Both hands are decked with bangles and jingling bells are worn round the ankles. Garments made of peacock feathers are worn round the waist.

The songs used for these, known as *kavitaṅgaḷ*, are strictly based on *purāṇas*. The dance and song strictly follow some rhythm. Different rhythms, belonging to different groups, are expounded. Each *kavitaṁ* is suited to the particular rhythm which has its own traditional basic laws that would be explained by the performer, before the performance begins. *Chenḍa*, *maddaḷam*, *talachenḍa* and cymbals are the accompaniments used for this dance.

Vēḍan Pāḍal

Vēḍan-pāḍal is one of the ritualistic dances of Cannanore District, especially in the taluks of Cannanore, Taliparamba, and Payyanur. It is performed twice a year, first in the month of Karkidakam (July-August), when people belonging to the Vannan community practise it and later in Chingā (August-September) by the Malaya people. In these periods there would be continuous rain and these people are unable to earn their livelihood. The king of Kolatu-nāḍu appears to have bestowed the right to this dance once a year so that they could earn their livelihood thereby.

The Vēḍan (Pl. XXVIc.) literally a hunter is impersonated by a boy, in his teens, in the striking make-up of a shiny breast plate and a diadem encircling the head, armed with a miniature bow and arrow and accompanied by an attendant usually his father, with a small drum slung on his shoulders. Every household expects his visit. On seeing the Vēḍan the outer verandah of the house is instantly swept clean and he is welcomed with a ceremonial bell-metal lamp well lighted and a measureful of rice. After some ritual the drummer keeps on chanting a song and rhythmically beats the drum. All the while the Vēḍan dances, moving backward and forward.

The Vēḍan of the Vannan represents Mahābali the Pauranic king while the Vēḍan of Malaya represents sometimes Śiva and at other times Pārvati, the song sung explaining the story of Kirātārjuna and Mahābali.

Kuṭṭichāttanāṭṭam

This ritualistic dance performance to please the god Kuṭṭichāttan. prevailing in the Palghat, Malappuram and Trichur Districts is performed by the Mannan caste in Trichur District and Paraya caste elsewhere. Ordinarily it is performed at day time, before noon and occasionally it is performed at dusk too.

The head dress is a peculiar one decorated with a red cloth, fully embeded with chowries and peacock feathers. Dots, lines and marks are drawn on the face and body. *Phōti* and silk cloth are worn around the waist. Different varieties of metal ornaments like ear rings, nose rings and the female breasts are worn on the hands,

breast and on belly. Jinging bells round the waist, flywhisks in both hands and heavy anklets around the ankles are other peculiarities. *Chenda*, heavy brass anklets (*chilambu*) and horn are used as accompaniments.

The dancer also called by the name *kuttichāttan* dances around the idol with ritualistic sword in his hand. Another fellow beats the drum *chenda*, the third one rattles the heavy brass anklets and a fourth person blows the horn. This gives a rhythmic background, against which the dancer presents various dance movements. After that he takes a fowl, and beheading it, drinks its blood and proceeds to make the oracular utterances. After this the beating of drum becomes swift and according to that the dancer jumps up and down and at last he sinks exhausted before the idol and puts an end to the show.

Garudan Tūkam

This is a ritual associated with the goddess Kālī who was fighting with Darika when Garuḍa flew around and viewed the scene. Kālī slew Darika, but her fury did not die out. Without giving ear to the pleadings of Garuḍa for pardon, she turned against him also. She cooled down only after drinking three drops of Garuḍa's blood. In this dance blood is offered in the ritualistic representation of that event. This art form now exists only in certain temples of Kālī. The dancer known as *tūkkakkāran* imitates Garuḍa carrying snakes in the beak and dancing with wings spread in circles in great ecstasy. The hooting and howling of the onlookers combined with the busting of crackers produce the effect of a battle. Finally he climbs upon the *tūkkachatu* which is constructed in the shape of *kūtupura* and offers blood to the goddess. Bell metal lamp is employed for light and the accompaniments are *chenda*, *maddalam*, cymbals, horns etc. This performance lasts till sun-rise.

Thidambu Nṛittam

This is a temple dance prevalent in Cannanore District and some parts of Calicut District. The dancer is a Brahmin. A troop of at least ten members can perform this dance—one dancer, seven instrument players and two persons to carry the lamps. It may be performed both at night and during day time.

The costume includes a *dhōti* with fringes in the waist, a silk upper cloth, ear rings, necklaces, bangles and a peculiar beautiful turban called *ushnīshapīṭam* which carries the effigy of the deity.

Pace is more important. Starting with slow steps and enchanting body movement the troupe goes round the temple in a processional manner. At each round the speed of the rhythm gradually increases and the dance movement also quickens. The dance starts with *uru, al* and the steps are attained to various rhythms like *thakilladi*, *adantha*, *chembada*, *pañchai* etc.

Thiyāṭṭu

This ritualistic art performed by *nambūdiris* and *thiyāṭṭumis* holding a light within one hand and moving it in a manner that the flame touches all parts of the

body, is seen in most of the villages of central Travancore, particularly in Alleppy, Kuttamperūr etc. This performance takes place in the households of *nambūdiris* and the palaces of kings on certain special occasions like birthday celebration. A fruit-bearing plantain tree is planted in the courtyard of the house where the picture of Bhadrakālī is delineated with different coloured powders. The *guru* wears costumes which resemble the costume used in *kathakkaḷi*, a simple waist dress, a crown, a red shirt-like cloth, thick bangles and big jingling anklets. The face is designed with dots.

Another *thīyāṭṭu* common in all shrines of lord Ayyappan and called *kali-thīyāṭṭam* is performed by *thīyāṭṭannis* who belong to the Andarala caste. It is a long ritual which begins in the noon and lasts throughout night. It is not a mere dance, but it reaches the extent of drama, since the dancer acts and uses *mudras* to convey the ideas. And it has a clear story to act, that of Kālī who returns to the abode of Śiva to narrate the events connected with the killing of Darika. She finds Śiva performing *digambara nṛitya*, feels ashamed, waits (with her back to the pivotal lamp) and then herself reports through *mudras* the events.

The dance is performed between 7.30 and 8.30 at night. From noon to dusk there are a series of rituals to pass through like the *Ganapati-pūjā*, delineation of *kalams*, *sandhyā-koṭṭu* (drumming in dusk) and *edirelpu* (reception). The dancer representing Kālī has his face smeared over with charcoal paste over which a mask resembling small pox is made and chrysanthus flowers are pasted on cheeks and foreheads decorated by pasting *thechi* flowers (chrysanthus flowers). The hair is also artificial. The instruments used for this include *vīku cheṇḍa*, cymbals, and *cheṇḡela*

Thēyyam

Thēyyam, the single ritualistic dance that is seen in a vast area from Baḍagara in the south to Kāsaragōḍu in North is in certain respects similar to the *bhūta* cult in South Kanara of Karnataka. This is performed before the *kavu*, the village shrine. The special characteristic of this is that the dancer personifies himself as god by wearing unearthly colourful costumes, make-up and paintings, and the people gathered around pray to him and offer presents to please him. He showers blessings on the mass and supplies *kuri* (sacred powder).

Thēyyam also has celestial costumes and crowns which testify the fondness of Keralaites for red colour. From feet to head *chilambu*, and other anklets made out of flowers and brass, red coloured clothes with separate special fringes for male and female *thēyyams* forming the waist dress, the breast plate called *mārvāṭṭam* for the goddess painting over the body with natural colours (*mykkezhuṭtu*) for the male *thēyyams*, golden coloured thick bangles and bangles of flowers, a neck plate called *kazhuthilkettu* and an ear ornament (*olakkattu*), an artificial ear known as *chennimalar* and a head gear or crown complete the costumes of *thēyyam*. *Thēyyams* that walk, jump or fall in fire use the waist dress called *ota* made out of tender leaves of cocoanut. Crowns are made out of cloth and cocoanut leaves. The height of the crowns made of cocoanut leaves and cloth varies from 2 to 14 metres. Their skeleton

is made out of bamboo sticks and covered with red cloth. They resemble the crowns used in *kathakkaḷi*. Different *thēyyams* carry different weapons in their hands.

The important instrument used for *thēyyam* dance are *cheṇḍa*, *maddalam*, *perumper*, *vīku*, *itakka*, *cheṅgala*, cymbals, and pipes. Of these *cheṇḍa* is the most important. Usually four to five *cheṇḍas* are used for the *thēyyam* dance.

Fire plays an important role in the *thēyyam* dance giving it a horrible look. Certain *thēyyams* bear big naked torches, 4 to 24, on their waist and sometimes they bear many candles on the top of the crown also and small torches in hands at the time of dancing.

Thirayāṭṭam

Thirayāṭṭam is a ritualistic dance parallel of *thēyyāṭṭam*, but more heroic. The dance is only a means to appease the respective god. He only dances; he does not give blessings to the onlooker. The costumes, crowns and make-up are also not so elaborate. For face-painting the important colours used are black and white. Instruments used for this dance are *cheṇḍa*, *udukku*, *vīku cheṇḍa*, cymbals and pipes. This is conducted before the village shrines, in the courtyards, especially in the shrines of *thīyya* or *ezhava* community, where the dance is performed by Vannans. Torches of dried cocoanut leaves fulfil the needs of the stage lightings.

Pūtham Kāḷi

This is a single ritualistic dance form, performed by Vannans, the washermen. Ordinarily it is performed during day time in the Bhagavati temples, as an offering. The period from the month of Makara to Meda (roughly January to April) is the season of this dance. For this dance, the dancer has to undergo austerity for seven days.

At least three persons are needed to present this dance. *Thudi* is the instrument used to produce rhythmical sound on which the movement of the dancer is controlled. It starts in a low rhythm and gradually gets quick and at last reaches its peak within a quarter of an hour. The costumes and make-up are not so elaborate. Jingling anklets around the ankles and tightly worn sash round the waist form the costume. Masks made out of soft wood like *pala* and *muruku* are painted round headgear are worn.

COMMUNAL RITUALISTIC DANCES

Almost all of the communal ritualistic dances of Kerala are somehow or other a means of appeasing a god or a goddess and they are performed before the village shrines. Another feature is that most of them are dances in circles. The dancers stand in a circle and move left and right or inwards and outwards. The costumes, decoration and make-up are not so elaborate. In certain cases the dancers wear only simple costumes and do not wear shirts. There may be a group leader considered as *guru* to control and direct. He has the right to perform rituals. Bell metal lamp

has ritualistic importance in Kerala and in all ritualistic dances it plays an important role.

Ēzhuvāṭṭam Kāḷi

It is a simple communal dance performed by the Pana community. No special make-up or costume is there. The dancers, after bathing, put a mark on their forehead and a towel round their waist. They cannot use shirts. On certain occasions ladies also join the dance. A troupe of ten members or at least seven members presents this dance which is a means to appease the goddess Kāḷi. They stand around the lighted lamp and sing in praise of the goddess and then dance, moving clockwise and anticlockwise, forward and backward. This dance has seven steps, in each step the rhythm and the mode of dance changes and hence it is called *Ēzhuvāṭṭam Kāḷi*.

Aivar Kāḷi

This ritualistic dance is also known as *Pāṇḍavar Kāḷi*. It has a mythical origin. When Karṇa, one of the great devotees of Kāḷi, was felled in the battle, Kāḷi became furious and decided to annihilate the Pāṇḍavas. Lord Kṛṣṇa who noticed this asked the Pāṇḍavas to propitiate the goddess through dance which they did. A pandal in the courtyard of the temple decorated with tender leaves of cocoanut tree and a big bell metal lamp with five or seven wicks in the middle completes the stage arrangement. Cymbals and *pondi* (a short stick with small bangles, fixed loose so as to make jingling voice) are the only instruments used.

Costumes and make-up are very simple. A *dhōti* is worn and another used as a turban. Each of them carries a *pondi*. All of them stand round the lamp and bow to the lamp. The *kaliyachan* (guru or leader) sings the song and the dancer dances with special paces. The song of *kaliyachan* is repeated by the performers and again they dance making jingling sound and to the accompaniments of cymbals. Ordinarily the performance begins by nine o'clock at night and proceeds up to the morning.

Karatiyāṭṭam

Ten or thirteen members, both men and women, together stand around a bonfire and sing and dance with well defined steps. Again and again they sing rhythmically *Elele Karati Elele*. Instruments like *para* (*maddalam*), *thakil* and *kuzhal* (flute) are employed as accompaniments.

Kannyar Kāḷi

A ritualistic dance, *Kannyar Kāḷi*, popular in the Palghat District and its contiguous area is performed by a *nāyar* in the temples. All folk dances have the fault of repetition in movement and paces only four or five different paces completing a dance. If continued throughout the night spectators feel bored. Hence an entertaining part, *Porattukāḷi*, also is included in the ritual. The ritual dance in *Kannyar Kāḷi* is called *Vattakkāḷi* and is followed by *Porattukāḷi* as an entertainment.

For *Vattakkālī* the dancers smear sandal paste on their body, wear a handloom cloth and a turban with cloth which has golden lace decoration. Dancers, from 8, 10, 12 to 20 in number, sing in praise of gods and dance, according to the rhythm of the song and the instruments, the *chenda*, *maddalam*, *idaykka*, *utukku*, cymbals, *cheṅgala*, *kuram*, *kuzhal* (Pl XXVI, D) etc. They make rhythmic paces, bow down and leap up as they go through it. *Vattakkālī* is followed by *Porattukālī* which is purely an entertainment in which characters representing *cherumars*, *malayars*, *chakkaliars*, *pandarammars* appear in their own costumes.

Important female characters like *mannathi*, *kurathi*, *thotichi*, and *cherumi*, also appear on the stage. *Porattukālī* is followed by another *Vattakkālī*, and likewise it continues upto the morning.

Kōvil Nṛittam

This is a ritualistic dance in vogue among the *pulaya* tribe of Quilon District specifically. It is purely a temple dance, performed to appease god Karpasvāmi in the courtyard of the temples of Śiva or Karpasvāmi. It is a dance of well defined steps and rhythmic movements. Both female and male participate in this dance. Females wear ordinary but purely white costumes, while men in loin clothes crudely worn wear red silk on their chest. Their faces are smeared with powdered charcoal made of rice husk. When the dance reaches its climax Karpasvāmi with candles on his head and hands, comes to the middle of the dancers and he also begins to dance.

Patyāni

This is a ritualistic dance believed to be the ritualistic representation of the victory procession of Kālī and other gods after killing demon Darika. It takes place in the premises of temples where the audience sits. Originally, only torches made out of dried coconut leaves were used for lighting. In thick darkness in particular, the procession carrying torches would give wonderful look. Masks and head gears are made out of the spathe of arecanut palm on which fantastic paintings are done using natural paints. In certain case they build enormously big head gears using 501 to 1001 spathes which gives them a grand and splendid look. To the accompaniment of *thappu* and the tune of the song all characters, known as *kolam*, dance together, carrying head gears and wearing mask. Occasionally together with dance some scenes from *Kakkarissi Nātaka* also are presented in which the characters from different social strata and occasionally humorous characters also appear and involve in vulgar conversations. At least twelve characters may be present for the performance.

Pakkanar Thullal

Pakkanar thullal is a ritual performed by Sambava community of Alleppey and Quilon Districts to ward off evil eye.

It is a ritual related to the mythical character Pakkanar, who is believed to have gone to heaven and once in a year would come back to Kerala and visits all Hindu

households. The dancer personifying this man is dressed up with elaborate make-up and costumes. He carries head gears made out of reeds in conical shape on which terrifying designs and figures are drawn and holds a stick called *panankōl*. Another character Pakkatiyar, represents the wife of Pakkanar. Only males participate in this. At least six members are in the troupe, four instrumentalists and two dancers. To remove the evil eye and other evil forces they visit all Hindu houses and present terrifying dances. *Maddalam*, *udukku*, *kaithalam* and *kinnam* are the instruments used in this.

COMMUNAL SOCIAL DANCES

Most of the communal social dances of Kerala have also a ritualistic flavour. *Kaikotikali*, *pūrakkali*, *kolkali*, *kottamūriyāṭṭam* etc. are purely social dance forms which have some ritualistic aspects. *Pūrakkali* is nothing but a social dance of men in good physique and it gives a muscular exercise. But, now it is connected with village shrines and certain mythical stories.

Oppana

This is a social dance among Muslims of Kerala, especially in Cannanore, Calicut and Malappuram Districts. It is better to consider it as a marriage dance. Males and females perform this dance separately on the occasion of marriage.

On the eve of the marriage the bride is seated on a stool and all other women dance round her with the clapping of hands and singing songs. Harmonium, *tabala*, *Kaṇḍira* and cymbals are the instruments employed. Two or three members sing songs and others repeat it and move round the bride with measured steps. Similarly when the bridegroom leaves for the bride's house, or while he enters the bride's chamber men around him begin to sing and dance. A vast literature, known as *māppīḷaippāṭṭu*, in special folk metres and in different tunes and rhythms, is available in Kerala and most of them are sung during the marriage ceremony.

Kummatti

Though it is performed in the temples on the occasion of festivals as a means to appease god, it is considered only as a social dance. In some areas it is restricted to certain castes.

A troupe consisting of eight or ten members in *kummatti* costumes and five or six other characters perform this dance. Costumes and make-up of *kummatti* are very simple and look very primitive. The group leader is a *thallakummatti* who wears the costume of an old woman, through a comparatively big mask of an old woman, without having any teeth. The hair is tied on this in a peculiar manner. He carries a stick called *kumonattikōl*. Other characters wear masks made out of spathe of arecanut palm on which fantastic drawings are painted and their bodies are covered with dried grass or dried plantain leaves. Some of them use charcoal paste to smear over the entire body.

Two instruments, a small drum and a *villu* of Palmyra palm stem shaped as a bow with a bamboo silver as bow string are employed. Though characters like Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇapati and Darikan, who wear their own masks are present, they never participate in dance, but stand nearby as spectators.

Kolkali

Kolkali, known throughout Kerala in different other names *kolukali*, *koladir*, *vettumthada* etc. is a martial dance. No strict rule prevails about the dress of the participants of the dance, but there is uniformity in dress. In some parts participants use red kerchief to cover the head, wear a *dhōṭi* and some coloured cloth around the waist. In some other places particularly Muslims wear a coloured loin cloth, a *baniyan* and a coloured cloth round the head. In some cases heavy resonant anklets are also used. Ordinarily the leader uses cymbals by which he can control the whole dance movements and paces. Firstly, they sing some songs propitiating Gaṇapati or Sarasvati. After that, according to the rhythm of the song they move clockwise and anti-clockwise, at the same time, warding off blows with sticks in both hands and blow on the sticks of persons nearby. Movements inward and outward with measured steps and dancing to the timing rhythm give a charming look. Important rhythmic steps are *thaduthukali*, *irunnukali*, *talakali*, *thaduthu thattikōl*, *orumanimuttu*, *chavittu chuttal*, *churañju chuttal* and *chintu*. Each step takes five or eight minutes. The instruments employed are tambourine, small cymbals and a small drum called *cherucheṇḍa*. Variation in steps and movements are common.

Kothamūriyāṭṭam

In summer season, after harvest, a dance called *kothamūriyāṭṭam* is performed by a *malayāḷan* who is the professional devil dancer. The central figure of the group of players is a boy in a girl's makeup and enclosed within the frame of a cow made up of bamboo sticks and red clothes complete with head and tail. He wears a small crown in glazing red and yellow colours and his face is painted with natural colours. Two other men known as *paniyans* with grotesque masks, with their body besmeared with ash, and tender cocoanut leaves forming the waist dress, accompany him, along with two ladies who complete the troupe.

Chozhikali

This dance shows the fantastic imagination of folk about Kālan (god of death) and Chitraguptan (the Justice in the court of Kālan). They are in black dress and in masks on which terrifying face with larges canine teeth are drawn. Another interesting character is an old woman, with a sling on her back, a cloth tied round on her head, walking slowly with the help of a stick. She enters last and sings interesting songs. More than twenty children covering their body with dried plantain leaves and with two horns on the two sides of their foreheads, described as *Chozhikal* are the main factors in this dance. Their leader stands in the middle while they sit in a circle. The leader sings some songs to the accompaniment of instruments and

the *chozhis* repeat the same and they begin to dance. In the meantime Kālan and Chitraguptan enter with terrifying shouts and create horror. After a little while Muttiyamma, an old woman, enters. Then they dance and visit all houses in the night itself and before the dawn they reach back the place from where they started. This social entertainment is seen only in Central Kerala, especially in Trichur District and is performed by only two communities, *nāyars* and *kumbāras* (potters).

Thappumēḷam

Also called *chatikoṭṭu*, it is a pure social dance, performed by *vettuvar*, *ezhavar*, *parayar* and *cherunakkaḷ* of parts of Malappuram District. This resembles the *chitmēḷa* of Karnataka, but the participants are in ordinary dress, i.e. *dhōti*, baniyan and a turban. They stand in a circle with instruments, *cheṇḍa* and *thappu*. They use a small and light but thick stick for the beating of *thappu*. When it reaches a rhythmic stage, only those people who use *thappu* begin to dance with certain traditional steps. For this *cheṇḍa* and *thappu* are used in a ratio of 3:1 and generally at least twelve *cheṇḍas* and four *thappus* are used. This dance lasts half an hour.

Thalam Kali

This resembles Tamilnadu's *kavatiyāṭṭam* and *karayāṭṭam* in which the dancer presents wonderful skill in controlling the movements of *kavati* or pots. Originally it was performed by the *thiyya*, but now *āsāri* (carpenters), *kolla* (blacksmiths) and *kurups* also present such a dance.

Participants, at least eight in number, wearing only a *dhōti* appear on the stage. Songs accompany the dance. The dancers stand in a circle with brass plates called *thalam* in both palms and twist and turn together with dance steps and various gestures. Strange by in spite of swift movements and twistings of the body the plates never move in the palm. Sometimes they carry a pot, full of water on the heads, besides plates in the palm.

Thiruvathirakali (Kaikottikali)

This has a religious and ritualistic outlook and irrespective of castes, womenfolk conduct this dance throughout Kerala on the day of *thiruvāthira*, the birthday of Śiva.

It is a fertility rite, performed under one name or another as a part of *Vasantōtsava*. This festival starts with the day *aswathi* and proceeds till *thiruvathira*. Before dawn the maidens take their ritualistic bath in the nearest tank or river where they sing in praise of Kāmadēva. This ritualistic bath is called *thudiyum kuliyum*. Afterwards they assemble in a house and swing. The *kaikottikali* comes as a culmination when the maidens and the newly wed women of every village assemble at a particular place to perform the dance. The nightlong dance ends with the rite *pathirapūchūḍal*. (adorning with the midnight flower). The *adakkamāyiam* shrub (*spacoranthus India*) is the flower usually worn on this occasion for collecting which the ladies go to far off fields with lighted lamps and spout vessels with the accompaniment of songs.

The songs generally sung on the occasion are related to the exploit of Kāmadēva or the marriage of the mythical figures like Sītā, Sāvitri, Rukmiṇi etc.

Though there are only few paces and rhythms in this dance, by the distribution of these different paces and body movements they are able to present a lovely performance.

Dappamuttikkali

Known also as *opprathib*, *dap kavatha* and *dappukali* this is a round dance seen only among Muslims. Though it is believed to have originated in Arabia it has spread in Kerala only after Muslims settled here. Songs, composed in a particular tune called *māppilapāṭu rīti* is sung by all those who are able to sing and dance. According to the rhythm of the song they beat on the *dappu* and take stylised steps. Movements forward and backward and left and right are allowed. One play lasts for half an hour and the dance may continue for hours. *Dappu* is a small simple percussion instrument carved out of wood in a cylindrical shape one side of the cylinder being tightly covered with goat skin. It is held in the left hand and beating is with the fingers of the right hand.

Paniyarkali

The Paniyars, a tribe of Gudallur taluk of Wynad, perform a dance called, *paniyarkali* on the occasion of marriage and other festivals. It has no ritualistic background. Males and females gather and dance separately. Only two instruments, that is two *thuḍi* and one horn, are the accompaniments. The dance continue for hours till morning.

According to the rhythm of *thuḍi* and the tune of horns they first stand on toes, shake the whole body and turn round and at the same time bow down and make some gestures. All the participants do this uniformly and cry *ohy-ohy* as an accompaniment to the dance. In the case of females, the dance is comparatively mild. They raise their left and right hands alternatively to the foreheads and turn round themselves slowly.

Parichamuttukali and Parichakali

Parichamuttukali, which can be considered a martial dance, is familiar in the Districts of Palghat, Malappuram, Ernakulam and also in the Kottayam District where it is performed by Christians.

Participants, 10 to 16 in number, in white *dhōtis* and a red silk cloth around the waist, holding a sword and shield in their hand, stand around the *guru* called *Asan*. He tinkles *kaimani* (a small cymbal) and sings songs which the dancers repeat and rhythmically put stylised steps and dance. It may continue for five to six hours.

Parichakali is a variation performed by Harijans generally seen in Alleppy District. Dancers ten or more in numbers, wear *kācha*, the traditional cloth of warriors tied tightly around the waist, wear a red cloth on their heads and put on anklets. Three or four instrumentalists beat the *chenda*.

Pūrakali

Pūrakali, is admittedly the most important of folk plays and is performed generally by the men of *thiyya* community. Ten to twenty persons participate in this which consists of a series of dances of a vigorous character, played to the songs, specially composed for the purpose. Training of the dance starts one month before *pūram* festival. The dance begins with prayer to Viṣṇu and other gods. Dancers keep pace, clap and make some gestures to the rhythm of song. They move round the lamp, first three steps forward and little bowing and two steps backward. There are eighteen kinds of steps, changing one after the other. The themes of the *pūrakali* song are selected from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*.

Mārgamkali

It is a round dance performed without the accompaniment of any instruments by the Christians especially of Central Kerala.

As in other communal folk dances, there is a group leader, *kaliyaṣan*. Twelve members stand around the lamp in which eleven wicks are put. Lamp is the representation of Christ and the twelve dancers represent the twelve disciples of Christ. All these dancers fix tail feathers of peacock on their head and wear a *dhōṭi*. It combines the characteristics of the *pūrakali*, and the *parichamuttukali*.

Mudiyāṭṭam

Another dance of female folk of *sambavas* and *pulayas* is *mudiyāṭṭam*. It is purely a social dance and meant only for amusement. This dance is the rhythmic movement not of the body, but of the head and by that the swinging of hair in various directions. *Thudi*, *udukku* and *maddalam* give rhythm. Only those who have a long hair in abundance will participate in this. Generally twelve young women stand in a line, rest their hands on the hips bow forward and swing their loosened hair in many patterns according to the rhythm of the instruments and the song is sung by instrumentalists standing behind the dancing women.

TAMIL FOLK BALLADS WITH SOCIAL THEMES

N. VANAMAMALAI

FOLK BALLADS form the largest bulk of folk literature in Tamil language. Hundreds of folk ballads are available in badly printed book form or on palm-leaf manuscripts. Though a few old ballads have gone out of currency among the folks, a very large number of them are still in circulation. Ballads still survive in the form of *kūttu* (folk plays), *kummi* (chorus song and dance), *lāvaṇi* (musical dialogue) and *pāvai kūttu* (puppet show) of various kinds.

The ballads can be thematically classified into four types: 1. Mythical ballads, dealing with the origin of gods, goddesses, rivers, customs, caste groups, temples and dynasties; 2. Epic ballads, wherein a narrative or play from the epic *Mahābhārata* or *Purāṇa* is chosen as the nucleus out of which a prodigious outgrowth of folk milieu is allowed to cover. The character of the folk heroes and heroines is superimposed upon those of epic heroes and heroines. A complete transformation of the content results from the folk treatment of the epic nucleus. 3. Historical ballads,¹ based on historical facts, but with a folk outlook on incidents and characters. Artistic narration, characterisation, ethical values and message became more prominent than accurate recording of historical facts. 4. Novel ballads with social themes, the oft recurring themes in such ballads being social conflicts such as caste oppression, conflicts in joint-family system, position of women in patrilinear families, frustration of love between boy and girl belonging to different castes, lives of robbers, dacoits and social rebels, stories of honest youth sacrificing lives to save the honour of women, protect cattle etc.

The most popular type of theme treated by the social ballad is intercaste love and marriage and its tragic consequences: e.g. 1) *Muttuppattan kathai*, *Madurai-vīraṇ kathai* and *Chinnanāḍuṇ kathai*; 2) caste oppression and injustice perpetrated by persons of higher castes on the people of the lowest caste: e.g. *Chinnatambi kathai* and *Kāthavarayan kathai*; 3) The clashes between the matrilinear and patrilinear groups when the former seek matrimonial alliance with the latter: e.g. *Veṅ-galarāyan kathai*; 4) Denial of property rights to women and its consequences: e.g. *Nallataṅgaḷ kathai*; 5) Humanism transcending religious and caste barriers; 6) Madaswamy worship.² Souls of persons murdered by high caste persons with the motive of theft, denying persons position of honour or power to persons of low caste, are worshipped by the descendants of the murderers.

Let us now examine the themes of the six types of ballads mentioned above.

Most typical of the first type of ballads is the story of Muttuppattan.³ Muttuppattan, a Brahmin youth, after a quarrel with his father and brothers left home and took service under Rāmarāja of Kottarakara, rose to high position and grew prosperous. His prosperity made his brothers persuade him to return home with all his possessions. But on the way he met two Chakkiliya girls (a low caste, speaking

Telugu) and fell in love with them. He stayed back with determination to seek marriage with them. He sought out Valappagadai the father of the two girls and made him to accept him as his son-in-law, on condition that he renounce the marks of his high caste (the holy thread) and accept the profession and way of life of the Chakkiliya caste. In course of time Pattan is chosen as the chief of the tribe guarding the mountain roads leading to Kerala affording protection to the trade between Tamilnadu and Kerala. Thwarted in their attempt to rob the merchants passing along these roads the robbers of the Vannya caste wreak vengeance on Pattan. They drive away the cattle entrusted to his care by the people of neighbouring villages. He is killed in the attempt to wrest the cattle from them. His wives commit *sati*.

This ballad is current in the Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari Districts of Tamilnadu. It is narrated to the accompaniment of *Villu pāṭṭu* (bow song). There is a shrine dedicated to Muttuppattan and his wives attached as an auxiliary temple to the Shasta's temple near the Papanasam dam known as Chori Muthu Ayyan temple. There is also an inscription dated 1630. All these point to the historicity of the main incident of the ballad.

Another ballad of the first type is the *Maduraivīran kathai*, a story well known all over Tamilnadu. The locale of the incident is the modern District of Madurai. All the incidents of the story refer to the period of Tirumalanāyaka, the Nāyaka of Madurai. The ballad is at least three hundred and fifty years old.

There is a small niche dedicated to the hero and the heroine of this ballad at the western entrance near the base of the west tower of the Mīnākshi temple in Madurai. This niche is as old as the main structure of the west tower. This confirms the date of the death of Maduraivīran.

The story of Chinnanādan⁴ has for its theme the conflict between the rule of right of inheritance and intercaste love. Chinnanādan, otherwise known as Kumāraswāmi was the sole heir to the properties of his father and his four uncles. He had an only aunt whose daughter was married to him when she was two years old and he was eighteen. He fell in love with a girl named Ayyamkuṭṭi belonging to the barber caste. His father and his uncles winked at this illicit relation since concubinage was considered to be a relation that did not affect the rights of sons born to legally married wife of the same caste. But trouble arose when Anañchi, the child wife of Chinnanādan attained puberty. His father and uncles asked him to return to the parental home and live a conjugal life with his wife. But the son refused to recognise Anañchi as his wife and declared that he would live for ever with Ayyamkuṭṭi and her children. His father and uncles threatened in vain to disinherit him. The zamindar of Nattatti, their overlord, was not inclined to interfere in their family dispute. Thereafter they went to Chinnanādan's house and one of the uncles dressed himself as a woman and pretending to meet Ayyamkuṭṭi inside the house, entered the house and managed to push out suddenly and forcibly Chinnanādan who fell down face forward. Immediately, his father and uncles fell upon him, killed him and severed his head. They believed that they had saved their caste and their family prestige. Both Ayyamkuṭṭi and Anañchi committed *sati*.

There are five temples dedicated to Chinnanādan and his two wives near the town of Eral in Tirunelveli District. The ballad telling this story is recited in the temples for ten days when an annual festival is held in these temples.

The story of Chinnanādan is rather unique in all folk literature in Tamil, since therein the landlords tolerated concubinage and illicit love so long as it did not run counter to the rights of the wedded wife and the right of patrilinear inheritance. When the son rebels against the law that the son who inherits property must be born of a wife of the same caste, the elders do not hesitate even to kill him.

In all these three ballads, the heroes and heroines of the stories who dared to revolt against caste rules of love and marriage meet with death. Preservation of feudal society by enforcing caste rules of marriage was more important to the land-owning class than the emotion of love and its satisfaction. Those whose actions would upset the basis of feudal land ownership were ruthlessly punished even if they happened to be sons or daughters.

Though the heroes of these ballads were killed to preserve caste and feudal ownership, soon after their death, they won the admiration of the masses. They were deified and worshipped. Ballads were composed and sung to commemorate the great sacrifice they made at the altar of love and heroism.

The message of revolt against social barriers obstructing humanism and love strikes fear in the minds of fanatics who desire to conserve caste structure. They attempt to change the theme of the ballads by whitting down the spirit of revolt. Thus they put into currency certain versions of the ballad of Muttuppattan in which the heroines become illegitimate children of a Brahmin woman. The theme of the ballad of Kāthavarāyan was also tampered with, introducing a curse by which Kāthavarāyan, a god, would descend from heaven and be born as a Chakkili to marry four goddesses who would be born in different castes. But these fake ballads were rejected by the folks and soon they disappeared from circulation and currency. The true folk ballads reflecting the values of the folks still continue to be current among them.

The message of all the ballads of this type is a plea for humanism. The ballads with its plea for noble humanism has withstood all attempts of attack and diversion.

Chinnatambi kathai is an illustration of the second type of social ballad describing the cruel suppression of talented youth of the lowest caste when they could not be denied recognition and high status in society by dint of their service to it.

A ruler of a small province successfully makes use of the talents of Chinnatambi, a Chakkili youth to clear the mountain slopes of wild animals that destroyed the crops on the plains at the foot of the hills, a task which the youth of the higher castes have failed to achieve. His fame spreads and at the instance of the peasants the youth is appointed as the captain of the ruler's fort in the capital, after relieving the erstwhile captain who was a leader of the Maravar caste and had inherited the post as a hereditary privilege. The Maravars feel insulted and nurse the grievance and wait to seek revenge. The ruler realises that these may ultimately endanger his own power. Just then the ruler's brother-in-law sends a message to send Chinna-

tambi to be sacrificed to a *bhūtam* guarding a treasure chest buried underground which would thereupon allow the sacrificer to dig up the treasure. The ruler sends Chinnatambi to be sacrificed, without the boy knowing why he was being sent to the ruler's sister's house. There he was sacrificed. Chinnatambi's soul becomes a revenge-seeking ghost and kills all those who had a part in the conspiracy to kill him.

Such ballads are current in Tirunelveli District. The main elements of the theme are identical in most ballads.

The third type of ballads deals with clashes between groups following different rules of inheritance of property. These ballads had their origin and currency in Kanyakumari District where *nāyars* the ruling chiefs and *nāḍārs* of the cultivating class live in the same village. The former follow the matrilinear form of inheritance while the *nāḍārs* are patrilinear. *Veṅgalarāyan kathai* may be cited as illustrations of this type.

Veṅgalarāyan kathai describes the immigration of a *nāḍār* chieftain from Chōḷa country to Muttam, a place near Kanyākumārī and his settling there with his followers establishing a settlement. His two daughters go on a pilgrimage to a town on the occasion of the car festival despite the advice of their father against it. Rāmavarma, the Rāja of Padmanābhapuram sees them and desires to marry the elder girl. He sends envoys to Veṅgalarāyan seeking marriage with his elder daughter. Veṅgalarāyan refuses to accept the offer. The Rāja surrounds the fort of Muttam with his army and demands the daughter to be sent to him. The daughter confesses to her father, how the king had seen her when she had visited Parakkai on the occasion of the car festival unknown to her father. She does not want to be responsible for the destruction of the fort and the death of thousands of her kinsmen. She requests her father to cut off her head and throw it outside the fort walls towards the king. The father does so. The Rāja picks up the head and gives it an honourable cremation. The fort and the people were saved.

The reason for the refusal of consent for the marriage is not far to seek. *Nāyars* are matrilineal and the *nāḍārs* patrilineal. If a *nāyar* man married a *nāḍār* woman, her children would not inherit the title and properties of her husband. She will have only the status of a concubine and the children would be illegitimate. The children would also lose the right to claim the properties of their mother's father since their mother had married out of their caste.

Recently I have come across stories of this type in Tirunelveli, North Arcot and Madurai Districts. All the caste groups in these districts being patrilinear, the clashes arise between groups belonging to different castes and religions and not to difference in forms of inheritance.

There is the story of Pūvāyi,⁶ a Yādava girl whom a Muslim chieftain wanted to marry. The Yādava leaders were invited to a feast in which the Muslim chieftain made the proposal. The Yādavas pretended to agree to his proposal and left. Then they sent word to the Muslim chief that they would not accept his proposal. They crossed a river and arrived in their village. The Muslim chieftain started with his

troops to capture the girl. But he was delayed because of flood. By the time he arrived in their village the Yādavas had sacrificed the girl to their goddess.

A few stories of this type current in the northern districts have for their heroes Muslim Nawabs or Muslim Maliks. Other stories of the types current in the southern districts have, for their heroes, men of lower castes who had risen to power desiring marriage with girls of higher caste.

The ballad of Nallataṅgaḷ⁷ is an illustration for the fourth type of ballads.

Nallaṅṇan and Nallataṅgaḷ were brother and sister living near modern Khansapuram in the Ramanathapuram District of Tamilnadu. They belonged to a prosperous family. At the age of sixteen the sister was given in marriage to a young and wealthy farmer in a distant village. She bore seven children. Then there was a draught for many years in her village, forcing her husband to go in search of work. Unable to feed her children during the absence of her husband, she went to her parental home with the intention of staying there till her husband would return home with a few bags of grains. Her brother was away from home by then and her sister-in-law treated her as an unwanted guest. Disappointed in her expectation and broken hearted at the cruel taunts of her sister-in-law she left after a few hours. She then realised that though she had contributed her labour for many years to increase the wealth of that family, she had no right to even a moiety of that property because after marriage she had become an utter stranger to her own paternal family. The strange woman who had become the wife of her brother had all rights since her children would be heirs to that property. She left home in utter desperation and threw her children into a well and herself plunged into it after them. The brother was too late in returning home and after a search found her and the children dead. Having learned of his wife's behaviour he took revenge on her and her parents by means of a stratagem and finally killed himself.

The locale of these incidents is believed to be Khansapuram near Watrap in Srivilliputtur taluk of Ramanathapuram District. There is a folk tradition in that village that Nallataṅgaḷ was born there. Near Khansapuram there is a monument to Nallataṅgaḷ. It is a mound on which there is a tall blank stone surrounded by seven small stones. The folks believe that these stones represent Nallataṅgaḷ and her children. Near the mound there is an unused well which the folks believe to be the one into which Nallataṅgaḷ threw the children and herself.

A similar domestic problem treated in the ballads of this type has come to my knowledge only recently. These ballads are short and simple stories current in Gothangarai and Singarapettai regions of Dharmapuri District⁸ and in the western region of Salem District.

Two brothers live together in complete amity and work in the same field. The elder is married and has a child. One day the younger brother went home to fetch food and found his sister-in-law engaged in work. After finishing her work and suckling her child, she feeds the younger brother and sends him to the field with food for her husband. The elder brother is worried why his younger brother takes such a long time to return. He suspected his brother of illicit intimacy with his wife. His

mind poisoned with suspicion, when his brother returns, without warning, he kills him with the sickle. Peasants working in the nearby fields bring news of the murder to the wife. She goes in search of her husband waiting at the death of the good and innocent boy who was killed by her husband for no fault of his. She is also hurt angry because her husband had killed his brother out of his suspicion about her disloyalty to him. She sets fire to herself and dies.

There is a similar story current in the region of Arur in Dharmapuri District in which there is inversion of the characters of the wife and brother-in-law. The straining of domestic relations and actions arising out of it form the theme of this type of ballads. If efforts are taken by scholars, hundreds of examples for this type of ballad may be collected and studied. Variations in the type may also come to light.

Ballads of sublime humanism unconnected with love or personal attachment born out of sheer sympathy for the suffering is indeed very rare. At least one ballad, the *Kouthalamadan kathai*,⁹ can be cited as illustration to such a type. It is a story of sublime humanism that transcends barriers of caste and religious differences.

A Chakkili girl Pūvayi went every day to a town to sell curds and ghee to her customers. A rowdy belonging to the Maravar higher caste crossed her path every day with evil intention. She informed a Muslim youth (*Puttanniannan*-Muslim brother) about her trouble and expressed her fear that on that day too he might be in wait for her. The 'Muslim brother' promised to accompany her. The rowdy approached them and attempted to molest her. The Muslim brother warned him but in vain. The rake attacked him with a knife. The Muslim brother defended himself. Both were killed in the fight. Pūvayi was distressed to see that the man had risked his life to save her from insult. She cursed the gods and killed herself. All the three have been deified, the two men as Kouthala Madans and the girl as Pūvayi Amman.

Except the story of Nallatāṅgai which is known to the people of Tamilnadu as a whole, the other stories are known only to the people living around the place where the incidents of the stories are believed to have taken place. The *Muttupattan kathai* has spread throughout Tirunelveli District and a part of Kanyakumari District. *Maduraiṅkavai kathai* spread throughout Madurai District. *Chinnatambi kathai* is known only in the southern part of Tirunelveli District. The *Thottuk-kari Amman kathai* and *Veṅṅalarāyan kathai* is not known outside south Kanyakumari District. *Kouthalamadan kathai* has been forgotten even in the place of its origin.

The following conclusions may be arrived at from the foregoing study of the themes of ballads:

i) The ballads throw light upon the nature of social structure such as caste organisation, rigidity of caste rules, and the relation of caste to occupational groups. Thus the upper feudal classes correspond to the privileged higher social castes and the caste rules are generally favourable to them.

ii) The laws of inheritance are held sacred and the caste rules are designed to

safeguard the laws of inheritance. Thus ties of kinship are to be broken if they run counter to the feudal rules of inheritance. Thus concubinage is tolerated so long as it does not interfere with the interests of legitimate children born of the wife of the same caste. Any human relationship that would challenge this line of inheritance would be ruthlessly destroyed.

iii) The rigidity of the caste rules are no more than chains on lower strata of the working people of the feudal society to keep them confined to their stations in life. Talent, initiative, courage and other noble traits discovered in the youth of the lower caste strata are encouraged only to the extent of their not threatening the supremacy of the higher castes in the hierarchy of the caste system. The breach of the caste rules especially of sex and marriage are frowned upon by the leaders of the higher castes, for, amalgamation of castes would break down caste barriers and strike at the root of class differentiation and introduce changes in social structure.

iv) The feudal system with its special form of inheritance deprives women of any share in property. The position of women in society is therefore subordinate. They cease to have any right in the home of their birth.

v) Humanist passions are hedged in by caste segmentation. Noble passions of men sometimes rise above these limitations transcending considerations of religion and caste. But that is only just a ripple in the otherwise calm surface of society. The caste rules and organisation are so tenacious that any individual protest soon loses its effect and everything calms down to normal. But the aspirations of the lowest strata of the people are reflected in such lone protests and inspires them for centuries. Such are the stories of Muttuppattan and Maduraivīran.

vi) The clash between two cultures of different groups of people find expression in certain ballads of the regions in which these clashes occurred. Mainly these clashes occurred when marriage alliance was sought by one group with another group with different forms of inheritance.

These ballads provide source material for sociologists, social anthropologists, literary scholars and cultural anthropologists.

Notes and References

1. See my book: *Studies in Tamil Folk literature* (New Century Book House, Nallathambi Street, Madras-2).
2. Madaswamy cult is prevalent in Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari Districts. One version of *Madaswamy kathai* is available in print. (Kalaimagal Paduppajam, Tirunelveli).
3. N. Vanamamalai (Ed.) *Muttuppattan kathai* (Madurai University, Madurai).
4. Informant: Sri Nainar Kulasekaran, Nattathi, Tirunelveli District.
5. Also forms part of *Valaṅgaian kathai* a traditional myth about the history of the Nadar caste.
6. No ballad available in print. Informant: Sri Rangan, B.A., B.T., Udayarpatti, Tirunelveli.
7. Printed text available. Number of cheap published books have brought out the text (P.N.C. brothers, K.M.P.).
8. No printed text. Informant: S. Varadarajulu, Tamil Pandit, Makanoorpatti, Arur Taluk, Dharmapuri District. Parts of the ballad have been recorded by him.
9. No printed text is available. A palm-leaf manuscript was read by me and returned to the owner.

FOLK ARTS OF TAMILNADU

SOMALAY

THE SOUTHERN STATES of India have a rich heritage of folk arts and there is a common feature prevalent in the folk arts of the four different language-areas, the difference being only on emphasis.

FOLK MUSIC AND DANCE

The music and dance of Tamilnadu have had their beginnings in the temples. From early times, people drawn from different stratas of society were appointed to sing divine songs in the temples. We learn that in Tiruvamatūr, sixteen blind men sang the *Tiruppatikam* during the morning and evening worships in the temple. They and their two guides endowed with sight were given endowments of lands. During the reign-period of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I, reciting hymns was considered a privilege to be conferred on individuals.

Odhuvars, *sthānikars* or *kattalaiyars* were the traditional musicians who sang the devotional *tēvāram* songs in the temples. They lead the chorus in the temple congregational prayers to the accompaniment of *sāraṅgi*, an instrument used in the temples of Tamilnadu, till the end of the 19th century. Inscriptions speak of endowments made in favour of musicians who played on *sāraṅgi* or *vilvazh*, meaning literally the *vīṇā* with the bow. Tamil folk-music is remarkable for the *tāla* intricacies. We come across very ancient classical *rāgas* like *Māṇji*, *Sāma*, *Navarōz*, *Kalyāṇi*, *Kharaharapriya*, *Tōḍi* and *Nādanūmakriya* in the folk songs.

Instruments

(a) **PERCUSSION INSTRUMENTS:** *Nagāra* is a large hemispherical kettledrum used in temples, struck with two curved sticks and carried on a decorated elephant. It is played before and after making important announcements. *Ḍamaram* is a conical shaped instrument with shell of wood and braces of leather, placed on a bullock and played with two sticks, one of them curved and the other straight.

(b) **MEMBRAPHONES:** *Udukkai* is an instrument held in the left hand and played by the finger of the right hand. It is used in all folk-temples and is an emblem of Śiva. *Davandai* is a large *udukkai* played with a stick. *Gummaṭi* is a pot-shaped drum held in horizontal posture and played upon. *Ekkalam* is an S-shaped horned instrument played with trumpet and drum.

Melody

The *Kulavai* sound, shrill and siren-like, is made by the women, engaged in agricultural work, with a turn of the tongue moved swiftly sideways. The *kulavai* song is sung in beautiful melody, particularly in Tanjavur where agricultural prosperity and music tradition alike are kept-up. Women stand in knee-deep slush, planting

the seedlings and they raise the *kulavai* sound to expedite work and to honour visitors.

Nayyandimēlam or *Chinnamēlam* is a rustic imitation of the classical *mēlam* or *nādasvaram* and is intended purely as accompaniment for folk dance-drama, to cater to the tastes of the unlettered audience. This orchestra consists of two *nādasvarams*, two *tavils*, a *pambai*, a *thamukku* and a pair of cymbals. The peculiarity of *nayyandimēlam* is that the instrumentalists also dance while playing their instruments.

Themmaṅgu is a particular variety of songs sung by groups of bullock-cartmen to keep them awake at night when they pilot caravans of carts from their farms to the market-towns. Their song is on the colour of their bullocks, on the quality of the bells which adorn the bullocks and on the whips used by them. When sung in chorus, these songs produce a beautiful melody, accompanied by the sound of the caravan in motion and the chimming of the bullocks' bells and the noise created by the use of the whips.

One of the quaint types of simple and catching folk music, which still stands as a symbol of the cultural wealth of the Tamils, is what is popularly known as *villupāṭṭu*, the bow-song.

In the 15th century, one Arasa Pulavar is said to have originated the *villupāṭṭu*. The materials that go to make up the orchestra producing the background music for the rendering of the bow-song consist of a very big bow, made either of a sturdy branch of the palmyra tree or of metal. The two ends of the bow are tied by a strong high tension string. The centre of the convex side of the bow is made to rest on the neck of a large sized earthen pitcher. The pitcher itself rests on a soft cushion or a circular disc-like thing with a concave cavity made of cocoanut fibre. Thus the bow when placed on the neck of the pitcher and held in delicate balance by the performers looks like a magnified crescent with its two ends looking upwards. There are numerous bronze bells hanging from the bow in a row from top to bottom.

The chief vocalist or main story-teller of the party will be seated in the centre of the bow, with two slender wooden rods called the *vīṣukōl*, one in each hand. At one end of each rod, just near where the artist grips it, are found two cymbals, the concave face of each facing and touching the other; it makes a sort of cavity, containing beads or small-sized metal balls or stones inside. The artist, while singing, will so artfully raise and move his hands holding the rods as to express the mood and the *bhāva* portrayed in the song, and deftly strikes against the bow-string producing the *tāla* or the time-beat, synchronising with the stresses and the time-beats in the song. This in turn will produce notes from the bells hanging from the bow. As soon as the chief vocalist in the party finishes singing a couplet or a stanza, the other members of the party take up the refrain and sing it in chorus. The repetition of the refrain enables the listeners to follow the bow-song story.

The stories are woven round supernatural, mythological, devotional, historical and social themes. The very instrument and the music produced by it are especially

suited for stories set against a supernatural background. Naturally these stories are very popular. In the bow-songs the supernatural is freely resorted to. Physical and psychic manifestations, culminating in partial or complete materialization of devils and evil spirits, are not wanting in these ballads. Appeasement of wicked spirits and the gods of their worlds, human sacrifices, gruesome and horror-striking situations, these and many other weird things figure in these stories. Yet the idea behind the supernatural in these stories is to illustrate the triumph of good over evil.

Another interesting feature of *villu-pāṭṭu* is the *extempore* debate in verse between two parties, one headed by the main singer with the *visukōl* and the other by the *udukku* player followed by their respective singers. The subject matter may be anything under the sun.

Lāvaṇi is a musical discussion in verse and to that limited extent, it has something in common with the bow-song. It is performed in the months of April-May to herald the Spring, chiefly in Tanjavur District, the culturally important areas in Tiruchirapalli District and in Madurai city. One team argues that Manmatha or Kāma, the God of Love was burnt to death by lord Śiva and that it was a physical act reducing him to ashes. The other team argues that it was an allegory; what was burnt was *kāma* or carnal desire and maintains that Kāma never died and that he has ingrained himself in the hearts of countless souls. As part of this exercise in words, in counter-arguments and rebuttals, ideas on religion and ethics are put forward, to the accompaniment of drum music, provided by each of the singers in the group. References are drawn from ancient works. The performance lasts a whole night and groups of singers treat the crowd to a great form of entertainment by their fluency of thought and speech. At the end the replica of Manmatha's mount is burnt. It is generally believed that *lāvaṇi* had its origin in Maharashtra and that it was developed in Raja Sarfoji's time. The earlier and original *Kāman paṇḍigai* of the Tamil is said to have consisted of dirge songs in front of symbolical representation of Manmatha.

KUMMI: The word *kummi* is said to be derived from *kommai* and to mean 'dance with clapping of hands to time and singing poems in a metre adopted to *kummi* dance'. Girls at play sing several songs. Of these, the *kummi* is important. It consists of the common *kummi* and the *oyil kummi*. In the common *kummi*, the dances are rhythmical and they dance in different postures. The rhythm of both dance and music delights the audience.

Oyil āṭṭam or *oyil kummi* is performed by large groups of men wearing bells in their feet and narrating mythological stories. The invocation song prays to god and also instructs the participants to give adequate space for the movement of the neighbours' legs and prevent their coming into physical contact.

Kappal Pāṭṭu: *Kappalpāṭṭu* or *Paḍaguppāṭṭu* is boat-song, sung by travellers in chorus to overcome the fear of tides and to prevent the monotony of travel in lakes and rivers.

ARTS

KŌLĀṬṬAM: *Kōlāṭṭam* (Pl. XXVII A) is the name of a charming Tamil dance practised by groups of young girls. A festival connected with this art has both a cultural and a religious significance. According to tradition, once there lived a demon called Basavāsura, who could not be controlled by anybody. Some girls joined together in a group, went to him and played *kōlāṭṭam* with charming music. He was so pleased with the divine music and the grace of the girls that he gave up all his evil designs. This has since been celebrated as *Kolāṭṭa Jārai*, in a number of places in Tamilnadu. Basava-the bull-the personification of Śiva is the centre of the festival, commencing every year on the newmoon day of October-November, mostly on the *dīpāvali* day, and ending on fullmoon day. Daily, girls after their bath in the holy rivers, pick up a handful of grass and water in a small container and return to the place where they have installed the clay idol of Basava. Here they offer, in all reverence, the grass and water to lord Basava and offer worship, while playing *Kōlāṭṭam*. Then at their leisure hours, the girls visit some houses in the village to play *kōlāṭṭam* in each house. The residents contribute liberally to these groups of girls for the performance. On the fullmoon day the idol of Basava, is taken in procession in a decorated palanquin and immersed in a river. At every stage of the festival, each girl has one stick in each of her hands and the sticks in the hands of each girl are flapped with those of two other girls in rotation, producing beautiful rhythm.

HARIKATHĀ KĀLAKSHĒPAM: This is the art of extempore storytelling, for three to four hours, introduced to Tamilnadu from Maharashtra by the Marāṭha rulers of Tañjāvūr. The exponent of this art commands an audience by his knowledge of many languages, scholarship in epics, and the handling of *chappalakkaṭṭai* (a pair of wooden planks) in one hand controlling the movement and tempo. The themes are drawn from the epics *Mīnākṣi kalyāṇam*, *Sītā kalyāṇam* and *Rukmīṇī kalyāṇam* are popular subjects. The dialogue is forcefully monoacted in a modulated voice, to give the effect of light and shade.

In recent years, this has been substituted by religious discourses-lectures and moral lessons interspersed with digs and satires and interwoven with caustic comments on present day events and current fashions, set to background music. In this act, music plays a very important role and unless it is carefully fitted in and woven into the very texture of the story, the artist cannot produce the desired effect. His success depends on the varied and variegated knowledge of a wide range of subjects and ability to create the necessary impact on the audience through music, gestures, sonorous voice, mellifluous tongue, deep study of religious texts and folklore, packing of interesting bits of latest information into legends and a vast command of words.

KĀVADĪ DANCE: Lord Muruga, or Subrahmaṇya, son of lord Śiva considered as the commander-in-chief of the celestial beings in wars is depicted generally as a boy with a lance in his hand and physically handsome and attractive. His vehicle is the resplendent peacock. Sometimes he is also shown as accompanied by his two consorts, Vallī and Deivanai. He is said to reside in six embattled field-camps

called *paḍaivīḍus*, Paḷani and Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam in Madurai District being two such holy places. They are hillocks described in mythology as carried by a giant called Idumban slung on the two ends of a pole placed on his shoulder. Later, this Idumban became one of the principal devotees of lord Subrahmaṇya. He has a shrine half-way up the Paḷani hill and receives the first honours from all devotees, proceeding to worship Subrahmaṇya. The carrying of *kāvaḍi* by pilgrims is symbolic of Idumban carrying the hillocks, the abodes of the lord slung on a pole (Pl. XXVII B).

There are several kinds of *kāvaḍis*, the milk and rose water *kāvaḍis* being the principal ones. The central shaft of the semicircular wooden structure is placed on the shoulders and the pilgrims dressed in yellow costume and decorated with garlands, undergoing many privations to fulfil vows, dance their way through the streets and up the hillock under the hypnotic music provided by the drum, the pipes and the tom-tom. It is a *tūṇḍava* as opposed to the *lāsya* form of dance and when performed with vigour and quick movements produces on the spectators a feeling of exultation and a temptation to keep step with the rhythm and dance.

Extreme devotion prompts some *kāvaḍi* dancers to disfigure their lips. The lower lip is pierced through for the insertion of a copper or brass ring, often with a view to maintain silence. The dancers subject themselves to rigorous austerities and try to get rid of their ego, anger, lust and other vices. They dance to the tunes of *kāvaḍi-chchindu*, sung by admiring groups of devotees who follow them. The divine songs are rendered in charming music by a trained singer and repeated by others in chorus, and the emotion-choked dancer goes into raptures hearing them. Sometimes they react by shifting the *kāvaḍi* over their shoulder, head, nose etc. in see-saw position displaying great artistry with many a pose and movement in rhythm, unaided by hand.

Kāvaḍi-chchindu, a peculiar folk art of Tamil genius has blossomed into a literary and technically brilliant form, capable of being rendered in different tunes and metres with special phrasings. Simple in words, it gives a lilting tune and inspiration to listeners, and relieves the bearer of the *kāvaḍi* of physical pain. It is also called *Vazhinaḍai-chchindu*, since it is sung by pilgrims while trekking long distances, to forget the tedium. This *chindu* is also sung in some temples generally on the last day of the *Navarātri*, in different metres. These songs describe the romantic relationship of Muruga to Vaḷḷi.

KARAGAM DANCE: The word *karagam* denotes a pot or *kumbham* filled with sacred water for purificatory purposes. During ordinary rituals, all the seas of Varuṇa, the lord of rain, and the seven sacred rivers are supposed to be attracted and confined in the *karagam* and released only when the final ablution is performed and the water is poured or sprinkled over the heads of the worshippers. A pastoral sect who depended on water for their prosperity as the earlier Tamils were, began to worship Māri-amman, the deity of rain and Gaṅgayammaṇ and Kāvēri-amman, the perennial rivers, Ganges and Kaveri, and the *karagam* ritual grew in their honour. Village belles performed it in the olden days, but it is a dance for both

men and women. *Karagam* is of two varieties-the religious or *Śakti-karagam* and the professional or the *Āṭṭakkarakam*.

In the former, a small pot is filled with water and sealed with a coconut. Flower wreaths decorate it and a lime fruit is placed at the top of the *karagam* (Pl. XXVIII, A). The temple priest or his nominee carries it with great ceremony and sentimental attachment, since this is one of their hereditary privileges. The latter is performed anywhere by anyone with the necessary practice and skill, to entertain the masses.

The *Āṭṭakkarakam* or balancing of the pot on head is accompanied by peculiar musical instruments called *pampadi*, *urumi*, *tavil*, *nādasvaram* and *thamukku*. The *karagam* dancers wear a close fitting dress and look like warriors. They remind one of the *kūḍak-kūṭu* dancers described in *Śilappadikāram*.

The *Karagam* dancer smears his bare body with holy ash and sandal paste and wears a short skirt. On his head, he balances a pot filled with uncooked rice, surmounted by a tall conical bamboo frame covered with flowers. He starts from a holy spot or a square and goes to the temple in a procession. Dancing with quick steps, he brandishes a sword or a staff while two people beat the drum and blow a long pipe. From a slow tempo, the dance rises to delirious frenzy, when the dancer becomes oblivious of himself. Though he tumbles and leaps, he somehow retains the pot on his head, without touching it. People ascribe this feat to the spirit of the deity which, it is believed, enters his body. Background music is provided by *nayyāṇḍimēlam*.

PURAVI ĀṬṬAM: *Puravi āṭṭam*, also known as *Polkkāl-kutirai* is a Dummy Horse-show (Pl. XXVIII, B). This art is a peculiar product of the early Chōḷa period, evolved from what is referred to in the *Śilappadikāram* as *marakkāl āṭṭam*, the dance with wooden legs. The main attraction is the richly decorated cardboard horse made of jute, cardboard, paper and glass. The dancer gets into it through the holes made therein and looks as if he is riding on horseback. Wooden stilts are tied to the dancer's feet and these can be successfully used, only after months of experience. The purpose of using the stilts is to prevent the dance being harmed by snakes or scorpions. The dance is performed by a pair of dancers impersonating a king and a queen. Sometimes, they indulge in acrobatics and they entertain the folk for hours together.

PĀVAIKKŪṬṬU: This is a puppet dance, and this art-form is used to spread religious stories. Referred to as *marappāvai* in *Tirukkuraḷ* it later on absorbed some features of Telugu folk-dramas. Simple folk believe that it is auspicious to have this performance in their village and that its performance will ward off evil spirits and epidemics and bring prosperity. The main themes are the stories from *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata*. This show is manipulated by strings and iron rods, suspended from above. The stage is so set up that the puppets alone are seen through an opening roughly about four metres in height. The puppets are moved by skilled and experienced players who stand behind unseen by the audience. The puppets are tied to the player's hand with black strings, which are not visible. On either side of the stage, big earthen castor oil lamps are placed. The screen is a big black

cloth, about 3 metres high. In front of this curtain, the puppets make their appearance.

LEATHER PUPPET SHOW: The leather puppet show, introduced from Maharashtra to Tañjāvūr, is sometimes held in Tamilnadu. These puppets, many of them being as tall as human beings, are made of thin goat skin, carefully cured, to make them translucent. They are cut and joined in such a way that the limbs can be moved. They are painted with ordinary, dry and deep colours as men, women, gods, goddesses, demons or animals. Operated from below, they are made to gesticulate, move and dance with considerable skill.

KURAVAÑJI: *Kuravañji* is a type of dance-drama distinctive to the Tamils. As an entertainment, its emphasis is balanced between classical and folk arts.

There are hundreds of *kuravañjis* in Tamil, some of them have been printed in recent years. One of them seems to have been published with songs in notation. A few *kuravañjis* have been reconstructed by research scholars and played in the city of Madras. The earliest patron of this art, king Rājarāja-chōḷa constructed a platform in the Brihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr for holding *kuravañji* performances during the annual festival; it goes by the name *Kuravañji-mēḍai*.

In each *kuravañji*, the heroine, a dancing girl, falls in love with the local presiding deity or the ruler of the land. She appeals to the god of Love to grant her wish and describes the Divine Being's state procession, the natural wealth of the area, its fertility etc. Fortune-telling by reading the palm is also one of the features of the *kuravañji*. In addition to the gypsy women, songsters, instrumental musicians and dancing girls add to the charm of the art. The heroine entreats her maids to relieve her suffering by bringing her lover to her.

ARAYAR NAṬANAM: One of the folk dance patterns is the *arayar naṭanam* enacted in December-January in Śrīraṅgam and other Śrīvaiṣṇava temples, by groups of musicians and a dancer who are engaged to recite the sacred hymns called the *Tiruvāymoḷi*.

This class of chorists, called *arayars* (chanters) wear a uniform which includes a *kiriṭam* or special conical cap as their badge, during the chanting. While chanting the hymns, they also use a pair of cymbals made of bell-metal. One of them assumes the postures. In between their recitation they utter the glory of the presiding deity, by singing *koṇḍāṭṭam*.

BHĀGAVATA MĒLA: Once popular throughout Tamilnadu this is now confined to a single village, Mēlattūr in Tanjavur District, and is held as a part of the annual *Narasimha-jayanti* festival in May-June. A large flat thatched canopy and a small stage are put up in the streets in front of the temple and the dramas are enacted in the presence of and dedicated to the deity installed in the front hall of the temple.

Bhāgavata-mēla dance-drama is subdued and graceful, with mellifluous vocal and instrumental music. Dialogue of high diction and suggestively restrained *abhinaya* and other symbolical action are its chief hall-marks. Violent scenes of war and killing are not acted, but only narrated. This has dramatic interest, aided by classical music and dance. Every actor is well trained in *Bhāratanāṭya*.

FOLK-DANCES

We shall now refer to some of the folk dances and folk dance-dramas in vogue.

(a) **KURAVAIK-KÜTTU**: This is a type of dance in which seven girls form a circle clapping one another's hands. This dance is referenced to as *Aichiyar-kuravai* or the dance of the cowherd women in *Śilappadikāram*. This dance has a peculiar musical significance. The seven notes of the musical scale are arranged in a circle by the seven girls called by the names of the seven musical notes, like *Kuraḷ Tattam*, *Kaikkilai* etc.

We have a remnant of this defunct dance form in the Achoponga folk-dance, in which a number of girls form a circle and do simple rhythmic movements, singing and clapping their hands according to the rhythm. Poet Bharathi has waxed eloquent over this dance and referred to the musical notes produced not only by the song and by the clapping but also by the bangles worn by the dancers.

(b) **KAZHAIK-KÜTTU**: This is dancing on bamboo poles. A specimen of this occurs in bas-relief, sculptured in the Śrī Āṇḍāl temple at Śrīvilliputtūr. The dancer balances himself standing on two poles, each two metres long, dancing to the accompaniment of a two-faced drum played by his wife.

(c) **KANIAN ĀṬṬAM**: This consists of descriptive folk songs sung by two, buffoons—a man and a woman—even as they are walking. So there is no stage for this performance. This one-act play is on the decline, even in the temples to the local goddesses, where it was once prevalent in full glory.

FOLK DRAMA

Theatrical plays seem to have begun to be staged from the time of Rājārāja I. Earlier dance-dramas have had incorporations of scenes from the life of Kṛṣṇa and other legendary stories. Several types of dance-dramas were frequently staged in temples.

Each temple had a theatre or at least a stage attached to it, intended for different forms of entertainment. Performances generally took place during religious festivals. They were specifically designed for the masses and their themes were chosen to inculcate among the people loyalty to the sovereign, love for the dramatic art, and attachment to religion.

The *Rājārāja-nāṭakam* composed during the reign of Rājārāja I is said to be a biographical drama highlighting Rājārāja I's military achievements and the building of the great temple at Tanjāvūr. Wet land growing paddy was endowed to the actors, and titles conferred on the best among them.

The folk-drama of today, called *terukkūttu* is presented with music, dance and long-drawn speeches. The musical instruments include harmonium, *mridaṅgam* and flute. The songs are rendered at a high pitch. The *terukkūttu* lasts from about 10 p.m. to dawn.

It is held in connection with annual festivals or to invoke rain. Sometimes, it is held up due to factions in the village and the rival groups come to a compromise to conduct the festival on a later occasion. The village square or the frontage of the temple is the open theatre and a temporary dias is arranged. The traditional techniques are sometimes altered by introducing screens, wings and costumes, thus spoiling the simplicity and the sobriety of these dramas. The important themes are the stories of *Vaṣṣi-tirumaṇam*, *Pavaḷakkoḍi*, *Nallataṅgaḷ*, *Madurai Viran*, *Padmaśūran*, *Kāḍavarāyan* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hariścandra's story is not enacted, if the duration of the drama festival is just for a single day, as it is customary to avoid tragic themes on the concluding day.

NONḌINĀṬAKAM: *Nonḍināṭakam* or folk-drama of the lame man is the story of a person who fell a prey to a prostitute and lost not only his money, but also his health. He became lame, as his leg and arm were cut off, as a punishment for theft. Later, he became a devotee of Subrahmanya and though lame, he managed to walk long distances to the Subrahmanya shrines, overcoming physical handicaps inch by inch. Due to the strength of his devotion and the mercy of the lord, he regained his foot and arm, and this satirical play in *Chindu* metre ends up with his return to normal health and prosperity.

PAGAL-VĒSHAM: *Pagal-vēsham* or Day-costume is performed by an actor of great merit, an expert in the art of make-up who conceals his identity. In broad day-light, he appears somewhere as a beggar, a school-master or a fortune-teller. His wife accompanies him and usually they enact a quarrel. She taunts him; he threatens her and she weeps. Street-goers try to reconcile them; but the quarrel continues. The husband leaves her for good without paying for her maintenance. The on-lookers are moved to pity. A hat is sent round and a fund is raised to help the poor wife who has been deserted by her cruel husband.

IRULAR DRAMAS: The Iruḷars are an illiterate or semi-literate agricultural community of the Nilgiris. At temple-festivals, they enact epic stories, without screens, using the verandah of a house as the auditorium and a hurricane lantern as stagelight. The characters get training under a drama-teacher and rehearse the drama for days together. In *Mahābhārata*, the most popular scene is Arjuna's penance, which is sought to be spoilt by a woman. In long and eloquent sexy phrases, her beauty is described, part by part. All the Iruḷars, especially the women, like it very much.

TATTOOING: *Pachchai-kuttudal* is tattooing, done by professional gypsies. The arms, hands, foreheads etc. are chosen to tattoo figures of gods or scorpions and snakes or other emblems or to write the person's own name. Turmeric and *agathik-kirai* (leaves of *sesbonia grandiflora*) are powdered together in a grinding stone, spread on a thin cloth and rolled up in the form of a wick. The wick is lighted. Pigments are prepared from the soot of lamps mixed with the ashes or burnt tobacco and the juice of the babul tree (*senkoṣṣai-p-pāl*). Indigo is used for blue dots and vermilion for the red ones. The pricking instrument consists of three small sewing needles tied together with a thread.

To perform the tattooing operation, the pattern is selected from a bundle of drawings and is first traced on the skin with a blunt stick dipped in the prepared ink which is pricked in with the needles. The part is then well washed with cold water and a cast of ink rubbed over the surface. To allay the pain, a small quantity of coconut oil is applied. Turmeric powder is rubbed in to brighten the colour and to prevent swelling.

KŌLAM: *Alpane* or *raṅgōli* is called *kōlam* in Tamilnadu. Every girl tries to be well-versed in making *kōlams* of geometric patterns and floral decorative motif, drawn with white powder held between the thumb and the first finger. *Kōlam* is drawn on the floor, at the frontage of the residence every morning. On festival days, whole streets are full of *kōlam* drawings. *Kōlam* is also drawn on pots, on marriage platforms.

DOLLS

Several folk arts have been developed and the ordinary people of Tamilnadu are justly proud of their skill and talent. These include manufacture of dolls, the making of the world famous bronze pieces, the inlaying of silver on brass and copper in the art plates of *Taṅjāvūr* and chiselling out beautiful images and floral decorations on these plates, making a variety of ornamental lamps, manufacture of temple banners etc., weaving of artistic mats and bewitching carpets. South Indian plaster technique used in *Chetṭinād* represents great masonry skill; it does not develop cracks; walls are reflecting mirrors and they need no whitewashing at all.

POTTERY

The pottery of Tamilnadu has been enshrined in folklore. Black and red pottery of *Manamadurai* and the glazed pottery of *Karigiri* are noted for beauty of shape and colour. The deft fingers of the potter can produce myriads of beautiful pieces on the wheel. But figures are largely cast in moulds; some are fired while others are painted in the raw. Figures of *Aiyyanār*, the deity which keeps watch over the village and can be seen as large painted idols at the entrance, are a rage with foreigners. Midget sizes in terracotta are produced to cater to such foreign demands. However, being fragile it cannot be packed and sent to long distances. The packing itself has to be carefully done and is very expensive.

PAPIERMACHE

Hence the trend with the craftman now is to turn to papiermache. Wherever big sized articles are to be produced, paper is used. It is the same mould work. Papiermache gives clear stature to the pieces and can be painted in realistic hues. They can also be made to look like granite or metal pieces. Further, being light, transport and packing do not present problems. In fact, papiermache has taken to diverse fields of production. The *Alsatian* is a typical example of a piece which is so real, and true that the live dog in the street starts barking at the pieces kept in the show windows. What attracts the buyer is the colour of the dog, its drooping red

tongue, rolling eyes with the realistic eyebrows. There are similar beautiful pieces like the dancing girl, Kṛishṇa the charioteer in *Gītōpadēśa*, wedding of goddess Mīnākshi etc. which excel in elegance. For top class chiselled clean features, plaster of paris is the best. The immaculate white Mīrā is a marvel in plaster. Śiva-Pārvati is another model which is popular. Plaster has the smoothness and clarity which are difficult to get in clay and papiermache.

Nothing can compare with the cloth dolls in their exquisite display of characters of men and women. The core of the cloth doll is of paper. The face which is the most important item, making for credibility, is a highly specialised job. These are cast in moulds and then worked by hand, to give a flash of life to the doll. The body is also of paper. The doll is dressed with pieces of cloth in typical fashion. What all patterns of *coiffure* exist can be understood, only if a row of well-dressed heads are kept on a table. In fact, the enchantment in a cloth doll will be the face, the hair-do, the dress and the gait. If anyone desires to take the replicas of people in a country, the cloth doll medium is the best. Fixing them inside glass boxes will add charm to the pieces and prevent them from getting untidy.

MATS

Another world-famous art of Tamilnadu is represented by the Paṭṭamadaḥ mats, the weft being of *korai* grass and the warp of silk or cotton of 80 to 140 counts. The surface is so fine that one can roll the mat in his palm and carry it like a hanky.

METAL WARE

Metal ware is still another field in which the craftsmen have excelled. From the famous *kuttuvilakku* to the icons of Naṭarāja and Gaṇēśa, all have an aesthetic concept entirely unique. The types of lamps associated with the hoary traditions of temple culture will easily run to a hundred. Bronze pieces are something individual to Tamilnadu. The most exquisite depiction of skill in chiselling is seen in the icons and images of ordinary granite. It is perhaps because of the general availability of this talent that the entire horizon of Tamilnadu is specked with the rising *gōpurams* of articulate temples. The art and architecture of the temples have kept alive the culture and skill of many thousands of imaginative craftsmen and preserved to posterity the native creative genius. Sculpture in temples calls for a deep knowledge of the *śāstras*, nature of different varieties of stone besides monumental patience.

In short, Tamilnadu has a long and unbroken tradition of folk art. It is the duty of all to foster it ever.

T. V. Mahalingam

PROFESSOR T. V. MAHALINGAM

B. R. GOPAL

TĒRALUNDŪR VENKATARĀMA MAHĀLIṆGAM was born on the 15th July 1907. Tēralundūr, his native place, is a village six miles from Māyavaram in the Tañjavur District, Tamilnadu and famous for its association with the Tamil poet Kamban, who composed the classic *Rāmāyaṇam*. He hails from a family of reputed Vedic scholars. The part of the village in which he was born, known as Tuḷajēndrapuram is said to have been given to a group of Vedic scholars as *sarvamānya* by the Tanjore Marāṭha ruler Tuḷajāji (1763–87). One of the recipients of this grant was an ancestor of Professor Mahalingam.

After spending his initial years in the village with his parents he moved to Chidambaram in the South Arcot district in 1915 to start his school education from the house of his maternal uncle. He had his schooling at the Ramaswami Chettiyar Town High School and passed his School Final examination in 1924. Later he joined the Sri Meenakshi College for higher education. In 1929 he passed the B.A. degree examination and won the Sir Annamalai Chettiyar I prize for proficiency in History. In 1931 he passed his M.A. degree examination and again won the same prize for proficiency in History. The Sri Meenakshi College, which was the nucleus of the later Annamalai University, had been affiliated to the University of Madras 1931.

After taking the M.A. degree he moved to Madras where he worked as a Research Scholar under Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras from 1931 to 1934, the subject of his research being *Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagar*. From 1934 to 1939 he was working mostly as a Research Assistant in the same Department and in the Department of Islamic Studies. From 1939 to 1942 he was an Assistant Editor in the Journal *Federated India* edited by the late Mr. V. Venkateswara Sastrulu. In 1940 he submitted to the University of Madras a thesis on *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire* for which he was awarded the Sankara Parvathi Endowment Prize. The thesis was published by the University in 1952. In 1942 he submitted to the Madras University his thesis *Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagar* which had been published by then, and he was awarded D. Litt. degree for the same by the University. This synchronized with his joining the Madura College, Madurai as Lecturer in History, a position in which he continued till July 1947. In July 1947 he joined the Maharaja's College, Pudukkottai as Lecturer but served that institution only for a couple of months.

In August that year he joined the University of Madras once again, this time as Reader in Indian History and Archaeology. Till 1956 he continued in that position. During this period of nine years he delivered two endowment lectures, the Sankara Parvathi (1951), and the Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar Endowment Lectures (1954). He also published the work *South Indian Polity* (1955). During this time he also

undertook the task of editing the summaries of Historical Manuscripts in the Mackenzie Collection which were published in two volumes in 1972 and 1976 respectively by the University.

In 1955 he was attached to the Archaeological Survey of India by the University to gain practical experience in such branches of archaeology as epigraphy, excavation etc. This enabled him to study a large number of estampages in the office of the Chief Epigraphist at Ootacamund and some inscriptions *in situ*, and familiarize himself with excavation techniques at sites like Nagda, Ujjain and Nāgārjunakōṇḍa. During this period he edited two inscriptions which were later published in the *Epigraphia Indica* and prepared summaries of a number of epigraphs which were published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Volume XVII.

Immediately after the completion of this process he was made the Professor of Archaeology in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology. In 1958 the Department was bifurcated and a Department of Ancient History and Archaeology was started with funds made available by the University Grants Commission. Professor Mahalingam became the first Professor and Head of the Department. He planned, organised and equipped the Department and framed the syllabus of the M.A. degree course in the Ancient History and Archaeology with the help of a special committee constituted for the purpose. The syllabus was so planned as to include special classes in Geology, Geography, Zoology, Anthropology, Anatomy and Museum Techniques. The M.A. degree course was started in July 1960. He continued as Professor till July 1971 when he retired from service.

During his tenure as Professor for fifteen years he built up and stabilized the Department, conducted excavations at Tirukkāmpuliyūr, Alagarai, Urayūr, and Kāñchīpuram for ten seasons, explored a number of sites in the Kaveri and Palar basins, delivered the Sir William Meyer Endowment Lectures in the University of Madras and special lectures in the Patna, Annamalai and Karnataka Universities and published two monographs, three books and one excavation report besides a large number of research papers.

Though he officially retired from his responsibilities in the University of Madras in 1971, he is continuously engaging himself in the pursuit of historical research. His services are being utilized by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi for which he has already compiled and submitted a volume of the *Inscriptions of the Pallavas* with a long introduction. He has compiled five volumes of *A List of Vijayanagar Inscriptions* jointly with me, again for the ICHR. Besides this he has also submitted to the ICHR seven out of ten proposed volumes of *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in Tamilnadu and Kerala, upto A.D. 1500*. This work was undertaken by him at the instance of U.G.C. in 1964, when he was in the service of the University. A tentative list was ready at the time of his retirement. This list is now being updated and made ready for the press at the instance of the ICHR.

Professor Mahalingam has been a distinguished academician and has presided over most of the major Conferences and Congresses in the field at different times and places. He was the President of the Medieval section of the Jaipur session of the

Indian History Congress (1951), President of the the Dravidian Languages and Culture section of the Ahmedabad session of the All India Oriental Conference (1953), President of the History section of the Gauhati session of the same Conference (1965), President of the Nagpur session of the All India Numismatic Conference (1970), President of the Fifth Annual Congress of the Indian Archaeological Society held at Bombay (1972), President of the Medieval section of the Ramachandrapuram session of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress (1976) and President of the Third Epigraphical Congress held at Udupi (1977). Since 1973 he has been the President of the Archaeological Society of South India. He had been to Allahabad as a Visiting Professor in the Allahabad University in 1978. For a second term he once again went there in 1979-80. It may not be out of place to mention here that in recognition of the quantum and nature of his contribution the Government of India decorated him with the distinction *Padmaśrī* in 1969. For the same reason the Epigraphical Society of India honoured him in March 1980 with the presentation of a *tāmrapatra*. He has been elected General President of the South Indian History Congress to be held in Trivandrum in 1981.

Professor Mahalingam combines a vast amount of precise and well ordered knowledge of Indian History especially South Indian History and Culture to a wide background of general knowledge of European History, Politics and Economic History. His contributions to South Indian Historiography have been pioneering in a sense. He entered the field of historical research at a time when history was mostly taken to reveal dynastic vagaries and took up, like Dr. A. Appadurai, the task of unfolding the economic and social conditions of the people. His works on Vijayanagara society and economy are based on a vast mass of data collected from diverse sources and a thorough analysis of the same. As a reviewer of the book (1940) pointed out, it is "authoritative, complete, analytical and lucid". His work *South Indian Polity* carries a detailed and systematic account of the development of political institutions in South India upto the end of the Vijayanagar period and has been practically the only work on the subject available and used by students studying South Indian history in many north Indian Universities as also abroad. His work *Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History*, is in essential substance, the history of the Pallavas from their earliest beginnings to the end. In this work he has addressed himself to the difficult task of settling early Pallava genealogy and chronology and the relationship and date of the so-called later Pallavas starting from Nandivarman II. Professor Mahalingam has written this work with a great degree of perception and it is interesting to note that the scheme of genealogy that he has worked out for the later Pallavas is largely confirmed by evidences that came out later. In *Early South Indian Paleography* he traces the evolution and development of the Tamil script upto the 4th century A.D. The development of the script after the fourth century is a subject that still awaits detailed study. His two other works *The Nagesvaraswami Temple* and *The South Indian Temple Complex* are important contributions to South Indian Art History. The date of the Nāgēsvarasvāmi temple at Kumbakōṇam has been a problem for those working on Chōḷa Monuments. Every scholar who has written on this has come out with his own view. It may be

of interest to note that Professor Mahalingam's assignment of date to this monument has found acceptance from no less an expert than Douglas Barrett who has made a masterly survey of all early Chōla monuments and written on their style, date and the spirit displayed by them. His *Report on Excavations in the Lower Kaveri Valley* is the first and detailed publication on excavations conducted in Tamilnadu. It deals with excavations at Tirukkāmpuliyūr and Aḷagarai. The second part of this report dealing with the excavations at Uḷaiyūr, the Chōla capital, is eagerly awaited. His publications include 22 books and more than 120 research papers, besides about 150 popular articles, and reviews. He is a prolific writer and continues to write serious research books and papers even now. Some of his books like *South Indian Sculptures and Iconography*, and *Studies in South Indian History and Culture*, *Early History and Culture of South-east Asia*, the last one written in collaboration with Dr. B. K. Gururaja Rao are going to the press shortly. At present he is working on *The Sources for the Social and Cultural History of South India (A.D. 300-1000)* and the *History of Tamil Nadu from A.D. 1530 to 1800 A.D.*

My association with Professor Mahalingam dates back to my student days in the nineteenfifties. By then, I had been initiated into research by the late Professor S. Srikantha Sastry. When I had to go to Madras to study law, Professor Sastry directed me to seek the help of Professor Mahalingam. In those days I used to meet Professor Mahalingam at Madras in his chambers often. He agreed with Professor Sastri that there was plenty of scope for research in South Indian History and suggested that I may work on the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Later it was at his instance that I applied for the post of a Research Assistant in the Office of the then Government Epigraphist for India. From then onwards my association with him has been more intimate. While preparing *A List of Vijayanagara Inscriptions* jointly with him for the Indian Council of Historical Research several letters were exchanged between us concerning the Vijayanagara inscriptions, the mode of their presentation, details to be incorporated and the like.

Professor Mahalingam's main purpose of making a detailed study of various aspects of South Indian History and Culture and encouraging such studies by others was to bring the history of South India into a proper and total perspective of Indian History. He is of profound conviction that the histories of different regions in a country of continental dimension can be integrated not by overplaying political vicissitudes but only by discerning the social and cultural institutions and economic life. For achieving this a wider appreciation of South Indian History and culture in the context of general Indian history is an essential prerequisite. Therefore when Professor H. M. Nayak was thinking of starting a course of South Indian Studies in the University of Mysore Professor Mahalingam came out with a generous dose of encouragement. With the same spirit he has been helping Universities in North India in devising courses which include special studies on South India.

Professor Mahalingam is a profound scholar, hard and silent worker, an impressive teacher and a thorough gentleman who avoids publicity of any kind. He is a strict disciplinarian and kept the staff and students always on their toes by his

own example. His personal nature is well reflected in his simple dress and manners. He is good and kind to all and soft spoken. He has an uncompromising regard for the sanctity of evidence. Even while dealing with a point of view totally opposed to his, he is always persuasive rather than polemical and his arguments are couched in a language that is soft and appealing.

Some of the students who studied under him are known to me personally. It was a delightful experience for me to note the impact that he has made on them as a teacher. I have heard them saying that his lectures were marked by a conspicuous lack of digressions and a concentrated treatment of the topic. The use of the apt word in the apt context is one of the marks of both his spoken and written English. He has a natural inclination to make students feel at home with the subject by his manner of lecturing which used to aim at a simple presentation of facts first, followed by a lucid analysis of the same.

Nearly 25 scholars working for Ph.D., or M.Litt. were guided by him. The subjects dealt with by his students varied from prehistory to historical geography and from hydrology to temple architecture and iconography. All these students recall with gratitude how kind Professor Mahalingam was in taking personal interest in their academic pursuits and offering useful, if often critical, suggestions in his supervisory capacity. The meticulous manner in which he used to examine the drafts of theses is an indication of his passion for perfection.

Appended below is a list of books and research papers published by Prof. Mahalingam.

PUBLICATIONS

(A) BOOKS PUBLISHED

1. ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER VIJAYANAGAR (University of Madras, 1940).
2. ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER VIJAYANAGAR (Revised and Enlarged Edition in two parts) (University of Madras, 1969, 1976)
3. ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE (University of Madras, 1951).
4. BANAS IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY (Sankara Parvathi Endowment Lectures) (University of Madras 1952).
5. SELECTED SOUTH INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS (TAMIL & MALAYALAM) (Edited in Collaboration with Dr. S. K. Nayar, (University of Madras, 1952).
6. SOUTH INDIAN POLITY (University of Madras, 1955; Second Edition, 1969).
7. NAOAS IN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE (Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar Endowment Lectures, Madras University, 1965).
8. THE NAGESVARASWAMI TEMPLE (Kumbakonam, 1967).
9. EARLY SOUTH INDIAN PALAEOGRAPHY (University of Madras, 1967; Second Edition, 1975).
10. KANCHIPURAM IN EARLY SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY (Sir William Meyer Endowment Lectures Madras University, 1969).
11. THE SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE COMPLEX (Karnatak University Lectures) (Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, 1970).
12. REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE LOWER KAVERI VALLEY, PART I—TIRUKKAMPULIYUR AND ALAQAARAI (University of Madras, 1971).
13. SUMMARIES OF HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE MACKENZIE COLLECTION, Volume 1, (1972).

14. SUMMARIES OF HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE MACKENZIE COLLECTION, VOLUME II (1976).
15. READINGS IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY (COLLECTED PAPERS, 1977).
16. STUDIES IN SOUTH INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE (Annamalai University Lectures, 1978).

(B) BOOKS UNDER PUBLICATION

17. SOUTH INDIAN SCULPTURES AND ICONOGRAPHY (Patna University Lecturers).
18. LECTURES ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND CULTURE OF TAMIL NADU, (Allahabad University Lectures, 1978).
19. STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE (With Special Reference to South India) (Collected Papers).
20. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALLAVAS (1-2 Volumes) (Sponsored by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi).
21. A LIST OF VIJAYANAGAR INSCRIPTIONS (in collaboration with Dr. B. R. Gopal) (Five Volumes) (Sponsored by the Indian Council of Historical Research).
22. EARLY HISTORY AND CULTURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA (in collaboration with Dr. B. K. Gururaja Rao).

(C) ARTICLES AND RESEARCH PAPERS

(i) Historiography

1. Historical Material in the Ramappayyan Ammanai (*Indian History Congress*, Bombay, 1947)
2. Problems of Historical writing in India with Reference to the History of South India (*Problems of Historical Writing In India*, New Delhi, 1963).
3. Writing of Indian History—Retrospect and Prospect (*Paper read at the Seminar held in the Visvabharati University, Santiniketan*, 1966).
4. Organizational Problems relating to the Area Studies, *Paper read at the Seminar conducted by the Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi*, (1967).
5. Utilization of Source Materials for South Indian History and Literature (*Paper read at the Seminar held the Institute of Advance In Studies, Simla* (1970).
6. Historiography in Indian Languages, Inscriptions in Tamil Nadu (*Dr. G. M. Moraes Felicitation Volume*), 1972.
7. Modernisation of Indological Studies (*Paper read at the Seminar conducted by the Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad*, 1975).

(ii) History

8. Irrigation under Vijayanagar (*S. K. Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936).
9. The Sangama Dynasty and Ceylon (*Bharata Kaumudi*, (1938).
10. Tirumalai Deva Maharaya (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVII, 1938).
11. Vijayanagar and Ceylon (*K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1940).
12. Social Legislation in Medieval South India (*The New Review*, 1940).
13. Rural Problems in Vijayanagar (*The New Review*, 1940).
14. The Administrative Value of the *Amuktamalyada* (*Federated India*, 1942).
15. Famines and Famine Relief in Medieval South India (*The New Review*, 1942).
16. Two Decades of Madura (A.D. 1734-54) (*Dr. B.C. LAW Commemoration Volume*, Part I, 1945).
17. Hoysala Vira Narasimha II and the Magara Kingdom (*Journal of Madras University*, January-July 1948).
18. Saluva Tirumalayyadeva Maharaya (1948).

19. An Odda Invasion of South India (*Indian History Congress* 1950).
20. Randaula Khan and the Karnataka (*Journal of the Madras University*, 1950).
21. Local Self-Governing Institutions in Medieval Tamil Nadu (Paper read at the Tamil Conference held in Coimbatore, 1950).
22. Virappa Nayaka of Madura and Vijayanagar (*Journal of the Madras University*, 1951).
23. Colonel Baird at Tirupparankunram (*Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1951).
24. Presidential Address delivered in the Second Section (A.D. 712-1526) of the *Indian History Congress*, 1951).
25. Sir William Blackburne—An Ideal Political Resident (C. S. Srinivasachari *Commemoration Volume*, 1951).
26. Two Merchants of Madras (*Journal of the Madras University*, XXIV, 1952-53).
27. A Bana Chieftain of the Thirteenth Century (*Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras*, 1953).
28. The End of the Madurai Nayakship (*INDICA, Indian Historical Research Institute, Silver Jubilee Volume*, 1953).
29. Presidential Address delivered at the Dravidian Literature and Culture Section of the All India Oriental Conference, (1953).
30. The Grant of Madraspatam to the English East India Company (*The Indian Year Book of International Affairs*, 1953).
31. Haidar Ali and Tiruchirapalli (1781) (*Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1954).
32. Sanskrit Studies in South India (*Journal of Oriental Research*, XXII, 1954).
33. The Battle of Uratti (*Indian History Congress*, 1954).
34. The Nawab of the Carnatic and Hindu Temples (*Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1955).
35. Village Communities in South India (*Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1955).
36. Kondamarasa (*Deccan History Journal*, 1956).
37. The Nolamba Pallavas: Their Origin (*Journal of Indian History*, XXXVI, 1958).
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 2. CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA, Vol. II
 3. INDIAN GAZETTEERS (Revised)
 4. HISTORY OF CEYLON
 - 5 PONDICHERRY STATE GAZETTEER
-

Index

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INDEX

Note:—This is not an exhaustive index. Generally only such places, kings, dynasties and the like as have been discussed in this volume are indexed herein.

The following abbreviations are used : *a.s.* = archaeological site ; *at.s.* = architectural style ; *au* = author ; *Cha* = Chālukya ; *ci* = city ; *co* = country ; *com* = community ; *comp* = composer ; *div* = division ; *doc* = doctrine ; *dy* = dynasty ; *f* = family ; *fest* = festival ; *g* = god, goddess ; *Gan* = Gaṅga ; *gen* = general ; *Hoy* = Hoysaḷa ; *ins* = inscription ; *inst* = instrument ; *k* = king ; *Kad* = Kadamba ; *Kal* = Kalachuri ; *mus* = music, musical ; *off* = officer ; *peo* = people ; *phil* = philosopher, philosophical, philosophy ; *pl* = place ; *pol* = political ; *pr* = prince ; *q* = queen ; *Rash* = Rāshṭrakūṭa ; *s.a.* = same as ; *Se* = Sēūṇa ; *st* = saint ; *te* = temple ; *tech* = technical ; *Vij* = Vijayanagara ; *wk* = work. Wherever no abbreviation is used the abbreviation for the preceding entry holds good.

A

- Abbe-Dubois (*au*), 942
 Abdur Razak, 108
 Abhidhammatthasamgaha (*wk*), 768
 Abhidhānavastukōśa 841
 Abhilaṣitārtha Chintamāṇi
 s.a. Mānasśikṣa, 97, 783
 Abhirāma (*comp*), 199
 Āchanna (*au*), 845
 Āchāruk-kōvai (*wk*), 798
 achātana (*entity*), 473
 Achyutarāya (*te*), 673
 Achyutarāya (*Vij. k.*), 112
 Adāṣṭki (*ins*), 233
 Ādichanallūr; Ādittanallūr (*a.s.*), 27
 Ādipurāṇa (*wk*), 550, 836, 837
 Ādipurāṇa (*te*), 604
 Adhikāranandi (*fest*), 325
 Adhyātmi Bāḷachandra (*au*), 843
 Advaita (*doc*), 432-42, 466, 467, 474, 482
 Afonso de Albuquerque (*off*), 404-07, 409, 413, 419
 Agastya (*sage*), 534
 Aggaḷa (*au*), 843
 Aghorāvara (*te*), 675
 Agraḥdras—, 296
 Āhavamalla Tailapa
 s.a. Tailapa II (*Cha. k.*), 839
 Alhoje (*ins*), 87, 88, 186, 187, 195, 218, 224
 Ailūr (Airūr) para or Madovūrpara
 (*cave*), 645, 646
 Airāvaiśvara (*te*), 601
 Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa (*wk*), 288
 Atiṭhyamāla, 962
 Aivar kāḷi—Pāṇḍavar kāḷi
 (*dance*) 974
 Aivarkōil (*te*), 603
 Ajitapurāṇa (*wk*), 839
 Akalaṅka (*au*), 511, 770
 Akshatādige (*fest*), 342
 Alignments (*burial*), 50
 Allah (g), 520
 Allasāni Poddana (*au*), 238
 Allāuddīn Khilji (*sultan*), 101
 Almeida (*viceroy*), 404, 409
 Ālupa (*coins of*), 256, 257
 Ālvārs (*Vaiṣṇava poets*) 539, 540
 Āmani-punnama (*fest*), 342
 Amarāvati (*art style*), 396, 398, 399, 401
 Amarāvati (*a.s.*), 289
 Amarāvara (*te*), 601
 Ambi Āṇḍar Nambi (*au*), 365
 Ambikāpatikōvai (*wk*), 805
 Ambikātanayarlatta (D. R. Bendre) (*au*), 858
 Amṇābād (*ins*), 237
 Amman (*shrine*), 667
 Amoghavarsha (*Rash. k.*), 91, 92
 Amoghavarsha II, 93
 Āmukṣamālyada (*wk*), 356, 365
 Andāgavarṇa 768
 Ānanda (*dy*), 358
 Anantānḍhapurāṇa (*wk*), 845
 Anantaśayanaguḍi (*te*), 672, 673
 Ananthamurthy, U. R. (*au*), 866
 Āṇḍāl (*poetess*), 801
 Āṇḍayya (*au*), 846
 Āndhra Mahābhārata (Mahābhārata) (*wk*), 878, 879
 Anēkānta (*doc*), 513
 Āṇḍediva (*island*), 405
 Annadurai, C. N. (*pol. leader*), 177, 178
 Antanar (*class*), 274
 Anubhavamukura (*wk*), 845
 Āṇḍāsikātiprasara (*nasal assimilation*), 241
 Āpastambha (*sūtrakdra*), 288
 Appar (*sr*), 799
 Appayya-dīkshita (*au*), 772, 774
 Arab (*coins of*), 267
 Arachchanallūr (*ins*), 207
 Ārādhana (*wk*), 762
 Ārādhyā Śaivism—, 344
 Araśar (*class*), 274
 arayar naṭanam (*folk art*), 994
 Archaka Rangaswamy (*au*), 945
 Arikamēḍu (*a.s.*), 60, 273, 274, 381
 Arjunajōgi Hōḍu (*wk*), 944
 Arjuna nṛttam (*folk art*), 969
 Arjunarāya (*te*), 610
 Arkāvara, 612, 613
 Ārmāmalai (*paintings*), 700-02

Armenoid (peo), 32
 Arrār (ins), 246
 Arumuga Navalar (au), 821
 Arupagirinātha, 811
 Āryan (language), 31, 33
 Aryanisation —, 281, 282
 Asaga (au), 836
 Ācharyachūdāmaṇi (wk), 782
 Aṣṭabhujaśvāmi (te), 575
 Aṣṭāvaraṇa —, 486
 Aśoka (edicts of), 80
 Attirampākkam (a.s.), 38
 Āṭṭāḍi (wk), 805
 Āttūr (ins), 211
 Austroloid (peo), 30
 avachchēda-vāda (theory), 437
 Avantisundarikathā (wk), 778
 avāḍyā —, 436, 437, 439-41
 Āyvēls; Āys (f), 115, 122-24

B

Bādāmi (ins), 218, 219, 224
 Bāgavatiḍḍu (folk art), 967
 Bāhubali (au), 847
 Bākura (folk art), 935
 Ballāḷa I (Hoy. k), 103
 Ballāḷa II, 103
 Ballāḷa III, 104, 105
 Bāpa (dy), 334
 Banavāsi (a.s.), 60
 Bandhuvarma (au), 845
 Bannikoppa (ins), 223
 Bantey Srei, 391
 Bārāsa-aṇuvēkka (wk), 761
 Barrow (burial), 50
 Basavappanāyaka (au), 783
 Basavapūḍa (wk), 356, 365
 Basavaraja Kattimani (au), 863
 Basavēdvara; Basava (-vappa)
 (Vīraśaiva teacher), 99, 480,
 481, 550, 551
 Bastipura (ins), 218
 Batakamma Dance (folk art), 937
 Batoo-Pahat (a.s.), 401
 bayalāḷa (folk art), 955
 Bayang (ins), 395
 Belmāṇṇu, 219
 Bezvada, 233
 Bhāgavadvēda (wk), 898
 Bhāgavantikemāḷa (folk art), 954
 Bhāgavātamāḷa, 994
 Bhairavakopā (ins), 231
 Bhājana (folk art), 935
 bhakti (meditative love), 459, 460
 Bhārātamāḷa (wk), 898
 Bhārāta-veṇḍā, 804
 Bharatēṭavaiḥbhava, 856
 Bhāṭavi (au), 780
 Bhāshā Kautakyaṇi (wk), 893, 894
 Bhāshā Nalshadham-champā, 896
 Bhāshā Rāmdyaṇam-champā, 896
 Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara (au), 774
 Bhaṭṭiprōlu (ins), 492
 Bhaṭṭajidrkshita (au), 778
 Bhāvavivēka, 494
 Bhīllama II (Se. k), 100
 Bhīllama III, 100
 Bhīllama V, 100
 Bhōganandīśvara (te), 616, 617
 Bhūpati-ulaiyār tirundī (fest), 328
 Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyaḍaya (wk),
 837, 838
 Bhyrappa, S. L. (au), 865
 Bijjala (Kal. k), 98, 99
 Bilhāṇa (au), 87, 97, 781
 Bīṣakamāḷa (folk art), 952
 Bōḍḍemma (fest), 937
 Bōdhidharma (scholar), 380
 Bōdhiruchi (au), 381
 Bōdhisēna (scholar), 381
 Bohra (com), 524
 Bommakāḷa (folk art), 932
 Borneo (co), 401
 Bothpūr (ins), 235
 Bowring, L. B. (off), 158
 Brahmagiri (a.s.), 25, 60
 Brahman (ultimate reality), 434,
 436-42, 453, 472
 Brahmāḍya-purāḍam (wk), 900
 Brahmanical cave-temples —,
 559-63
 Brahmaśiva (au), 843
 Brahmin (class), 274-77, 293, 294
 Brahminism (religion), 362, 363
 Brahmōtsavam (fest), 324-27
 Branthanpara(kal) (cave), 645
 Briṅkalaiḥ (wk), 364, 778
 Brihatpalāyana (dy), 358
 British (peo), 170, 360
 British Museum plates (ins), 219
 Buddhaghōṣa (au), 768
 Buddhism (religion), 343, 344,
 362-64, 491, 495-502, 547
 Buddhist Chaityālaya-, 578, 579
 Buddhist Rock temples (te), 558,
 559
 Bukka (Vij. k), 105-07
 Burrakatha (folk art), 934
 Buṭṭa Bommakāḷa, 938
 Būṭuga II (Gan. k), 86, 93

C

Calicut (pl), 406
 Canagal (ins), 398
 Cannanore (pl), 406
 Cave Architecture —, 563-70
 Chaitra-pavitra (fest), 342
 Chakkhaḍḍāgama (wk), 759, 760
 Chāliam (pl), 407
 Chālukya (dy), 341
 Chālukya, Eastern, 73-75, 255,
 340, 358
 Chālukya of Bādāmi, 86, 255, 333
 340, 587-90
 Chālukya of Kalyāṇa, 21, 94-98,
 257, 258, 333, 335, 340, 648-53
 Chālukya of Veṅgi, 21, 358, 359
 Chālukya, Western, 340, 341,
 359
 Chāmalūru (ins), 229
 Champa (co), 395, 396
 Chandoli (a.s.), 25
 Chandragupta-basadi (te), 615
 Chandramaulīśvara, 604
 Chandravallī (a.s.), 381, 391
 Chandravallī (ins), 82, 193
 Channamma (g), 162
 Chariot festival —, 325, 327
 Chaturdaṇḍi (structure of music),
 723-25
 Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi (wk),
 100
 Chāturvarṇya system —, 283, 284
 Chaudikemāḷa (folk art), 959
 Chaul (pl), 406
 Chaupdarasa (au), 847
 Chāvūḍārāya, 838
 Chāvūḍārāya-basadi (te), 617
 Chāvūḍārāyapūḍa (wk), 838
 Chēmakūra Vēṅkaṭakavi (au),
 881, 882
 Chēṇṇukupita (folk art), 955
 Chēṇḍ (dy), 115, 116, 119, 120,
 130, 132, 133, 263, 264, 357
 Chēṇṇān Perumāl (au), 800
 Chēṇḍekun (ins), 391
 Chēṇṇāri Nampāri (au), 899
 chēṭaṇa (entity), 472
 Chhāṇḍas-sūtra (wk), 768, 776

Chhandāmbudhi (wk), 838
Chhandānukāsana, 776
 Chidambarn Pillai, V. O. (au), 817
 Chikkulla plates (ins), 228
 Chikkupādhyāya (au), 849
 China (co), 369-80, 384, 385
Chinakkaḍu (coin), 267
 Chinese coins, 267
 Chinnādan (Kumārasvāmi) (hero), 982, 983
 Chinnatambi (m), 983, 984
Chinnatambi kathai (ballad), 983
Chinnānāpi (wk), 804
Chinnāṇa (folk art), 955
Chinnāpaurāṇi (fest), 239
 Cho-dinh record (ins), 396
 Chokkār, 247
 Chōla (dy), 20, 21, 75, 124-27, 130, 133, 134, 141-45, 261, 264-66, 333-35, 340, 357-59
 Chōlapuram (ins), 242
Chozhikali (folk art), 977
 Christianity (religion), 529, 532, 533, 542, 543, 545
Chāḍmāpi (wk), 804
 Chūtu; Chūtu Sātakarpi (dy), 81, 339
 Cist Burial —, 49, 50
 Cochin (pl), 405
 Conde de Linhares (off), 416
 Cranganore (pl), 407

D

Dadra (pl), 408
 Daimabād (a.s.), 24
 Dakṣiṇāpatha —, 17, 53
 Daman (pl), 407
 Dandapaniswami s.a. Murugadasaswami (au), 817
 Dandīn, 774, 778, 779
 Dantidurga (Rash. k), 89, 90
Dappu (folk art), 938
Dappumuttikkali, 979
dārḍana (vision), 458
Dakumāracharita (wk), 779
Devanāpārṇava (fest), 297
Devanāṣava, 342
Dēbhāru (hw), 220
 De Nobili (au), 531
Dēśāvāra (re), 612
 Desiga Vinayagam Pillai (au), 818, 819

Dēvachandra, 942
dēvadāna —, 300, 318
Dēvadāsi system, 284
 Devalapalli Krishnasastri (au), 883
Dēvarāya II (Vij. k), 107, 108
Dēvasēna (te), 575
Dhammapāla (au), 768
Dharaṇikōṭa (a.s.), 57, 58
Dharmakṛti (au), 495, 769, 770
Dharmāṇṛita (wk), 842
Dharmaparikṣhe, 848
Dharmāvaram record (ins), 233
Dhavaḷa (wk), 760, 763
Dhruva (Rash. k), 90, 91
Dhūrjaṭi (au), 365, 880, 881
dhikṣā (initiation), 486
Dimṣa (fork art), 936
dīndr (coin), 267
Dinjia (ins), 399
Dinnāga (au), 494, 769
Dipāvāṭi (fest), 297
 Diu (pl), 407
Divyaprabandha or *Nāḷayira-divyaprabandha* (wk), 365, 430
Doḍḍahuppi (ins), 618
 Dolaḷ (Dholak) (mus. inst), 733
 Dolls and puppets (folk art), 929
Dombidāsa (com), 959
Dommarā Nandyaḷa (ins), 232
 Dong-Duong (a.s.), 396
 Dong-Lakhon, 396
dramma (coin), 256
 Dravidian (languages), 32, 33
 Dravidian (peo), 28, 29, 31
Durgasimha (au), 840
Durvinṛita (Gan. k), 84
Dūtarākyaṃ (wk), 900
 Dvaita; Dvaita Vēdānta (phil), 466, 467, 469-72, 474-76, 482

E

Early Palaeolithic cultures —, 36-40
Ēka-Jiva-vēda (phil. view), 439
Ēlāchārya (au), 510
Ēlādi (wk), 798
Eluttachchan (au), 900, 901
English Gtēgaḷu (wk), 857
Ereyaṅga (Hoy. k), 102
Errana (au), 878, 879
Ēṭṭiṭṭhai (wks), 794, 795
Ezhuvāṇmāḷi (folk art), 974

F

Fahien (pilgrim), 380
 Festivals-Muslim —, 525, 526
 Flute (mus. inst), 730, 731
 Francis Xavier (st), 530
 French (peo), 170
 Funan (co), 394

G

Gadāyuddha (wk), 94
Gadyakarṇāṇṛita, 779
gadyāḍṇaka (coin), 256
Gāhā-sattasāṭi (wk), 780
Gajapriṣṭhākṛiti, (at. s), 581-83
Gajāshṭaka (wk), 834
Galaganatha (au), 862
Gaṇapāśāvaram (ins), 237
 Gandhiji (pol. leader), 163, 164
 Gaṅga, Eastern (dy), 73
 Gaṅga of Talakāḍu, 84-86, 332-34
 Gaṅga, Western, 258, 259
Gaṅgādēvi (au), 106
Gaṅgoli (pl), 408
Gānigitti (te), 669, 670
Gaṇṇasārasaṃgraha (wk), 777
Garga (folk art), 939
Garuḍan tākam, 971
Gāthāsaptasāṭi or *Gāthākoṣa* (wk), 364, 759
Gayā (ins), 238
Ghanasāyama (au), 765
Ghaṭa (mus. inst), 734
 Ghulam Imam Khan (au), 909
Gigimēḷa (folk art), 959
 Goa (region), 406
Gobbi (folk art), 938
Gōḷiḷāla (ins), 236
Gomberāmaru (Gombeyāḍavaru) (com), 957
Gonumaṣāṣṭra, (wk), 763
Gonumaṣastuti 843
Gonmaṣāṣvara (image), 618, 619
Gondaligar (com), 959
 Gopalakrishna Adiga, M. (au), 859
 Gōpālayya, 356
Goraṇṇa (ins), 193
Gorava (peo), 953
Gōḥuvādyā (mus. inst), 728
Gōvaidya (wk), 841
Gōvinda II (Rash. k), 90
Gōvinda III, 91

Govinda Pai (*au*), 858
 Gṛidhira-Piñchabhārya, 770
 Guḍiyam (*a.s.*), 44
 Guḍināpur (*ins*), 82, 195, 218
 Gūḍūr, 236
 Guṇadhara (*au*), 759, 760
 Guṇādhyā, 364, 778
 Guṇagāṅkiyam (*wk*), 835
 Gupavarma I (*au*), 836
 Gundappa, D. V., 858
 Guruzada Apparao, 883
 Guṣṭī (*folk art*), 936

H

Haider Ali (*Navab*), 150-52
 Hakka - Harihara (*Vij. k*), 106
 Hāla (*au*), 364, 759, 780
 Haḷebēd (*ins*), 222
 Halmiḍi, 219, 828, 833
 Hanumakoṇḍa, 235
 Haravilāsa (*wk*), 365
 Harihara (*au*), 843, 853
 Harihara (*Vij. k*), 105, 106
 Harikatha (*folk art*), 934, 991
 Hariyamādhhyudaya (*wk*), 845
 Harivilāsanu, 356
 Hazāra Rāmasvāmi (*te*), 671, 672
 Hebbalaguppe (*ins*), 222
 Heḷava (*com*), 959
 Hēmādri (*au*), 100
 Hēttachakra-ḷamaru (*wk*), 769
 Hindu Manners & Customs, 532
 Hirēbhagaḷli (*ins*), 192
 Honavar (*pl*), 407
 Hood stones (*burial*), 50
 Horse Dance (*folk art*), 939
 Hoysaḷa (*dy*), 102-05, 257, 335, 341

I

Iabadiou - Yavadvīpa (*co*), 398
 Iḷaṅgai (*caste*), 279, 280
 Ikshvāku (*dy*), 254, 339, 358
 Illari (*tax*), 295
 Indra III (*Rash. k*), 92
 Indukūru (*ins*), 231
 Inḷiya Nārpati (*wk*), 798
 Inḷ Nārpati, 798
 Ipur (*ins*), 228
 Irāvātāna (*te*), 601
 Iron age —, 48-51
 Irūḷar (*po*), 996
 Irumporai (*l*), 119

Irūnilamchode (*te*), 644, 645
 Islām; al-Islām (*religion*), 518, 519, 521-28, 542, 546
 Iṣvara (*phil. concept*), 437-41
 I-tsing (*pilgrim*), 380

J

Jagadēkamallā II (*Cha. k*), 98
 Jainendra-vyākaraṇa (*wk*), 777
 Jainism (*religion*), 343, 344, 362-64, 504-10, 512-15, 535-37
 Jaitugi (*Se. k*), 100, 101
 Jalatarāṅga (*mus. ins*), 731
 Jāḍgama (*sect*), 344
 Janna (*au*), 844
 Jasaharachariṭi (*wk*), 763
 Jaṭāsimhanandi (*au*), 781
 Jaya (*au*), 776
 Jayadhavaḷa (*wk*), 760, 763
 Jayakīrti (*au*), 776
 Jayasimha II (*Cha. k*), 95
 Jayatīrtha (*phil*), 774
 Jīva (*phil. concept*), 437-42
 Jīvasanibōdhane (*wk*), 845
 Jāṇasambandha (*sr*), 799
 Jñāna-yōga (*phil. term*), 459
 João de Castro (*off*), 409, 413, 414
 Jōgama (*Kal. k*), 98, 99
 John F. Fleet (*au*), 944
 John Laydon, 942
 Jonakam Māppillās s.a. Māppil-
 laṣ (*com*), 524
 Judgement Day —, 520
 Jvālā-tōraṇa (*fest*), 342

K

Kabbigara-kāva (*wk*), 846
 Kādālā Kaḷamiya, 827
 Kadamba (*dy*), 82, 83, 259, 332, 339
 Kadamba-Nāgara (*ar. s*), 585, 586
 Kaḍāram - Kodah (*pl*), 400
 Kailasam, T. P. (*au*), 861
 Kailāsanātha (*te*), 601, 603
 Kākaḷiya (*dy*), 76, 259, 260, 341, 360, 361
 Kākusthavarma (*Kod. k*), 83
 Kaḷabhra (*dy*), 136, 137, 358
 Kalachuri, 98, 99, 258
 Kāḷahastimahātmya (*wk*), 365
 Kālamādhava, 777
 Kaḷamaḷla (*ins*), 229
 kalamkḍri (*folk art*), 928

kaḷaṅḷu (*coin*), 252, 256
 Kaḷāpam (*folk art*), 931
 Kaḷayya (*au*), 356
 Kalidīṇḍi (*ins*), 234
 Kālīgattupparaṇi (*wk*), 805, 806
 Kalki (R. Krishnamurti) (*au*), 822, 824
 Kallāḷam (*wk*), 805
 Kallēvara (*te*), 613
 kāluve (*tax*), 303
 Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar, V. (*au*), 821, 822
 Kāmādēva, 845
 Kamalabhava, 846
 Kamaraj Nadar (*pol. leader*), 177, 178
 Kambār (*au*), 803
 Kambuja (*co*), 394, 395
 Kampaṇa (*Vij. pr*), 106, 107
 Kamsāḷa guḍḍa (*sect*), 958
 Kamsāḷeyavaru, 958
 Kamsavaho (*wk*), 765
 Kanakasubburattinam (Bhārati-
 dāsan) (*au*), 819
 Kāñchi (*pl*), 60, 61, 314, 501, 502, 698, 699
 Kañchikāvyamu or Hariūchan-
 drōpākhyāna (*wk*), 356
 Kāñchīpuramahātmyamu, 356
 Kañchi Virāṣarabhaya (*au*), 356
 Kandapurḍāṇam (*wk*), 809
 Kandukuri Veeresalingam (Veere-
 salingam) (*au*), 882
 Kandukūru (*ins*), 233
 Kandulapalem, 228
 Kaniān āṭṭam (*folk art*), 995
 Kāṇi muttruttu (*gift*), 318
 Kaṇṇaḷā Bhāgavatam (*wk*), 898
 Kaṇṇaḷā Bhāratam, 898
 Kaṇṇaḷā Rāmāyaṇam, 898
 Kannēru pāṭṭu (*folk art*), 967
 Kannyar kālī (Vattakkālī), 974
 Kanteru (*ins*), 193
 Kanukollu, 192, 228
 Kānaru Heggaḍiti (*wk*), 862
 Kanyākumārī (*ins*), 244
 Kappāḷpāṭṭu (paḍaguppāṭṭu) (*folk song*), 990
 Karaḷam (*folk art*), 992, 993
 Karaiḷkālamunaiyar (*au*), 798, 799
 Karapilamēḷa (*folk art*), 959
 Karatīyāṭṭam, 974
 Kariḷal (*fest*), 328

Karimnagar (*ins*), 236
 Karka II (*Rash. k.*), 95
 karma (*phil. concept*), 428, 441
 karma-sannyāsa, 441
 karmayōga, 459
 Karṇa (*Kal. k.*), 98
 Karṇapārya (*au*), 842
 Kārṇāṭaka Kādambari (*wk*), 838
 Kārṇāṭaka music *s.a.* South Indian Music —, 715-19
 Kārṇāṭaka Pañchatantra (*wk*), 840
 Karpūramahārī, 765
 Kārshapāṇa (*coin*), 355
 Kārtikapūrṇima (*fest*), 297
 Kārtikēya (*te*), 574-76
 Kārva Dance (*folk art*), 939
 Kaśākkūḍi (*ins*), 199
 Kaśāyapāḥuḍa (*wk*), 759, 760
 Kāśākhapḍam, 365
 kāsu (*coin*), 256
 Kātaṅtra-vyākaraṇa (*wk*), 777
 Kathakkāl (*folk art*), 965
 Kathāsaritsāgaram (*wk*), 961
 kaṭṭe (*tax*), 303
 Kaumudī-utsava (*fest*), 342
 Kāvāḍi (*folk art*), 991
 Kāvāḍi-chchindu (*vazhināḍar-chchindu*), 992
 Kāvērīpūmpaṭṭinam (*a.s.*), 59
 Kavirājamārga (*wk*), 830, 834-36
 Kaviyūr cave (*cave*), 645, 646
 Kāvyaḍārṇa (*wk*), 774
 Kāvyaḍāṇkāra, 775
 Kāvyaḍalōkana, 840, 841
 kāyaka (*phil. term*), 488
 Kedah (*a.s.*), 397
 Kēraḷapāṇini (*scholar*), 241, 242
 Kēraḷāpuram (*ins*), 245
 kere (*tax*), 303
 Kēśavavarpi (*au*) 764
 Kēśirāja, 846, 847
 Khagēndramahādarpaṇa (*wk*), 848
 Khaṇḍirā (*mus. inst.*), 733, 734
 Khan Thevada (*pl*), 394
 Kheda, 394
 khilōpasavāgraha (*tech. term*), 741
 Khlong Ko Srok (*a.s.*), 397
 Khotṭiga (*Rash. k.*), 93
 Kilimanoo (*is.*), 243
 Kilīkkyātaru (*sect*), 957
 Kilīyār (*ins*), 244
 Kīṇḍārjunīya (*wk*), 780
 Kirtivarma (*au*), 841

Kirtivarma I (*Cha. k.*), 87
 Kirtivarma II, 89
 Kōgaḷi (*ins*), 222
 Kōkaṭam, 238
 Kōlam (*raṅgōli*) (*folk art*), 997
 Kōlāṭa (*ṭṭam, ṭam*), 939, 954, 991
 kolkali, 977
 Kollūrmaḍam plates (*ins*), 244
 Koṇḍamuḍi plates, 192, 228
 Koṇḍapelli (*pl*), 929
 Koṇḍuvalir (*au*), 365
 Konrai-vendān (*wk*), 805
 koravaṇḷi (*soothsayer*) (*folk art*), 931, 932
 Korkai (*a.s.*), 61
 Korraṇai (*g*), 534
 Kōrumelli grant (*ins*), 234
 Kota Bangoen (*pl*), 401
 Kothamuriyāṭṭam (*folk art*), 977
 Kottamangalm Subbu (*au*), 819
 Koṭṭāyam plates (*ins*), 247
 Koṭṭukkal (*cave*), 645, 646
 Koutalamadan kathai (*ballad*), 986
 kōvil ṇittam (*folk art*), 975
 Kṛishna (*te*), 671
 Kṛishna I (*Rash. k.*), 90
 Kṛishna II, 92
 Kṛishna III, 93
 Kṛishnadēvarāya (*Vij k.*), 109-12, 356
 Kṛishṇa-īyanti (*fest*), 342
 Kṛishṇalīlāsuka (*au*), 765
 Krishna Pillai, H. A., 817
 Kṛishṇap-pāṭṭu (*Kṛishṇagāthā*) (*wk*), 899
 Kṛishnarāja Voḍeyar IV (*Mysore ruler*), 160, 161
 Kṛishnarāja Voḍeyar, Mummaḍi, 155-57
 Krishna Rao, A. N (*au*), 863
 Kṛishnavarmā II (*Kod. k.*), 83
 Kṣatriya (*class*), 274, 275
 Kuala Selinsing (*a.s.*), 390, 397
 Kubja (*poet*), 195
 Kulāśekhara (*au*), 782, 800
 Kulavai (*mus. inst.*), 988, 989
 Kumāra Venkaṭapati (*au*), 356
 Kumārilabhaṭṭa (*phil.*), 363, 771
 kumbāradere (*tax*), 305
 Kummattī (*folk art*), 976
 Kummḷ, 990
 Kumudēndu (*au*), 853

Kundakunda, 761
 Kundapur (*pl*), 407
 Kundakundāchārya (*au*), 407, 510, 511
 Kuraḷ (*wk*), 282, 798
 Kuravaik-kūṭṭu (*Aichiyarkuravai*) (*folk art*), 995
 Kurkiyāl (*ins*), 233
 Kuruhaipperumāḷ-kavirāyar (*au*), 813
 Kurundin pāṭṭu (*folk art*), 967
 kūṭasiha (*phil term*), 438, 440
 Kutei (*pl*), 401
 Kuṭṭichāṭṭanāṭṭam (*folk art*), 970
 Kuvempu *s.a.*, K. V. Puttappa (*au*), 858, 861, 867
 Kuzhaik-kūṭṭu (*folk art*), 995

L

Labba (*com*), 524
 Lakkapa (*gen*), 107, 108
 Lakshmēśvara (*ins*), 223
 Lakshmiśa (*au*), 854
 Lambāḍi (*folk art*), 937
 Langhnaj (*a.s.*), 24
 Leyden plates (*ins*), 211
 Līlātīlakam (*wk*), 894
 Līlāvati, 364, 844
 Līngabīṭṭanakuṇṭa (*folk art*), 952
 Lōkamahādēvi (*Cha. q.*), 89
 Lōkavibhāga (*wk*), 762
 Lolla Lakshmidhara (*au*), 365
 Lotus Mahal (*building*), 678
 Lutfunnisa Begum (*au*), 908

M

Madavūrpara *s.a.* Ailūrpara (*cave*) 645, 646
 Mādhaḥva III (*Gan. k.*), 84
 Mādhaḥva Panikkar (Mādhaḥva) (*au*), 897, 898
 Madhura, 848
 Mādthurakavi, 801
 Madhava; Madhvāchrāya (*sr*), 466, 467, 774
 Madhyadēśa (*region*), 17
 Madras Museum plate (*ins*), 230, 232
 Maduraiṭṭiran kathai (*ballad*), 982
 Madurā Vijaya (*wk*), 106
 magamu (*tax*), 298
 maggadere, 304
 Māghanandī (*au*), 847

- Mahābala, 847
 Mahādēva (*Se. k.*), 101
 Mahādēhavaḥa (*wk.*), 763
 Mahalingēvara (Būtēvara) (*te.*), 615, 616
 Mahāpurāṇa (*wk.*), 763
 Mahāvīrāchārya (*au.*), 777
 Mahdavi (*com.*), 524
 Mahēndravikramavarma (*au.*), 782
 Mahishamaṇḍalam (Majamaṇḍalam) Nārāyaṇan Nampūri, 896
 Mahliqa Bai Chanda, 908
 Majapahit (*kingdom*), 392
 Malaiyāḍikkurichchi (*pl.*), 630
 Malaiyūr = Jambi, 400
 Mālakoṇḍa (*ins.*), 227
 Malay Peninsula (*co.*), 396, 397
 Malegallai Modumagaḷu (*wk.*), 862
 Mālōpāḍu (*ins.*), 230-32
 Malik Kafur (*gen.*), 101, 102, 104
 Mallikārjuna (*au.*), 846
 Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā, 364, 365, 879
 Mallināthapurāṇa (*wk.*), 842
 Māṇakkavāram (*pl.*), 400
 Maṇḍanamētra (*phil.*), 771
 maṇḍapa —, 665-67
 Maṇḍapa (*ar. s.*), 580
 Maṇḍapāka Pārvatīvarakavi (*au.*), 356
 Maṇḍadushpāṇḍavikāṣamu (*wk.*), 356
 Maṇḍalēṭa (*Cha. k.*), 87
 Manḡalore (*pl.*), 407
 Mango Dance (*folk art*), 936
 Māṇikkavāchaka (*au.*), 799, 800
 Maṇimākhala (*wk.*), 797
 maṇḍāḍi (*weight*), 252
 Mannārūḍa (*au.*), 356
 Mannārūḍasavilāsaprabandha (*wk.*), 356
 Mantripariśat (*council*), 361
 Māppappālam - Pappāla (*pl.*), 400
 Māppīḷa (*com.*), 524
 Maragāḷukuvā (*folk art*), 955
 Mārasimha (*Gen. k.*), 86
 Mārasimha II, 93
 Marāṭha (*com.*), 169
 mārgaṇkāl (*folk art*), 980
 mārga aṅkamu (*folks*), 298
 marutur (*measure*), 295
 Mary Frere (*au.*), 944
 Māsi-magam (*fest*), 325
 Maski (*a.s.*), 26
 Mask-making (*folk art*), 928
 Mātāṅga (*monk*), 380
 Mātāṅgēvara (*te.*), 602
 Mattavilāsaprahasana (*wk.*), 782
 Maṭṭepāḍ-plates (*ins.*), 192, 228
 Maurya (*dy.*), 80, 331
 māyā (*phil. term*), 428, 436
 māyā-avidyā, 432
 māyā-vṛtti, 440
 Māyirudīṅam (*pl.*), 400
 Mayūrāśarma (*Kad. k.*), 82, 758
 Meenakshisundaram Pillai (*au.*), 817
 Megalithic period —, 53-56
 Megaliths, 49-51
 Megasthenes (*au.*), 289
 Memens (*com.*), 524
 Menhirs (*burials*), 50
 Mesolithic Cultures —, 44, 45
 Metal ware (*craft*), 998
 Mevilimbaṅgam (*pl.*), 400
 Meykaṇḍār (*au.*), 426, 812
 Middle Palaeolithic Cultures —, 40-42
 Millindapanha (*wk.*), 397
 Mir Shamsuddin Faiz (*au.*), 909, 910
 Mir-Usman Ali Khan, 910
 Mithyāṭva-ṛuti (*phil. term*), 434, 435
 Mitraṇḍapuram (*ins.*), 244
 Moeara Kaman (*pl.*), 401
 Mohammed Qasim (*au.*), 917
 Mohammed Yousuf Nafees, 917
 mōksha (*salvation*), 458
 Mōkūr (*pl.*), 118
 Moplahs *s.s.*, Māppīḷas (*com.*), 524
 Morsing (*mus. inst.*), 734
 Moulana Abdul Hye (*au.*), 916, 917
 Moulana Baquir Agah, 912
 Moulvi Abdul Jabbar Khan Sufi Malekapuri, 910
 Moulvi Ghulam Abbas Ali Abbas, 915
 Moulvi Ghulam Ahmad Ahmadi, 913
 Moulvi Ghulam Dastageer Himmat, 914
 Moulvi Mohammed Hussain Tamanna, 913
 Moulvi Muhammad Mahdi Wasif, 913
 Moulvi Syed Mohammed Sadiq Hussain Shareef, 913, 914
 Mṛidaṅga (*mus. inst.*), 732, 733
 Mṛigēśavarma (*Kad. k.*), 83
 Muddana (*au.*), 856
 Muḍiyāṭṭam (*folk art*), 980
 Mudugonḍa Chālukya (*dy.*), 340
 Mudumollik-kāṭchi (*wk.*), 798
 nuggu (*raṅgavalli*) (*folk art*), 927
 Mughal (*com.*), 169
 Muhammad (*prophet*), 520
 Mukku Timmaya (*comp.*), 238
 Mukṭēśvara (*te.*), 602
 Mukundamālā (*wk.*), 782
 Mukundāṇyanār (*te.*), 602
 Mukundayōgi (*au.*), 356
 Mūlāchāra (*wk.*), 761, 762
 Mūlamādhyaṇa-kārikā, 769
 Muruga (Subrahmaṇya) (*g.*), 991, 992
 Murugadasaswami *s.a.* Dandapaniswami (*au.*), 817
 Musunūri (*f.*), 77
 Muṭṭāṭṭaytram (*wk.*), 802
 Muṭṭupattan (*Pattan*) (*hero*), 981, 982
 Muṭṭutāṇḍavar (*au.*), 814
 Mylapur (*pl.*), 408

N

- Nāchana Soma (*au.*), 238
 Nāchchinārkkipiyār, 813
 Nadakeriyand Chinnappa, 944
 Nāḍapadagaḷu (*anthology*), 946
 Nāḍepḍa (*ins.*), 235
 Nāgachandra (*au.*), 550, 841, 842
 Nāgā (*pl.*), 314
 Nagapattanam, 408
 Nāḍṛa (*mus. inst.*), 988
 Nāgāṭja (*au.*), 847
 Nāgāṭakyaṅgama (*wk.*), 400
 nāgaratār (*guild*), 318
 Nāgāṭ Haveli (*pl.*), 408
 Nāgāṭjuna (*phil.*), 493, 494, 768, 769
 Nāgāṭjunakoṇḍa (*a.s.*), 25, 58, 59, 291, 390, 391
 Nāgāṭjunakoṇḍa (*ins.*), 191

Nāgavarma, Nāgavarmāchārya, (au), 840, 841
 Nāgēśvarasvānii (te), 293
 Naishadham (wk), 365
 Nalāchanpū, 779
 Nālādī, 798
 Nalāveṇbā, 804
 Nallatāṅgai (ballad), 985
 Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai, (au), 819
 Nammālvār (st), 801
 Nanai (au), 820
 Nanda (dy), 80
 Nandampūṇḍi grant (ins), 234
 Nandik-kalambakam (wk), 806
 Nandikēlukupita, Nandidhvaṇa (folk art), 952
 Nandi Timmana, Timmana (au), 880
 Nāṇmaṣikkāḍigai (wk), 798
 Nannaya, Nannayabhaṭṭa (au), 347, 348, 876, 878
 Nannochōḍa, 879
 Nāranappa (Kumāra Vyāsa), 853, 854
 Narasānāyaka (Vij k), 109
 Narasimha II (Hoy k), 103
 Narasimha III, 103, 104
 Narasimhachar, P T (au), 858, 861
 Narasimha Sāluva (Vij k), 108, 109
 Narasimhaswamy, K S (au), 859
 Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, 347, 348, 782
 Nārāyaṇa Guru (phil), 546
 Nārāyaṇiyam (wk), 782
 Nārttāmalaḥ (paintings), 710
 Nāthamuni (phil), 446
 Navāyat (sect), 523
 Nāyaks (dy), 169
 Nāyakumārachariu (wk), 763
 Nāyar (f), 115
 Nayasōna (au), 842
 Nēbāḍi Kṛṣṇamūrti, 357
 Needlework (folk art), 928
 Negapaṭṭam (pl), 500, 501
 Negroid (peo), 30
 Nēmichandra (au), 511, 763, 844
 Nēminḍāhapurāṇa; Ardhānēmu-purāṇa (wk), 842-44
 Neolithic-Chalcolithic Cultures —, 45-48
 Nevāsā (a s.), 24
 Nicole Conti (au), 108

Nīlagāraru (sect), 958
 Nīlakēśi (wk), 804
 Nimbārka (phil), 364
 Niraṇam poets —, 897-99
 Nirgrantha Śramaṇa, 759
 Nirukta (wk), 791
 nīru-kūli (tax), 303
 Nītimārga (Gan k), 85
 Niṭṭūr (a s.), 37
 Noḍagēśvarasvāmī (te), 576
 Noḷamba-Pallava (dy), 334
 Noḍāṇḍāṭakam (folk art), 996
 Nripakāma, Kāma (Hoy k), 102
 Nṛttaratnāvali (wk), 776
 Nudurupāṭi Venkana (au), 356
 nūludere (tax), 304
 Nuno da Cunha (off), 413
 Nusratī (au), 906
 Nyāyabindu (wk), 770
 Nyāyamālī vistara, 772
 Nyāya-pravēśa, 769
 Nyāya-viniśchaya 770

O

Oc Eo (a s.), 389
 Oḍaya Nambī (au), 365
 Olayakunnam (pl), 381
 oppana (folk art), 976
 oppraṭhib s a dappumuttikkali, 979
 oyil ḍāṭam oyil kummi, 990

P

Padmatāṇḍi (coin), 257, 260, 355
 pagal-vēṣham (folk art), 996
 paggaṭi āshālu, 930
 pagōḍa, pardeo, (coin), 355
 pakkanaṭhullal (folk art), 975
 Palaeolithic Cultures —, 35-45
 Palamoli Nānāru (wk), 798
 Palembang (pl), 399
 Pālikurike (Pālikuriki) Sōmanātha (au), 356, 365, 879
 Pallava (dy), 72, 81, 136-40, 262, 263, 331-33, 358, 359
 Pallava Architecture —, 592-600
 Pallavamēḍu (a s.), 61
 Pallavankōvil plates (ins), 197
 pallichchandam (gift), 318
 Pampa (poet), 346, 347, 512, 550, 836, 837
 Pampabhārata s a Vikramārjuna-īyava (wk), 837
 Pampāpati, s a Virūpāksha (te), 671
 Pampa Rāmāyaṇa (wk), 842
 Panamalai (paintings), 699, 700
 pañchāchāraṭi (phil term), 486
 Pañchāiatnaprabandha (wk), 356
 Pāñcharātra āgama, 445, 446
 Pañchāstikāya, 761
 Pañchātantra, 356, 961
 Pāṇḍik-kōvai, 802
 Paṇḍitarādhyacharitra, 356, 365
 Pāṇḍya (dy), 130, 134, 137, 139-41, 145, 266, 267, 333, 357-60
 Pāṇḍya Art —, 626-47
 Panguni (fest), 328
 paniyaikali (folk art), 979
 Pannai, Panai (pl), 400
 Panṇirūrirumurai (wk), 426, 431
 Pānugal (ins), 235
 Papiermache (craft), 997
 Paramayōginīlāsamu (wk), 356
 Parāśara-Mādhaviya, 772
 Parāśurāmēśvara (te), 573
 parichakali (folk art), 979
 parichamuttukali, 979
 Parikrama (wk), 761
 Pārśvadēva (au), 776
 Pāravanātha (te), 670
 Partaw (au) 914
 Pārthasārathi (te), 673, 674
 Parvathavani (au), 861
 Pāśupata (sect), 744
 paṭakumita (folk art), 953
 Patirupattu (wk), 119
 Patrakēśari (au), 770
 Paṭṭinappālai (wk), 392
 Paṭṭupāṭṭu, 793, 794
 paṭvani (folk art), 975
 Pāṇmachariu (wk), 763
 Pāvakkūttu (folk art), 993
 Peacock Dance, 936
 Peddalaguvijayamu (wk) 356
 Peddana (au), 880
 Pendharis s a Pindāris (com), 524
 Periplus of the Erythraean sea (wk), 390, 392
 Peryālvār (st), 800, 801
 Peruvapurāṇam (wk), 804
 Perumāḷ (f), 115, 120
 Perumṇkathai (wk), 364, 797, 798
 Perumpaḍappusvarūpam (kingdom), 127, 128
 Perumpāṇarruppaḍai (wk), 277

Perunna (*ins*), 247
 Pēṟūru, 236
 Phirāḍipuram, 237
 Phou Lakhon (*pl*), 394
 Pikliḥā (*a.s.*), 25
 Pillalamarri (*ins*), 236
 Piṅgala-Nāga (*au*), 768, 776
 Piṅgali Sūrana; Sūrana, 881
 Piranmalai Śiva (*te*), 641
 Piravātana, 601
 Pit Burials —, 50
 Pong Tuk (*a.s.*), 396
 Ponna (*au*), 837, 838
 Porputam (*battle field*), 117
 Portuguese (*peo*), 115
 Post-Megalithic Period —, 56-66
 Pōtana (*au*), 879, 880
 Prabhāchandra 511
 Prabhākara (*phil*), 771
 Pramāṇa-samuchchaya (*wk*), 769
 Pramāṇa-vārttika, 770
 Pramāṇa-viniścaya, 770
 praṇava (*phil. term*), 444
 prapatti, 460
 prasāda, 487
 prasādi, 487, 488
 Pratiṣṭaparudrayaśōbhāṣha (*wk*), 775
 Prathamakāḍaḍi (*fest*), 342
 pratibimba-vāda (*phil. term*), 437, 438
 Pravachanasāra (*wk*), 761
 Preikrābas (*a.s.*), 390
 Proto Dravidian Languages —, 741-46
 Ptolemy (*geographer*), 390-92, 397, 398
 puḍḡa mālavīsālu (*tolls*), 298
 Pudumaippittan (*au*), 825
 Pūjyapāda s.a. Dēvanandi, 511, 777
 Pulakēdi I (*Cha. k*), 83, 86, 87
 Pulakēdi II, 87, 88
 pulamaivittii (*tenure*), 318
 pulavarmutruttu (*gift*), 318
 Pulvāṣham (*folk art*), 938
 pullari (*tax*), 295
 Pullār plates (*ins*), 212
 Pulluva (*caste*), 965
 Pulluvakkudam (*mus. inst*), 966
 Pulluva-viṇa, 965
 Punam Nampūri; Pūnam (*au*), 896

Punch-marked coins (*coins*), 253
 Pūrakali (*folk art*), 980
 puravāntike, 953
 Puravi ḍṭṭam; Pōtkkālkkuttrai, 993
 Pushpabhadrasvāmi (*te*), 575, 576
 Pushpadanta (*au*), 763
 Pushpadantapurḍa (*wk*), 846
 pūthamkālī (*folk art*), 973
 Puttanna, M. S. (*au*), 862
 puttīpahitṭṭi; Paṅgamu (*tax*), 295
 Pūvāyi; Pūvayi (*fe*), 984, 986

Q

Qazi Badruddowlah (*au*), 913
 Quilon (*ci*), 406
 Quilon (*ins*), 242, 246
 Qu'rān (*wk*), 520
 Qutbshahis of Gōlkoṇḍa (*dy*), 360

R

Rāchamalla II (*Gan. k*), 85
 rāga (*melody*), 719-22
 Rāghavāṅka (*au*), 853
 Rāghavapāṇḍavīyamu (*wk*), 881
 Rāghvēndrayati (*sr*), 774
 Rāghunāthābhūdayamu (*wk*), 356
 Raghunātha Nāyaka;
 Raghunātha (*au*), 881, 882
 Rāghunāthīyamu (*wk*), 356
 Raigir (*a.s.*), 26
 Rajagopalachari, C.; Rajaji (*au*), 176, 177, 822
 Rājagōpālaviḷāsamu (*wk*), 356
 Rajaratnam, G. P. (*au*), 859
 Rājāsēkhara, 765
 Rājavāṇḍapraḥastī (*wk*), 356
 Rāmachandra (*Se. k*), 101, 102
 Rāmacharitam pāṭṭu (*wk*), 892, 893
 Rāmakaithā pāṭṭu, 893
 Ramalingaswamigal (*au*), 817
 Rāmanātha (*Hoy. k*), 103, 104
 Rāmānuja (*sr*), 363, 364, 444, 446, 447, 455, 462, 463, 773
 Rāma Paṇikkar (*au*), 897, 898
 Rāma Pānivāda, 765
 Rāmarājabhūṣha, 881
 Rāmaṛāya (*Vij. k*), 112, 113
 Ramaswami Naicker, E. V. (*pol. leader*), 177
 Rāmāyana (*wk*), 398, 803
 Rāmbi-poedji (*ins*), 398
 Rāmēśvara (*te*), 612, 614, 615

Rāmēśvaram (*ins*), 231
 Rāmēśvaramahātmyamu (*wk*), 356
 Raṇamittiraiṇākara, 356
 Rangacharlu, C. (*Dewan*), 159
 Raṅgājamma (*au*), 356
 Ranna, 94, 512, 550, 839
 Rannakanda (*wk*), 839
 Rasāḍṛṇavasudhākara, 775
 Rāshṭrakūṭa (*dy*), 20, 74, 90-93, 256, 333, 340, 341
 Ravikirti (*au*), 88, 195
 Ravivarma (*Kad. k*), 83
 Rāya s.a. Saṅgama (*dy*), 77
 Rāyamurāri Sovidēva (*Kal. k*), 99
 Rāyasaḍra (*wk*), 761
 Rayaprolu Subbarao; Subbarao (*au*), 883
 Rācherla (*f*), 77
 Redḍi, 77, 360, 361
 Rēkhā-Nāgara (*ar. s*), 586, 587
 Rījuvimala (*wk*), 771
 Rishabha (*fest*), 325
 Rīṭṭhaṇmichariū (*wk*), 761
 Roman (*coins*), 262
 Rudrabhaṭṭa (*au*), 844
 Rudradāsa, 765
 Rudraṭa, 775
 Ruthnasamy, M., 531

S

Śabdamaṇḍarpana (*wk*), 846, 847
 Śabdamūlāsana, 764, 778
 sabhā (*council*), 361
 Sadashiva Rao (*freedom fighter*), 164
 sādhanā (*phil. term*), 458
 Sāhaji (*au*), 356
 Sāhasabhtamavijaya s.a. Gada-yuddha (*wk*), 839
 Sahasragopandamasakhyāna, 365
 Sa-huynh (*a.s.*), 389
 Śailēndra (*dy*), 394, 396, 399, 400
 Śaiva-siddhānta (*doc*), 425-27, 431
 Śaivism (*religion*), 478, 479, 483, 540, 541
 Śaka era (*era*), 342
 Śakāyana (*au*), 778
 Śaktiśhadra, 782
 Śaktiśhaivas dance (*folk art*), 954
 Seja (*Hoy. k*), 102
 Śālanāyana (*dy*), 72, 192, 254, 358

- Śāṅkhaṇḍam (*pl*), 227
 Śālikanātha (*phil*), 771
 Sāluva (*dy*), 78
 Samānāntarāsiddhi (*wk*), 779
 Samantabhadrasvāmī; Samantabhadra (*au*), 511, 770
 Samaya-Parīkṣhe (*wk*), 843
 Samayasāra, 761
 Sambandha Mudaliar (*au*), 826
 Sambor (*a.s.*), 392, 395
 Saṃplēkhanā (*doc*), 515, 516
 Saṃmat-sutta (*wk*), 764
 Samrong Sēn (*a.s.*), 389
 Saṅgam (*age*), 115-20, 131-36, 273-76, 282-85, 426
 Saṅgama (*dy*), 77
 Sang-betrang (*pl*), 401
 Saṅgitaratnākara (*wk*), 776
 Saṅgītasamayāsāra, 776
 Saṅgolī Rāyanna (*freedom fighter*), 162
 Śaṅkarācārya, Śaṅkara (*st*), 363, 395, 432, 436, 772
 Sankaradas Swamigal (*au*), 826
 Śaṅkara Paṇikkar; Śaṅkara, 897, 898
 Saṅkarapanirākaraṇam (*wk*), 427
 saṅkramaṇam (*fest*), 329
 Śāntinātha (*au*), 841
 Śāntipurāṇa (*wk*), 837
 Śāntivarman (*Kad. k.*), 83
 Sarawak (*pl*), 401
 Śārngadēva (*au*), 776
 Sarvadēva (*te*), 573, 574
 Sarvajña (*au*), 855
 Sātavāhana (*dv*), 70-72, 81, 253, 289, 339, 357
 sat-chit-ānanda (*phil term*), 434, 435
 Satyāsāraya, Itivabedaṅga (*Cha. k.*), 94
 Saundaryalahari (*wk*), 365
 Sayana (*au*), 783
 Sayyeda Akthar, 917
 Śekkiār, 365, 804
 Sompaga (*a.s.*), 390
 Serai Kavirājapillai (*au*), 365
 Sētiṇa (*dy*), 99-102, 257, 335, 341
 Sētipachandra (*Se. k.*), 100
 Sētipachandra II, 100
 Śhaṇḍakshari (*au*), 849
 Shah Tajalli, 908
 Shamsul Ulama Hafiz Luth-ullah Saheb Shams Quraishi, 914
 shaṭ-sṭhala-mārga *s.a.* The six-fold path —, 485, 486
 Shiah (*sect*), 523
 Shivarama Karanth (*au*), 863
 Shyāmabhaṭṭa, 94
 Siam (*co*), 396
 Siddhāntakaumudī (*wk*), 778
 Siddhānta-lēśa-saṅgraha, 772
 Siddhasēna (*au*), 764
 Siddhirāju Timmarāju (*au*), 356
 Siddi Dance (*folk art*), 937
 Sikendeng (*pl*), 398
 Śilappadikāram (*wk*), 118, 132, 510, 796
 Simhasūri (*au*), 762
 Siṅgabhūpāla, 775
 Siṅgarārya, 849
 Siṅghana I (*Se. k.*), 100
 Siṅghana II, 101
 Siṅghana III, 101
 Siraj Aurangabadī (*au*), 908
 Sīrichiṃdhakavvaṃ (*wk*), 765
 Sir K Seshadri Iyer (*Dewan*), 159
 Sir Mark Cubbon (*off*), 157
 Sir Mūrza Ismail (*Dewan*), 161
 Sir M. Visveswarayya, 160, 161
 Sīrupaṇchamīlam (*wk*), 798
 Sītaramaiah V. (*au*), 858, 859
 Śittanna-vāsāl (*paintings*), 702-05
 Śiva (*te*), 604, 610, 611
 Śivajñāna-lōḍham (*wk*), 426, 427, 431, 812
 Śivajñānamāpādivaṃ (*muhābhāshya*), 427
 Śivajñānavādūhiyār, 426
 Śivajñāna-yōgin (*au*), 427
 Śivakōṭyāchārya, 836
 Śivamāra II (*Gan. k.*), 85
 Śivanētiprakāśam (*wk*), 427
 Śivaprakāśam, 427
 Śivaratrimahāṛṇyam, 898
 Śivārya (*au*), 702
 Śivatattvaratnākara (*wk*), 783
 Śivatatvasāra, 365
 Śiva-vākkīyar (*au*), 811
 Ślōkavārtika (*wk*), 771
 Sōma (*art*), 820
 Somaḍēva, 780
 Somaśvara, 303
 Somaśvara (*Hoy. k.*), 103
 Somaśvara (*te*), 615
 Somaśvara I (*Cha. k.*), 95
 Somaśvara II, 95, 96
 Somaśvara III (*au*), 783
 Somaśvara III, (*Cha. k.*), 97, 98
 Somaśvara IV, 98
 Soricharitta (*wk*), 765
 South Djember (*pl*), 398
 South East Asia (*region*), 389, 390, 392, 394
 South India, 23
 South Indian Bronzes —, 684-95
 South Indian Music (*mus*), 715-34
 South Indian Paintings (*paintings*), 698-712
 Śrāvapūrṇima (*fest*), 297
 Śrīdeb (*pl*), 391, 396
 Śrījayanti (*fest*), 297
 Śrīkanṭha (*au*), 427, 429, 765
 Śrīkanihesa Gowda, M. L. 945
 Śrīkantiāh B. M.; Śrī, 857, 858, 860
 Śrīkrīṣṇadēvarāya, 880
 Śrīkṣētra (*kingdom*), 392
 Śrīmūlanāthasvāmī (*te*), 604
 Śrīnātha (*au*), 237, 356, 365, 879, 880
 Śrīngāraratnākara (*wk*), 845
 Śrīngāratilaka, 775
 Śrīnivāsa *s.a.* Masti Venkatesa Ayyangar (*au*), 858, 865
 Śrīparvata (*pl*), 391, 395
 Śrīpati (*au*), 774
 Śrīpurusha (*Gan. k.*), 84, 85
 Śrīrāmanavami (*fest*), 342
 Śrīraṅga (*au*), 861
 Śrīraṅgam (*ins*), 198
 Śīraṅgamahāṛṇyam (*wk*), 356
 Śrīraṅgam Srinivasarao; Śrī Śrī (*au*), 883
 Śrī Vijaya (*kingdom*), 142, 143, 394, 396, 397, 399
 Śrīvijaya, *s.a.* Palembang (*pl*), 400
 Śrūpas, 495, 496
 Subba Rao, T. R. (*au*), 863, 864
 Subrahmanya (*te*), 764, 675
 Subramania Bharati (*au*), 817, 818, 821
 Suchindram (*ins*), 243, 246
 Suddhanandha Bharati (*au*), 819

ādra (class), 274, 275
Sāḍa (sr), 522
Sāktismādhāra (wk), 846
Sukumāracharita, 841
Sumanābāpa (au), 845
Sundara, 799
Sundaram Pillai, 826
Sundaravarada (te), 603
ṣaṭka (tax), 298, 303, 305
Sunni (sect), 523
Suraṅga (au), 848
Surbēvara (phil), 432, 772
Suryanarayana Saxtriār (au), 826
Sātradagombeyā (folk art), 936, 957
svaṛāpabhāta-jñāna (phil. term), 452
Svayambhu (au), 763
Swamikkannu Pillai, L. D., 531
Swaminatha Iyer, 821
Swami Vedachalam s.a. Maraimalai Adigal, 821
Sydnandārapurāṇa Samuchchaya (wk), 125, 126
Syed Abdul Wali Uzlat (au), 908
Syed Hasrat Suhrawardi, 915
Syed Mohammad Jafar Hussaini Hareef, 914
Syed Muhammed Hussaini Gesudaraz, 905
Syed Shah Abul Hasan Qurbi, 912
Syrians (peo), 529

T

Taila II (Cha. k), 94
Taila III, 98
Takkola; Takola (pl), 394, 397
Takua-pa, 393, 397
tāḷa —, 722
tāḷa (mus. inst), 734
Talagiriṭvara (te), 602
Tāḷagunda (ins), 82, 193-95, 218
Talaikkōlam (pl), 400
tambāra (mus. inst), 727
Tambāriyavaru (sect), 959
Tamiḷaham (co), 353
Tāmraṅga (pl), 394
Taṅjāvūr, 705-09
Tamravartika (wk), 771
tappeta gūḷu (folk art), 938
Tattoo, 927

Tattooing (*Pachai-kuttadai*), 996
Tattuvārāyar (au), 812
Tattvapraśāsa (wk), 724
Tattvārtha-sūtra, 770
taṭṭi (mus. inst), 733
Tāyumanavar (au), 814
Tekkalakōṭa (a.s.), 25
Tekvāḍa, 24
Telugu-Chōḷa (da) (dy), 260, 357, 359, 360
Tenḷi Rāmakiṣṭha (au), 365, 881
Tēvāram —, 426, 430
Thalam kali (folk art), 978
Thallikkottai (pl), 381
Thappumāḷam; Chatikoḷu (folk art), 978
Themmarāgu (folk song), 989
The six fold path —, 485
Thēyyam (folk art), 972
thidambu-ṇittam, 971
thirayāṭṭam, 973
thiruvathirakali (kalkottikal), 978
thiyāṭṭu, 971, 972
Tikkana (au), 878
Thoyappaṭṭi (wk), 762
Tippalūru (ins), 231
Tipu Sultan (k), 152-55
Tirikaḷukam (wk), 798
Tirudāṭṭupayan, 427
Tirukkakkarai (ins), 247
Tirukkālakkuḍi (te), 641, 642
Tirukkōḷattinḍarāla (wk), 365
Tirukkalliruppaḷiyār, 426
Tirukkodiṭhanam (ins), 246, 247
Tirukkōvaliyār (wk), 426
Tirukkuraḷ; Kuraḷ, 793, 796
Tirumalai (pl), 187-89, 641, 710, 711
Tirumalaipuram, 709, 710
Tirumalārya (au), 849
Tirumāmaṇi-maṇḍapa —, 670
Tirumandiram (wk), 426
Tirumaṅgai Ālvār (sr), 801
Tirumantram (wk), 798
Tirumalāḷai (sr), 800
Tirumūlar (au), 426, 798, 799
Tirumūlikkūḷam (ins), 247
Tirupati Venkata-kavulu (au), 882
Tiruppanālvār (sr), 800

Tirupparangodu (ins), 248
Tirupparuttikkuṇṇam (pl), 711, 712
Tiruttoṇḍarpurāṇam; Periyapurāṇam (wk), 365, 426
Tiruttoṇḍartōgai, 365
Tiru Unniyār, 812
Tiruvāchakam, 426, 430
Tiruvāḷaṇḍāḍu plates (ins), 187-89, 197, 211
Tiruvallam, 245
Tiruvalluvar (sr), 282
Tiruveljunnannār (ins), 246
Tiruviḍaimarudūr, 212
Tiruvijangodu, 246
Tiruvīḷaiyāḍal-purāṇa (wk), 810
Tiruvundiār, 426
T. Narasipur (a.s.), 25
toḷalubombeyā (folk art), 956, 957
Tolkāppiyam (wk), 274-76, 425, 787, 788, 791-93
Tolkāppiyar (au), 274, 275
Toṇḍaraḍipppoḍi (sr), 800
Trailōkya mahādēvi (Cha. q), 89
Trakieu (a.s.), 396
Trikkūr (te), 644
Trilōkasāra (wk), 763
Tripurāntaka s.a. Amarāḍvara (te), 801
Trivandrum (ins), 245
Trivēpi (au), 864
Trivikrama, 764, 779
Tuḍumulaḍinne records (ins), 238
Tugu, 398
Tuḷuva (dy), 78
Tummalagōḍem charters (ins), 228
Tup-tikā (wk), 771

U

Udayampērār Sānaha dōstine Kaṇṇakāḷ (wk), 900
Udbhārādhyacharitra, 365
udukkal (mus. inst), 988
Uḍḍi (fest), 342
Umaiḷāṇḍār (te), 633
Umāḷṭi Śivachārya (phil), 429
Umāḷṭi; Umāsvāmi (au), 511
Umvēka (phil), 771
Uppuḷi Sannāḷam (wk), 895
Upper Palaeolithic Cultures —, 42-44
Urāiyār (a.s.), 61

Urimāramma Dance (*folk art*), 954

Ushāgīruddhum (*wk*), 765

Uttirānaikāddai (*fest*) 342

Uttirāmōrūr (*ins*), 189, 190

V

vachanu —, 852, 851

Vaḍakken pāṭṭukal (*wk*), 963, 964

Vādanyāya, 769, 770

Vaḍḍārādhanē, 764, 836

Vaḍḍiga I (*Se k*), 100

Vaidumba (*dy*) 334

Vaikunṭhaperumāl (*te*), 602

Vaiṣṇavism (*religion*), 551

vaiśya (*class*), 274, 275

Vaiyapurī Pillai, S (*au*), 822, 823

Vajrabodhi, 381

vāḷaga (*mus inst*), 731

Vaiṭṭappandūru (*pl*), 400

Vālakam (*folk art*), 933

vaiṭṭanḍu (*div*), 361

vaiṭṭalai (*caste*), 279, 280

Vāṭṭāvara (*te*), 603

Vaiṭṭabhāchārya (*phil*), 364

Vallam (*ins*), 208

Vāṁṇabhaṭṭa Bāna (*au*), 779

Vārāṅgacharita (*wk*), 781

Vardhamāna (*te*), 670

Vardhamānapurāṇa (*wk*), 840

Varkalai inscription (*ins*), 245

vasantamahōtsava (*fest*), 297

vasantōtsavam, 326

Vasavasamudram (*a s*), 61

Vasco-da-gama (*traveller*), 110, 403, 404

Vat Phra That (*pl*), 397

Vat Sema Muang, 397

Vaiṭṭakera (*au*), 762

vaiṭṭakkōṭi (*folk art*), 975

Vedanayagam Pillai (*au*), 817, 823

Vēdanpādal (*folk art*), 970

Vēdāntadēśika, Venkaṭanātha (*au*), 773

Vēdānta-kalpātaru-parimaḷa (*wk*), 772

vēdanpādyāya (*fest*), 329

Vai (*f*), 115

Vēlarnas (*dy*), 360

Vēlanḍu-Chōḍa, 353

Vēṭṭir Chieftains, 134, 135

Vellakkal Subramania Mudaliar (*au*), 817

Vellālas (*com*), 274-76

Vēlūrppālayam plates (*ins*), 212

Vēṁabhūpālacharita (*wk*), 779

Vēmana (*au*), 881

Vēmulavāda chiefs (*rule rs*), 340

Vēnād (*kingdom*), 125

Vengalūrāyan kuthai (*ballad*), 984

Venkana (*au*), 356

Venkaṭāchārya, 862

Venkaṭādhvarin, 780

Vēḍhināṭaka (*folk art*), 932

Vidyā Chakravartin (*au*), 775 779

Vidyānātha, 775

Vidyāranya (*st*), 105, 106, 772, 777

Vidyāsankara (*te*), 668, 669

Vieng Sra (*a s*), 397

Vijayāditya (*Cha k*), 89

Vijayanagara (*at s*), 664-78

Vijayanagara (*kingdom*), 105-14, 168, 169, 267, 268, 335, 336, 341, 360

Vijayanārāyana (*te*), 609

Vijayarāghavabhūdayamu (*wk*), 356

Vijayarāghavachandrikāvilāsamu, 356

Vijayarāghavanāyaka (*au*), 356

Vikram (*pl*) 381,

Vikramāditya (*k*), 961

Vikramāditya I, (*Cha k*), 88, 89

Vikramādi va II, 89

Vikramāditya VI 96, 97

Vikramānkābhūdaya (*wk*), 98, 303

Vikramānkādēvacharita, 87, 97

Vikramārjunavijaya s a Pampa-

bhārata, 836, 837

Villāṭchōnpāṭṭu (*folk art*), 967

Villā-Bhārata (*wk*), 809

villu-pāṭṭu (*folk song*), 989, 990

vimāna (*at s*), 583-85

Vinayāditya (*Cha k*), 89

Vinayāditya (*Hoy k*), 102

Vināyaka s a V K Gokak (*au*), 858

Vinītaruchi (*scholar*), 380

Virabhadrasvāmi (*te*), 673

Vīragōsekunṭa (*folk art*), 952

Vīrakamparājacharita s a Madu-

rāvijaya (*wk*), 106

Vīranāṭyam (*folk art*), 940

Vīraśaivism (*religion*), 345, 480-84, 550, 551

Vīraṭṭānāḍvara, Vīraṭṭāna (*te*), 603 604

Vīrūpāksha (*Hoy k*), 105

Vīrūpāksha s a Pampāpati (*te*), 671

Vīnālāḍvara, 605

Vishnu (*te*), 576, 577

Vishmūchittiyamu s a Amuktamāl-

vada (*wk*), 356

Vishnukundin (*dy*), 72, 73 254, 339, 358

Vishṇu-purāṇa (*wk*), 445

Vishnuvardhana (*Hoy k*), 97, 98 103

Vīśiṣṭādvaita (*phil*), 466, 467, 482

Vīśvagunāḍarīa (*wk*), 780

Viśvanātha Sathyanarayana (*au*), 883, 884

Vīṭṭhala (*te*), 672

Vo-Canh (*ins*), 394, 396

Vyāsayaṭi (*st*), 774

Vyavahāracharita (*wk*), 844

W

Wali Aurangabadī (*au*), 907

Wodeyar (*dy*), 147-50

X

Xuan-lōc (*a s*), 389

Y

Yakshagāna (*folk art*), 930

Yāmuna (*au*), 446, 773

Yāmunaāchārya (*phil*), 363

Yāstīlaka (*wk*), 780

Yādōdharacharite, 845

Yādōdhara kāvya, 804

Yatīvrīśabha (*au*), 763

Yavadvīpa (*co*), 398

Yeleswaram (*a s*), 26

Yogi, S D S s a Bāla Bhārati (*au*), 819

Yuan Chwang (*pilgrim*), 380

Yuktyāmāśana (*wk*), 770

Z

Zamorin of Calicut (*rulers*), 128 129

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